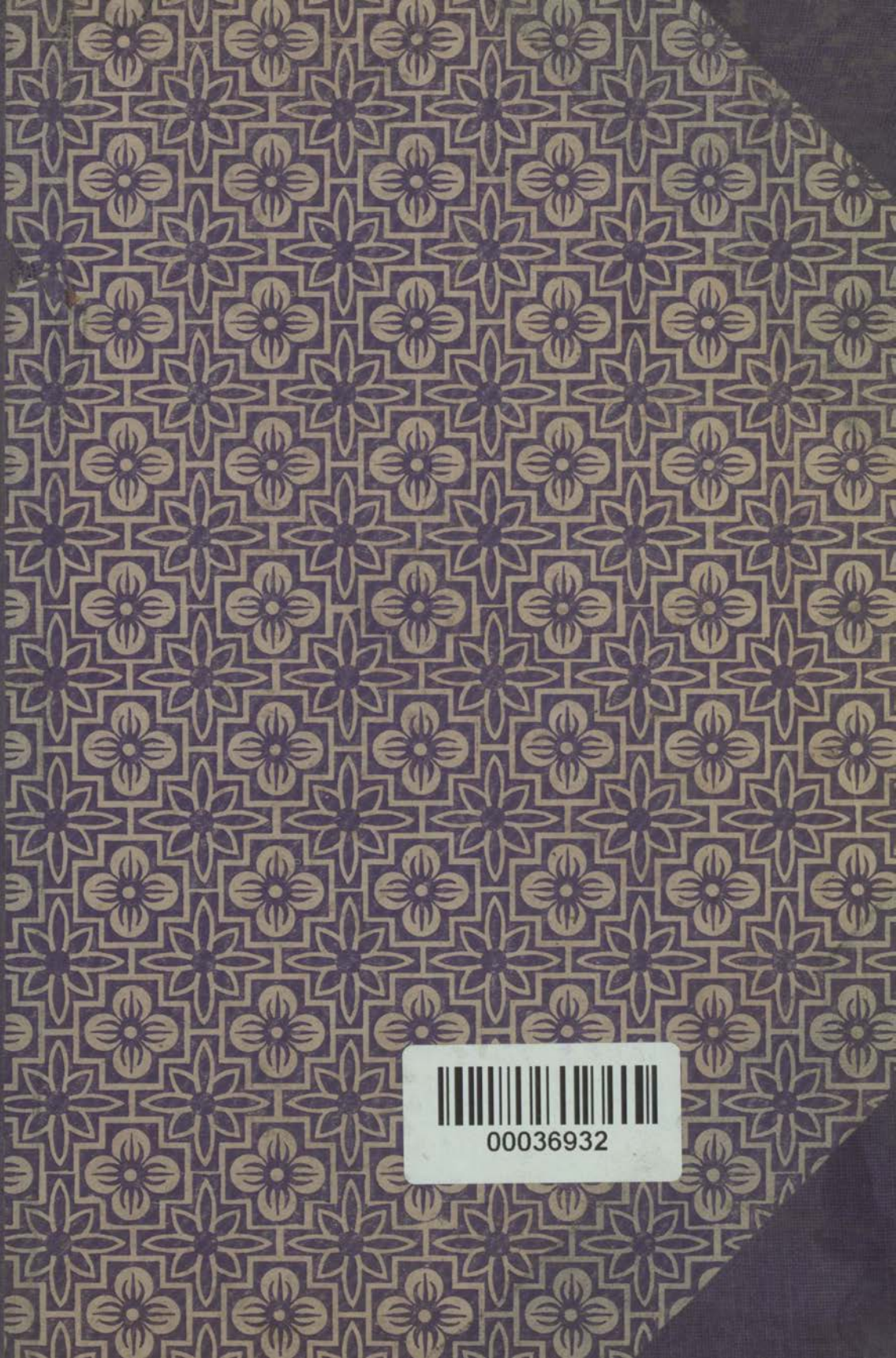
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THE

ROMAN HISTORY,

FROM THE

Building of *Rome* to the Ruin of the *Commonwealth*.

Illuſtrated with MAPS and other Plates.

VOL. IV.

By N. HOOKE, Eſq;

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THE

Roman Hiſtory.

TENTH BOOK.

From the end of the Year 703, when the Civil War broke out between POMPEY and CÆSAR, to the Second Triumvirate, or the League which was formed between LEPIDUS, ANTONY, and OCTAVIUS, in the Year 710.

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CHAP. I.

A brief relation of the riſe and progreſs of the Conteſt between POMPEY *and* CÆSAR.

FROM the year 693, the *Triumvirate* reigned in *Rome:* The whole management of the public affairs was in the hands of the three moſt powerful men of the State, *Craſſus*, *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*. The latter, during his conſulſhip in 694, had cemented and eſtabliſhed the power of the confederacy; and *Pompey* directed it in his abſence for his own, and the purpoſes of his aſſociates. Vid. ſupr. Vol. III. p. 415. He was, therefore, in a manner, the Sovereign of the Republic, while *Cæſar* was employed in the conqueſt of *Gaul*. In the year 696, he was inveſted, on the propoſal of *Cicero*, whoſe motion was approved of by the Senate, with an abſolute power for five years over all the public ſtores and corn-rents of the Empire; [a] by which means all thoſe who were concerned in the naval, the commercial, and landed intereſt, became

[a] This law was moved and carried by the Conſul *Lentulus Spinther*, one of the heads of the ariſtocratical party, with a view to his own deſigns, and to divert *Pompey* from the thoughts of being employed in re-eſtabliſhing *Ptolemy* on the throne of *Egypt*; an office Vid. ſupr. Vol. III. p. 463 477.

came his tributaries and dependants. Another law, propoſed at the ſame time by the Tribune *Meſſius*, [b] gave him the additional power of raiſing what fleets and armies he thought fit; with a greater command through all the provinces than their proper Governors had in each. Theſe extraordinary conceſſions to *Pompey* created a jealouſy in *Craſſus*, who, perceiving himſelf quite eclipſed by his old enemy and rival, now his partner in power, encouraged *Publius Clodius* to put ſome public affronts upon him, which *Pompey* openly reſented, and complained of. A reconciliation, however, was ſpeedily effected by *Cæſar*; and, in 697, the triple league was renewed at *Lucca*; where the Governor of the two Gauls, after three ſucceſsful campaigns, ſpent the winter ſeaſon in the greateſt ſplendor, attended by almoſt all the Magiſtrates and great men of the Republic. It was agreed upon by the *Triumviri* that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſhould ſue for the conſulate of the following year, take to themſelves what provinces they liked beſt, and continue *Cæſar* in his government of *Gaul* for five years more. How all this was effected has been formerly related. *Craſſus*, before the expiration of his conſulſhip, ſet out for his government of *Syria* and the *Parthian* war: but *Pompey* remained in *Italy*, though inveſted with the command of an army and the government of *Spain*; and there continued to influence all the public tranſactions. His commiſſion for the providing of corn, which expired not till the year 701, furniſhed him with a pretence for not going to his province. He is univerſally accuſed of having given way to all the diſorders of the city, and of having inflamed public diſcord with a view of forcing the Senate to create him *Dictator*; in which ſcheme he ſucceeded ſo far as to get himſelf elected *ſole Conſul* by the unanimous vote of the Senate, and the conſent even of *Cato*. But, while he was inveſted with the whole public authority in the year 701, in order to ſettle the State, he employed it to a very different purpoſe. [c] Before his law

Vid ſupr. Vol. III. b. ix. ch. 3 and 4.

Vol. III. p. 542.

ſice which the Conſul was ſolicitous ſhould be aſſigned to himſelf.

[b] *Cicero*, though he thought the law of *Meſſius* inſufferable, yet held his peace, becauſe the *Pontifices had yet decreed nothing concerning his houſe*;—*Nos tacemus*; *et eo magis, quod de domo noſtra nihil adhuc Pontifices reſponderunt*. Melm. Vol. I. p. 56. Thus were the liberties of *Rome* ſacrificed to the private purpoſes of her pretended Patriots.

[c] *Cicero* often extols *Pompey*'s third conſulſhip, ſo far as to call it *divine*; yet he influenced the Judges to condemn *Milo*, whom *Cato* loudly acquitted, while *Sauſeius* was abſolved, who headed *Milo*'s gladiators in forcing the inn where *Clodius* was killed: *Milonem reum non magis invidia facti, quam Pompeii damnavit voluntas: Quem quidem M. Cato palam lata abſolvit ſententia*. Vel. Pat. ii. 47. He employed his authority to ſave *Scipio*, though notoriouſly guilty, while he let *Hypſæus* be condemned by an *ex poſt facto* law, who had been his Quæſtor, and ever obſequious to his will. He abandoned *Scaurus*, who had ſerved under him, and to whom he left the government of *Syria* after the Mithridatic war; becauſe, ſays *Aſconius*, he took offence at *Scaurus*'s marrying *Mutia*, his divorced wife;—*in eo judicio neque Pompeius propenſum adjutorium præbuit, videbatur enim apud animum ejus non minus offenſionis contraxiſſe, quod judicium ejus in Mutiam, crimine impudicitiæ ab eo dimiſſam, levius feciſſe exiſtimaretur, cum eam ipſe probaſſet, quam gratiæ acquiſiſſe neceſſitudinis jure, quod ex eadem uterque liberos ha-*

law took place for diſqualifying all future Conſuls and Prætors from holding any province till five years after the expiration of their magiſtracy, he was careful to provide an exception for himſelf, and got the government of *Spain* continued to him for five years longer. His chief intention, after he had ſecured his own intereſt and power, was to quell the paſſions, and ſtop the ambitious purſuits of his Fellow-grandees. He was under a neceſſity, however, of providing ſomething extraordinary for his partner *Cæſar*; and he conſented to a law diſpenſing with his abſence in ſuing for the Conſulſhip. *Cælius*, Tribune of the people, who promoted this law, had been engaged to it by *Cicero*, at the joint requeſt of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*; [d] and it was carried with the concurrence of all the other Tribunes, though not without difficulty and obſtruction from the Senate. This laſt meaſure in favour of *Cæſar* was entered into by *Pompey* againſt his inclination, and he ſoon had reaſon to repent of it. *Julia*'s death had broken all his ties with her father, and that of *Craſſus* had given a new turn to their ſeveral pretenſions: His commiſſion over the corn-rents of the Empire was expired, and the laws loudly ordered him away to *Spain*, where he had no mind to go. He had been greatly careſſed of late by the Senate, who had truſted him with the whole power of the State; but the popular party was, with very good reaſon, better inclined to *Cæſar*. In theſe circumſtances he thought it adviſable to change his ſcheme of politics [e]: And, by *Cicero*'s account to *Cælius* in the very beginning of the year 702, *Pompey*

haberet. In Arg. Or. pro Scauro. He, with his father-in-law *Scipio*, reſtored alſo the cenſorſhip; but who were elected to this office? Two of the moſt notoriouſly profligate citizens of *Rome*, *Appius* and *Piſo*. How infamous muſt have been the character of *Scipio* himſelf, whom *Pompey* took for his father-in-law and collegue in the conſulſhip, if the following ſtory from *Valerius Maximus* be true: *Æque flagitioſum illud convivium, quod Gemellus Tribunicius viator ingenui ſanguinis, ſed officii intra ſervilem habitum deformis, Metello Scipioni Conſuli, ac Tribunis Plebis, magno cum rubore civitatis comparavit. Lupanari enim domi ſuæ inſtituto, Mutiam et Fulviam, tum a patre tum a viro utramque abductam, et nobilem puerum Saturninum in eo proſtituit.* Lib. ix. c. 1. *Cæſar*, in the beginning of the third book of the civil war, affirms, that many of the deciſions given at this time were ſo little conformable to law, that ſentence was often pronounced by a party of Judges different from thoſe who attended the pleadings. *Tacitus*, it may likewiſe be added, is far from giving us a favourable idea of *Pompey*'s third Conſulſhip: *Cn. Pompeius tertium Conſul, corrigendis moribus delectus, et gravior remediis quam delicta erant, ſuarumque legum auctor idem ac ſubverſor.*—An. iii. c. 28.

[d] *Well then: Shall I declare againſt* Cæſar? *Where then is the faith I plighted him? For I was the means of the diſpenſation being granted him; and, when* Cæſar *ſolicited for my vote at* RAVENNA, *at his requeſt, I brought over* Cœlius *to his party. But what do I ſay of* Cæſar? *I was ſolicited to the ſame purpoſe by our darling* Pompey *in that immortal third conſulate of his.* Yet *Cicero*, in his ſecond Philippic, affirms that he endeavoured to diſſuade *Pompey* from ſuffering this law to paſs. There are many ſuch contradictions in *Cicero*'s writings. Ad. Att. vii. 1. Philip. ii. c. 10.

[e] Septimo ferme anno Cæſar morabatur in Galliis, cum medium jam *ex invidia Pompeii* male cohærentis inter Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæſarem concordiæ pignus, *Julia* uxor Magni deceſſit; atque omnia inter deſtinatos tanto diſcrimini duces dirimente fortuna, filius quoque parvus Pompeii, Julia natus, intra breve ſpatium obiit. Tum in gla-

was quite alienated from his father-in-law [f], and aſſociate in power, without having received the leaſt provocation either real or pretended, and had reſolved to act in concert with his enemies. Hitherto, *Pompey* and *Cæſar* had joined their intereſts againſt the chief of the Nobility, and obtained from the people what the Senate would not grant; but, now that the whole power of the Empire was thrown as a kind of prize between two, it was natural that they ſhould divide, and head, reſpectively, the two permanent and diſtinct parties in the Republic, the *Ariſtocracy and the People.*

Eight years ſucceſſively had *Cæſar* conducted the *Roman* arms in *Gaul* with ſuch amazing ſucceſs as intitled him to a triumph for the actions of every campaign [g]; no wonder, therefore, that his enemies among the Nobles ſhould feel an apprehenſion of his growing power with the people, who, before the recent proofs he had given of his ſuperior military abilities, and of his amiable qualities, had in many inſtances diſtinguiſhed him by ſingular marks of their eſteem, affection, and confidence. *Pompey* too was undoubtedly jealous of his glory as a Captain, which, it muſt be confeſſed, exceeded his own; and he eaſily foreſaw that, if *Cæſar* was permitted to ſue for the conſulſhip, and to enter upon it at the expiration of his military command, he would become maſter of the Republic; and, after his magiſtracy, procure, by a law of the people, the moſt conſiderable province, with a powerful army; while he himſelf in the mean time would be obliged to withdraw to his government of *Spain.* Thus *Pompey* and the *Ariſtocracy*, though agreeing in little elſe, were induced to unite their ſtrength againſt the conqueror of *Gaul.*

A coalition was therefore formed, and a reſolution taken to revoke *Cæſar*'s command before the time was out, and to oblige him to come

gladios cædeſque civium furente ambitu, cujus neque finis reperiebatur, nec modus, tertius conſulatus ſoli Cn. Pompeio, etiam adverſantium antea dignitati ejus judicio delatus eſt: Cujus ille honoris gloria, veluti reconciliatis ſibi optimatibus, maxime a *C. Cæſare* alienatus eſt. *Vell. Pat. lib.* ii. 47.

[f] "I paſſed ſeveral days with *Pompey*, "converſing with him on nothing elſe but "the Republic:——Take this from me, "that *Pompey is an excellent citizen*, prepared both with courage and counſel for all "events which can be foreſeen: Wherefore give yourſelf up to the man; believe "me, he will embrace you; *for he now "holds the ſame opinion with us of good and "bad citizens.*" Ep. Fam. xi. 8. Melm. III. 28. "I left *Pompey an excellent citizen*, "and in readineſs againſt all events which "we may dread." *Ad Att.* iv. 8.

[g] Novemque æſtatibus vix ulla non juſtiſſimus triumphus emeritus. *Vel. Pat.* L. ii. c. 47. Dicam enim ex animo, Patres conſcripti, quod ſentio, et quod vobis audientibus ſæpe jam dixi. Si mihi nunquam amicus C. Cæſar fuiſſet, ſed ſemper iratus: Si, aſpernaretur amicitiam meam, ſeſeque mihi implacabilem inexpiabilemque præberet, tamen ei, cum tantas res geſſiſſet gereretque quotidie, non amicus eſſe non poſſem. Cujus ego imperio non Alpium vallum contra adſcenſum tranſgreſſionemque Gallorum, non Rheni foſſam, gurgitibus illis redundantem, Germanorum immaniſſimis gentibus objicio et oppono. Perfecit ille, ut, ſi montes reſediſſent, amnes exaruiſſent non naturæ præſidio, ſed victoriâ ſuâ, rebuſque geſtis Italiam munitam haberemus. *Cic. in Piſ.*

as a private man to ſue for the conſulſhip; in which caſe he had been expoſed to the mercy of his enemies, and *Cato* had threatened publicly to bring him to a trial. But this reſolution was very difficult to be put into practice, as it would neceſſarily occaſion, as a previous ſtep, the *repeal of two laws*, the one made by the Senate itſelf, the other by the people, with the unanimous concurrence of the Tribunes, and with the approbation of *Pompey*.

The Conſuls for the year 702 were *Servius Sulpitius* and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, who had been elected by the joint intereſt of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*. *Cato* had ſtood candidate with them; but, having diſpleaſed the people by an ill-timed ſeverity, he was rejected. *Plutarch* informs us, that he had obtained a decree from the Senate, ordering the candidates to make intereſt by themſelves, and not by their friends; ſo that the people were deprived not only of their uſual bribes, but of the ſatisfaction of being courted: And he refuſed alſo, ſays the ſame author, to condeſcend to that ſubmiſſive manner of ſoliciting which is common on ſuch occaſions, and behaved with great ſtate, *chuſing rather to preſerve the dignity of his character, than to acquire the dignity of Conſul.* On the very day he had loſt his election, as if quite unconcerned for what had happened, he was ſeen in the *Campus Martius* playing at tennis; a behaviour which *Plutarch* greatly extols, but which might have been nothing elſe but an affectation of ſingularity, or a conſequence of that haughty rage, which made him declare, that he would no more ſtand candidate for any magiſtracy.

Marcellus, [h] intirely devoted to *Pompey*, was no ſooner entered into office, than he began the attack upon *Cæſar*, by declaring his intention to abrogate immediately his command, and to appoint him a ſucceſſor, alleging that the war in *Gaul* was now brought to a concluſion. But he was ſtopped for ſome months in this purſuit, probably by *Pompey*'s falling ill ſoon after his promotion to the conſulſhip, and by the oppoſition of his collegue *Sulpitius*, [i] who, being of a more moderate temper, and

Suet. in Cæſ. cap. xxviii. Dio. l. xl. p. 148.

[h] Dr. *Middleton*, *Vol.* II. *p.* 196, has given the following character of him: "He was "the head of a family, which, for a ſucceſſion of many ages, had made the firſt "figure in *Rome*; and was himſelf adorned "with all the virtues that could qualify him "to ſuſtain that dignity which he derived "from his noble anceſtors. He had formed "himſelf in a particular manner for the bar, "where he ſoon acquired great fame; and, "of all the orators of his time, ſeems to "have approached the neareſt to *Cicero* "himſelf in the character of a complete "ſpeaker. His manner of ſpeaking was "elegant, ſtrong, and copious; with a "ſweetneſs of voice, and propriety of action, "that added a grace and luſtre to every "thing that he ſaid. He was a conſtant "admirer and imitator of *Cicero*; and of "the ſame principles in peace, and on the "ſame ſide in war." His fierceneſs, however, it may be remarked, againſt *Cæſar*, ſo ill-timed, gives us no great idea of his prudence or his honour: It was this probably which procured the conſulſhip ſucceſſively to two of his relations.

[i] "*Sulpitius* was of a noble and patrician "family, of the ſame age, the ſame ſtudies, "and the ſame principles with *Cicero*, with "whom he kept up a perpetual friendſhip.

"They

and addicted to neither faction, over-ruled his motions. The enemies of *Cæſar* contented themſelves therefore with making vows for the ſucceſs of the *Bellovaci*, with whom he was engaged in war; and for the deſtruction of the *Roman* General. *Marcellus* had alſo made ſome attempt to deprive *Novum Comum*, a colony, which *Cæſar*, when Conſul, had ſettled at the foot of the *Alps*, of the freedom of the city, granted to it by a law preferred by *Vatinius*. He was likewiſe fruſtrated in this deſign, yet reſolved to have no regard to the privilege of the colony; and, having caught a *Comenſian* Magiſtrate, who was acting the citizen at *Rome*, he ordered him to be ſeized, and publicly whipped; an indignity from which all citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man go, and ſhew theſe marks of his citizenſhip to *Cæſar* [k].

Suet. in Cæſ. 28.

The elections of Magiſtrates for the enſuing year engaged the attention of the city in the months of *July* and *Auguſt*; and *Pompey*'s faction ge-

"They went through their exerciſes toge-
"ther when young, both at *Rome*, and at
"*Rhodes*, in the celebrated ſchool of *Molo*:
"Whence he became an eminent pleader of
"cauſes, and paſſed through all the great
"offices of the State, with a ſingular repu-
"tation of wiſdom, learning, and integrity;
"a conſtant admirer of the modeſty of the
"ancients; and a reprover of the inſolence of
"his own times. When he could not arrive
"at the firſt degree of fame, as an Orator,
"he reſolved to excel in what was next to
"it, the character of a Lawyer; chuſing
"rather to be the firſt, in the ſecond art,
"than the ſecond only in the firſt: Leaving
"therefore to *Cicero* the field of eloquence,
"he contented himſelf with ſuch a ſhare of
"it as was ſufficient to ſuſtain and adorn the
"profeſſion of the law. In this he ſuc-
"ceeded to his wiſh; and was far ſuperior
"to all who had ever profeſſed it in *Rome*;
"being the firſt who reduced it to a proper
"ſcience, or rational ſyſtem; and added
"light and method to that which all others
"before him had taught darkly and con-
"fuſedly. Nor was his knowledge con-
"fined to the external forms, or the effects
"of the Municipal laws; but enlarged by
"a comprehenſive view of univerſal equity,
"which he made the interpreter of its ſanc-
"tions, and the rule of all his deciſions;
"yet he was always better pleaſed to put an
"amicable end to a controverſy, than to di-
"rect a proceſs at law. In his political be-
"haviour he was always a friend to peace
"and liberty; moderating the violence of
"oppoſite parties, and diſcouraging every
"ſtep towards civil diſſenſion; and, in the
"wars which enſued, he was ſo buſy in con-
"triving projects of an accommodation, that
"he gained the name of *the peace-maker*.
"Through a natural timidity of temper,
"confirmed by a profeſſion and courſe of
"life averſe from arms, though he preferred
"*Pompey*'s cauſe as the beſt, he did not care
"to fight for it; but, taking *Cæſar*'s to be
"the ſtrongeſt, ſuffered his ſon to follow
"that camp, while he himſelf continued
"quiet and neuter: For this he was ho-
"noured by *Cæſar*, yet could never be in-
"duced to approve his government. From
"the time of *Cæſar*'s death, he continued
"ſtill to adviſe and promote all meaſures
"which ſeemed likely to eſtabliſh the pub-
"lic concord; and died at laſt, as he lived,
"in the very act and office of *peace-mak-
"ing*." *Middl. p.* 361.

[k] "All the other colonies on that ſide of
"the *Po* had before obtained from *Pom-
"pey*'s father the rights of *Latium*, [Jus
"Latii] that is, the freedom of the city of
"*Rome* to thoſe which had borne an annual
"magiſtracy in them. Hence *Cicero* blames
"this act of *Marcellus* as violent and unjuſt.
"*Marcellus*, ſays he, *behaved ſhamefully
"in the caſe of the Comenſian; for, if the
"man had never been a Magiſtrate, he was
"yet of a colony beyond the Po; ſo that Pom-
"pey will not be leſs ſhocked at it than Cæſar
"himſelf.*" Middl. p. 44. Thoſe who had not been Magiſtrates might give their votes in the aſſemblies of *Rome*, if ordered by the preſiding Magiſtrate to vote in ſuch a tribe: But only the Magiſtrates could pretend to any office:

generally prevailed. *C. Claudius Marcellus* and *L. Paulus* [l] were choſen Conſuls. The firſt, who was couſin-german to *M. Marcellus*, carried his ſuit in competition with *Calidius*, an eminent orator and friend to *Cæſar*, and was zealouſly attached to *Pompey*. The ſecond ſet out alſo in his adminiſtration with principles agreeable to thoſe of his collegue.

Marcus Cælius, *Cicero*'s friend and correſpondent, obtained the ædileſhip this year. He had been Tribune of the people in *Pompey*'s third conſulſhip, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that office by his zeal for *Milo*, and was reputed of the ariſtocratical faction [m].

Curio likewiſe obtained the tribunate, which he ſought with no other deſign, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying *Cæſar*, againſt whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceneſs. He [n] was a young Nobleman of great parts, ſpirit, and eloquence; but addicted be-

[l] *Cicero* wrote congratulatory letters to them both from *Cilicia*, and another to *M. Marcellus*, which, as it informs us how the Conſuls thoughts were taken up before the elections, we ſhall inſert it here:

To *Marcus Marcellus*, Conſul.

"I very warmly congratulate you on "your relation *Caius Marcellus* being e- "lected to ſucceed you: As I ſincerely re- "joice in your having received this happy "fruit of your pious affection to your fa- "mily, of your patriot-zeal to your coun- "try, and of your illuſtrious deportment in "the conſular office. I can eaſily imagine "the ſentiments which your addreſs on this "occaſion has created in *Rome*; and as to "myſelf, whom you have ſent to theſe far "diſtant parts of the globe; believe me, I "ſpeak of it with the higheſt and moſt un- "feigned applauſe. I can with ſtrict truth "aſſure you, that I have ever had a particu- "lar attachment to you from your earlieſt "youth: As I am ſenſible, you have al- "ways ſhewn by your generous offices in "promoting my dignities, that you deemed "me worthy of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ho- "nours. But this late inſtance of your "judicious management in procuring the "conſulſhip for *Marcellus*, together with "the proof it affords of the favour in which "you ſtand with the Republic, has raiſed "you ſtill higher in my eſteem. It is with "great complacency, therefore, I hear it "obſerved by men of the firſt diſtinction for "ſenſe and merit, that, in all our words and "actions, our taſtes and ſtudies, our princi- "ples and purſuits, we bear a ſtrong reſem- "blance to each other. The only circum- "ſtance, that can render your glorious con- "ſulate ſtill more agreeable to me, will be "your procuring a ſucceſſor to be nomina- "ted to this province as ſoon as poſſible. "But if this cannot be obtained; let me "intreat you at leaſt not to ſuffer my conti- "nuance here to be prolonged beyond the "time limited by your decree, and the law "which paſſed for that purpoſe. In a word, "I hope upon all occaſions to experience "in my abſence the benefit of your friend- "ſhip and protection. Farewell." *Ep. Fam.* xv. 9. *Melm.* iii. 35.

[m] See ſome account of him, Vol. III. p. 483. and 550.

[n] "The circumſtance of *Curio*'s ſtanding "candidate for the tribuneſhip", ſays *Cælius* "in a letter to *Cicero*, in 702, greatly "alarms thoſe who are unacquainted with "the real good qualities of *Curio*'s heart. "I hope, and indeed believe, he will act "agreeably to his profeſſions, and join with "the Senate in ſupporting the friends of the "Republic. I am ſure, at leaſt, he is full "of theſe deſigns at preſent; in which "*Cæſar*'s conduct has been the principal "occaſion of engaging him. For *Cæſar*, "though he ſpares no pains or expence to "gain over even the loweſt of the people to "his intereſt, has thought fit to treat *Curio* "with ſingular contempt. The latter has "behaved with ſo much temper upon this "occaſion, that he, who never acted with "artifice in all his life, is ſuſpected to have "diſſembled his reſentment, in order the "more effectually to defeat the ſchemes of "thoſe who oppoſe his election; I mean "the *Lælii* and the *Antonii*, together with "the reſt of that wonderful party." Ep Fam. viii. 4. Melm. iii. 32.

yond

yond all meaſure or modeſty to the prevailing luxury and gallantries of a moſt diſſolute age. In his youth, he had been the leader of the young Nobility, and a warm aſſertor of the authority of the Senate againſt the power of the Triumvirate. Upon his firſt taſte of public honours, his ambition and thirſt of popularity had engaged him in ſuch expence and prodigality, that, to ſupply the magnificence of his ſhews and plays, he had contracted an immenſe debt.

The Conſul *Marcellus*, who, when taken up in theſe elections, had ſeemed to have dropped the deſign of abrogating *Cæſar*'s proconſular power [o], upon which he was ſo intent in the beginning of his magiſtracy, reſumed the affair after the Conſuls were choſen. Ep. Fam. viii. 4. Melm. iii. 32. [Dated Aug. 1, 702.] "At a meeting of the Senate [ſays *Cælius* to *Cicero*] held on *the* "22*d of July*, in the temple of *Apollo* [p], upon a debate relating to the "payment of the forces commanded by *Pompey*, mention was made of "that legion, which, as appeared by his accounts, had been lent to "*Cæſar*; and he was aſked of what number of men it conſiſted, and "for what purpoſe it was borrowed? In ſhort, *Pompey* was puſhed ſo "ſtrongly upon this article, that he found himſelf under a neceſſity of "promiſing to recal this legion out of *Gaul*; but he added at the ſame "time, that the clamours of his enemies ſhould not force him to take "this ſtep too precipitately. *It was afterwards moved, that the queſtion "might be put concerning the election of a ſucceſſor to Cæſar.* Accordingly "the Senate came to a reſolution that *Pompey* (who was juſt going to the "army at *Ariminum* [q], and did immediately after ſet out for that purpoſe)

[o] "*Marcellus*, ſays *Cælius* to *Cicero*, has "dropped the deſign upon which he was "lately ſo intent: But not ſo much from "indolence, I believe, as prudence." *Ep. Fam.* viii. 2. *Melm.* iii. 29.

[p] The temple of *Apollo* was ſituated without the town, and the Senate was aſſembled there, that *Pompey*, who was actually Governor of *Spain*, and commanded a conſiderable army, might be preſent: And all the matter of this deliberation had been probably concerted with him.

[q] This army was probably part of the four legions which were decreed to *Pompey* for the ſupport of his government of *Spain*. He feigned at this time a reſolution of going to that province which was oppoſed by *Cæſar*'s enemies and *Cicero* himſelf. The laſt writes thus to *Atticus* on the *6th of July*: Ad. Att. v. 11. "It appeared to me likewiſe as if "*Pompey* (according to what you wrote me "*Varro* had ſaid) would moſt certainly go "to *Spain*. *This reſolution by no means met "with my approbation. I eaſily made* Theophanes * *ſenſible that he could do nothing "better than to remain where he was.* That "*Græcian* therefore will do all he can "to detain him, and indeed I know that "*Pompey* has a great deference for his opinion." From this it appears that *Cicero* and all the Ariſtocratics thought, that on *Pompey*'s preſence reſted the ſafety of what they called the *Republic*.

In another letter to his friend *Atticus*, he writes: "As to the affairs of *Rome*, we "have ugly accounts of *Curio* and *Paulus*; "not that I ſee any danger while we have "*Pompey*: Let him only keep his health, "and we are ſafe." [*Non quo ullum periculum videam ſtante Pompeio, vel etiam ſedente; valeat modo.*] "But I am concerned for my friends *Curio* and *Paulus*." *Ad Att.* vi. 3. Yet the ſame *Cicero* has the confidence, in a ſubſequent letter, written to *Aulus Cæcina*, in 707,

* A learned *Greek* of *Mitylene*, who was *Pompey*'s conſtant companion, and wrote his life.

" purpoſe) ſhould be ordered to return to *Rome* with all expedition; " *that the affair relating to a general election of new governors for all the* " *provinces might be debated in his preſence.* This point, adds *Cælius*, I " imagine will be brought before the Senate on *the 13th of this month*; " when, if no infamous obſtacles ſhould be thrown in the way by the " Tribunes, the Houſe will certainly come to ſome reſolution; for " *Pompey*, in the courſe of the debate, let fall an intimation, that he " thought every man owed obedience to the authority of that Aſſem- " bly."

Thus the Senate threw themſelves precipitately into the arms of *Pompey*. The affair was not debated on *the 13th of Auguſt*, becauſe *Marcellus*, though he had exerted himſelf in the purſuit of his deſign, was not able to aſſemble a complete number of Senators. Many abſented themſelves, being in *Cæſar*'s intereſt; others were backward, becauſe they ſaw that theſe motions tended to a rupture, and that nothing could be legally determined; the Tribunes of *Cæſar*'s party being always ready to interpoſe their negative. At laſt, an Aſſembly was held on the *30th of September*; and *Pompey*, who, in a preceding meeting, had opened himſelf ſo far as to declare, that *Cæſar ought not to be admitted as a candidate for the conſulſhip, whilſt he retained his command in Gaul*, now let fall an expreſſion which was much obſerved, and gave, ſays *Cælius* to *Cicero*, confident hopes of his good intentions; *that he could not, without great injuſtice, determine any thing in relation to the provinces under Cæſar's command before the 1ſt of March*; *but that, after that time, he ſhould have no ſort of ſcruple.* It was reſolved accordingly by the Senate, *that the Conſuls elect*, L. PAULUS *and* C. METELLUS, *ſhould move them on the 1ſt of March to ſettle the conſular provinces*; *and, if any Magiſtrate ſhould interpoſe to hinder the effect of their decrees, that he ſhould be deemed an enemy to the Republic*; *and, if any one actually interpoſed, that this vote and reſolution ſhould be entered into the journals as an order of the*

707, to affirm ſolemnly, that he always adviſed *Pompey* to go to his government, and boaſts, at the ſame time, of his having never been deceived in the foreſight of future events. " Now, if the principles" ſays he, " of the *Etruſcan* ſcience, in which you " were inſtructed by your illuſtrious and ex- " cellent father, did not deceive you with " reſpect to me; neither will my preſages " be leſs infallible with regard to you. " They are derived, indeed, not only from " the maxims and records of the moſt diſ- " tinguiſhed ſages, whoſe writings, you well " know, I have ſtudied with great applica- " tion; but from a long experience in pub- " lic affairs, and from having paſſed through " various ſcenes both of proſperity and ad- " verſity. I have the ſtronger reaſon to " confide in this method of divination, *as* " *it has never once deceived me, during all theſe* " *dark and diſtracted times: Inſomuch that,* " *were I to mention my predictions, I am afraid* " *you would ſuſpect that I framed them after* " *the events I pretend to have foretold.*—— " *I always gave it as my opinion, that Pom-* " *pey ſhould go to his government of* SPAIN: " With which if he had happily complied, " we ſhould never have been involved in " this fatal civil war."—*Ep. Fam.* vi. 6. *Melm.* ix. 34. This is moſt evidently falſe; and we ſhall ſee him out in his politics in almoſt every circumſtance: Yet *Cornelius Nepos*, and all *Cicero*'s Commentators, have taken his word for it, and are aſtoniſhed at his prophetic diſcernment.

Senate to be conſidered ſome other time by the Houſe, and laid before the people. In this ſame Aſſembly, *Pompey* being aſked, *what if a negative ſhould be put on the 1ſt of March, upon the decree for recalling Cæſar?* He declared, that he looked upon it juſt as the ſame thing, whether *Cæſar* openly refuſed to obey the orders of the Senate, or ſecretly procured ſome Magiſtrate to obſtruct them. *What*, ſaid another, *if he ſhould inſiſt on being Conſul, and holding his province alſo? What*, replied *Pompey*, *if my ſon ſhould take a ſtick, and beat me?* From expreſſions of this kind, it was generally conceived that a rupture would undoubtedly enſue between *Pompey* and *Cæſar:* And indeed the votes of the Senate, and the meaſures taken at the ſame time by *Pompey*, were no leſs than a declaration of war againſt *Cæſar*, who loſt no time to prepare himſelf againſt this attack of his enemies. As ſoon as he had vanquiſhed the *Bellovaci*, he applied himſelf to quiet the affairs of his province, that he might be able to give all his attention to the city, and have his army in readineſs to ſupport him. At the ſame time he left no ſtone unturned to procure friends among the Magiſtrates of the enſuing year. He firſt attempted to gain *C. Marcellus*; but, finding him too rigid, he addreſſed himſelf to *L. Paulus*, to whom he is ſaid to have given 1500 talents, or about three hundred thouſand pounds, which he employed in building a noble palace adjoining to the Forum. He gave a much greater ſum to the Tribune *Curio*, who, by his prodigalities, had not only waſted his immenſe fortune, but had contracted a debt of ſix hundred thouſand ſeſterces, or about half a million [r]. The Conſul and Tribune agreed therefore, ſecretly, to ſuffer nothing prejudicial to *Cæſar*'s intereſt to paſs during their magiſtracy; but both continued to appear in the party of *Pompey* [s].

Ep. Fam. viii. 10. Melm. iv. 14.

In the laſt months of this year, the city was greatly alarmed by the news ſent them by *Caſſius* of an invaſion of the *Parthians*. As the Senate had no opinion of the military ſkill of *Bibulus* and *Cicero*, who governed in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, the two frontier provinces, ſome were of opinion that the command ſhould be given to *Pompey*; and he himſelf ſeemed to reliſh the propoſition [t]. This project would ſerve his ends in *Aſia*, and would furniſh a pretext for ſtaying in *Italy*, and taking from *Cæſar* two of his legions. Others were for aſſigning this expedition

[r] Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus ſpoliis, et Cæſaris auro.
Lucan. Lib. iv. 819.
Caught by the ſpoils of *Gaul*, and *Cæſar*'s gold,
Curio turn'd traitor, and his country ſold.
The *vendidit hic auro Patriam* of *Virgil* is alſo applied to the caſe of *Curio*. *Servius.*

[s] "As for *Paulus*," ſays *Cælius*, in a letter to *Cicero*, dated *the 18th of Nov.* "he "declares moſt vehemently againſt ſuffering "*Cæſar* to continue in *Gaul*, and our friend "*Furnius* is the only Tribune, whom I ſuſ- "pect of obſtructing his meaſures for that "purpoſe: *Curio*," ſays he, in the ſame letter, "I foreſee will undertake two things; "he will in the firſt place attempt to weaken "the authority of *Cæſar*; and in the next "endeavour to throw ſome little advantages "on the ſide of *Pompey*." Ep. Fam. viii. x. Melm. iv. 14.

[t] "I ſhall be able," ſays *Cicero* to *Atticus*, "with the reinforcement of *Dejotarus*, "to keep the *Parthians* in play *till Pompey* "*arrives: His letter informs me that he will* "*be appointed to that command.*" Ad Att. vi. 1.

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to *Cæſar* and his army; and many named the Conſuls as the moſt proper perſons to be employed. And theſe Magiſtrates, in the apprehenſion that they would either be nominated to a commiſſion, which they did not reliſh, or ſuffer the diſgrace of its being delegated to others, forbore to convene the Senate; though they thereby incurred the cenſure of neglecting the public intereſt. But whether indolence, or puſillanimity, was the real motive of their declining the conduct of the war, it was concealed under the ſpecious appearance of modeſty; and thus the year was ſpun out without doing any effectual buſineſs. The Senate, however, with a view to weaken *Cæſar*, taking advantage of the general apprehenſion of an irruption of the *Parthians* into *Syria*, ordered that *Pompey* and *Cæſar* ſhould each of them furniſh a legion to be ſent into that province. But *Pompey*, inſtead of giving one of his, called for that which he had formerly lent to *Cæſar*; and *Appius* was diſpatched to take the command of it, and to bring it into *Italy*. *Cæſar*, though he eaſily ſaw through the policy of his enemies, obeyed without demur the decree of the Senate, and not only delivered to *Appius Pompey*'s legion, but alſo the 15th cantoned at that time in *hither Gaul*, which was immediately replaced by the thirteenth. *Plutarch* ſays that he gave to each ſoldier of the two legions 250 drachms, about 8 l. ſterling; a circumſtance which *Cæſar* himſelf has not mentioned. Theſe troops were no ſooner arrived in *Italy*, but they had quarters aſſigned them in *Campania*, near *Capua*, inſtead of being ſent into *Syria*.

L. Æmilius Paulus,
C. Claudius Marcellus, } Conſuls.

The beginning of the year 703 was very quiet, but the calm ſoon ended in a mighty tempeſt. *Curio*, who had already ſold himſelf to *Cæſar*, and who had hitherto acted inſidiouſly with the friends of *Pompey*, and even ſigned the decrees of the Senate againſt *Cæſar*, was now looking out for a pretext to quarrel with his party: With this view he applied to the Pontifical College for an *intercalation*, in order to lengthen out the period of his tribunitian miniſtry; and, the prieſts rejecting his demand, their refuſal furniſhed him with the pretence he wanted, and gave a colour, ſuch as it was, to the deſertion he had long meditated. He inſtantly declared againſt the Senate, and harangued the people in favour of *Cæſar*, threatening, at the ſame time, to propoſe not only an *agrarian* and a *viarian* law [u], but a law alſo which would

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[u] *Conſules autem habemus ſumma diligentia: Adhuc ſenatuſconſultum niſi de feriis Latinis nullum facere potuerunt. Curioni noſtro tribunatus conglaciat: Sed dici non poteſt quomodo hic omnia jaceant: Niſi ego cum tabernariis et aquariis pugnarem, veternus civitatem occupaſſet . . . . . Quod tibi ſupra ſcripſi Curionem frigere, jam calet. Nam ferventiſſimè concerpitur. Leviſſimè enim, quia de intercalando non obtinuerat, transfugit ad populum et pro Cæſare loqui cœpit*; legemque viariam non diſſimilem agrariæ Rulli et alimentariam, quas jubet ædiles metiri, jactavit. *Hoc nondum fecerat, cum priorem epiſtolæ partem ſcripſi. Cœlius Ciceroni. He threatens likewiſe to propoſe a viarian law, ſomewhat of the ſame tendency with the agrarian one which was formerly attempted by Rullus.* Ep. Fam. viii. 16. Melm. v. 5.

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impower the ædiles to diſtribute corn among the people. Theſe motions, however, ſoon gave way to one that was more important and intereſting. *C. Marcellus* propoſed, on the *1ſt of March*, the affair of the conſular provinces, as it had been ordered by the vote of the Senate of *the 30th of September*. *Paulus*, the other Conſul, was ſilent; but *Curio*, after giving his approbation to the propoſition, demanded that *Pompey* ſhould likewiſe be ordered to renounce the government of *Spain*, and the command of the legions allotted to him; declaring, that the Republic could never be free, till both he and *Cæſar* were reduced to the condition of private citizens; and that, if the one was continued in command, the other ought not to be ſtripped of his authority; which, in that caſe, was neceſſary to preſerve the balance, and to prevent the Republic from being at the diſpoſal of one man. The Senate, not being willing to make a decree ſo contrary to the intereſt of *Pompey*, rejected the Tribune's propoſal; who, in return, put his negative on every other reſolution.

402 Conf. Appian. Bel. Civ. l. ii.

Ibid. When the news of the debate reached *Pompey*, who was then in *Campania*, he wrote, with a falſe modeſty which deceived no-body, "that, "whatever honours had been heaped upon him, they had been freely "granted him by the good-will of his fellow-citizens, without his ever "ſoliciting any: That, lately, he had been forced into a third conſul-"ſhip, and to take the government of *Spain* for another five years; and "that they ſhould always find him ready to reſign, at their will, an em-"ployment which he had received with reluctance." Theſe proteſtations he even renewed on his return to *Rome*; but *Curio*, who was not to be put off with fair words, inſiſted upon his carrying his promiſes into execution, aſſuring him of a like ſubmiſſion from *Cæſar*.

There were freſh debates upon this ſubject; and *Cælius* has given the following accounts of them to *Cicero*: "As to political affairs; the ef-"forts of all parties are at preſent directed to a ſingle point: And "the general conteſt ſtill is, in relation to the provinces. *Pompey* ſeems "to unite in earneſt with the Senate, *that the 13th of November may be* "*limited for Cæſar's reſigning his government*. *Curio*, on the contrary, is "determined to oppoſe this to the utmoſt; and, accordingly, has relin-"quiſhed all his other ſchemes, in order to apply his whole ſtrength to "the

Ep. Fam. viii. 12. Melm. vi. 6.

This place muſt be corrupted; for the *viarian* and *agrarian* laws were different. The former regarded the keeping of the high roads in repair, and regulated the equipages of travellers, impoſing a tax on them; and the latter is thus explained by *Cælius*, in a letter written in the end of the year 702: "I forgot to mention that *Curio* deſigns to "make an attempt to procure a diviſion of "the lands in *Campania*: it is pretended "that *Cæſar* does not concern himſelf in "this matter; certain however it is, that "*Pompey* is very deſirous of having the diſtri-"bution ſettled before *Cæſar*'s return, that "he may be precluded from applying them "to his own purpoſes." *Ep. Fam.* viii. 10. *Melm.* iv. 14. *Cæſar's agrarian* law had not probably been executed in its whole extent, and *Curio* meant to carry the remaining part into execution. *Cælius* compares the *agrarian* law of *Curio* to that of *Rullus*, to ſhew his diſapprobation of it.

" the affair in queſtion. As to our party, you well know their irreſo- Year of
" lution; and conſequently will readily believe me when I tell you they ROME,
" have not the ſpirit to puſh their oppoſition to the laſt extremity. The 703,
" whole myſtery of the ſcene in ſhort is this: *Pompey*, that he may not Before Chr.
" ſeem to oppoſe *Cæſar*, or to aim at any thing but what the latter ſhall 49.
" think perfectly equitable, repreſents *Curio* as acting in this affair 402 Conſ.
" merely upon his own authority, and with no other view than to create
" diſturbances. It is certain, at the ſame time, that *Pompey* is much
" averſe to *Cæſar*'s being elected Conſul before he ſhall have delivered
" up his government, together with the command of his army: And
" indeed he ſeems to be extremely apprehenſive of the conſequences, if
" it ſhould prove otherwiſe. In the mean time he is ſeverely attacked
" by *Curio*: Who is perpetually reproaching him with deviating from
" the principles on which he acted in his ſecond conſulſhip. Take my
" word for it, notwithſtanding all the difficulties they may throw in
" *Curio*'s way, *Cæſar* will never want a friend to riſe up in his cauſe:
" And if the whole turns, as they ſeem to fear, upon his procuring
" ſome Tribune to interpoſe his negative to their decrees, I will venture
" to pronounce that he may remain in *Gaul* as long as he ſhall think
" proper."

" Do you know, my dear *Cicero*, what a victory *Curio* has lately ob- Ep. Fam.
" tained in relation to the provinces? The Senate, in purſuance of a viii. 13.
" former order, having aſſembled to conſider of the obſtruction which Melm. vi.
" ſome of the Tribunes had given to their decree; *M. Marcellus* moved 8.
" that the application might be made to thoſe Magiſtrates to withdraw
" their proteſt: *But it was carried in the negative by a conſiderable ma-*
" *jority.* *Pompey* is at preſent in ſuch delicate circumſtances, that he
" will ſcarce find any meaſures, I believe, perfectly to his ſatisfaction.
" The Senate, however, ſeem to intend, by the reſolution I juſt now
" mentioned, *that Cæſar ſhall be admitted as a candidate for the conſulſhip,*
" *notwithſtanding he ſhould refuſe to reſign his government.*" *Cicero* ſpeaks
of this reſolution in a letter to *Atticus*, and produces it as a proof that Ad. Att.
the intentions of the Senate were not true to the intereſt of the Com- vii. 7.
monwealth: " For, had the motion," ſays he, " of *Marcellus* been vigo-
" rouſly ſupported, *Curio*'s oppoſition would have been vain, and
" *Cæſar* muſt neceſſarily have reſigned his command." But this mea-
ſure had been certainly unconſtitutional: And *Pompey*, who had often
ſhewn himſelf ungrateful to his friends, and cruel to his enemies, had
no merit with the greater part of the Senate, *comparatively* with *Cæſar*,
who never courted them, but relied intirely upon the people, while his
antagoniſt, as induced by his intereſt, had applied to the one and to the
other.

" As to political affairs; I have often mentioned to you, that I ima- Ep. Fam.
" gined the public tranquillity could not poſſibly be preſerved beyond viii. 14.
" the preſent year: And the nearer we approach to thoſe contentions, Melm. vi.
15.

" which

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" which muſt inevitably ariſe, the more evident this danger appears. " For *Pompey* is determined moſt ſtrenuouſly to oppoſe *Cæſar*'s being " Conſul, unleſs he reſigns his command: And *Cæſar*, on the contrary, " is perſuaded that he cannot be ſafe upon thoſe terms. *He has* offered, " however, to throw up his commiſſion, provided *Pompey* will do the " ſame. And thus their very ſuſpicious alliance will probably end at " laſt in an open war . . . . . With reſpect to our preſent diviſions, I " foreſee that the Senate, together with the whole order of Judges, will " declare in favour of *Pompey:* And that all thoſe of deſperate fortunes, " or who are obnoxious to the laws, will liſt themſelves under the ban- " ners of *Cæſar*. As to their armies, I am perſuaded there will be a " great inequality. . . . . But to anſwer your queſtion in a few words, " concerning my ſentiments of public affairs; if one or other of our " Chiefs ſhould not be employed againſt the *Parthians*, I am perſuaded " great *diſſenſions* will ſoon enſue: *diſſenſions*, my friend, *which nothing* " *can terminate but the ſword, and which each of them ſeem well inclined and* " *prepared to draw.*" [x]

The conſular elections were carried by *Pompey* and his party. *Sergius Galba*, a Lieutenant of *Cæſar*, who ſtood candidate, was rejected; and *L. Lentulus Crus* and *C. Marcellus*, his fierceſt enemies, were choſen.

Cæſar, after the campaign of the year 702, had made it his bu-

[x] Theſe accounts are the moſt authentic we have: What *Suetonius*, or *Plutarch*, or *Appian*, add to them, cannot be depended upon, being full of blunders and abſurdities. The relations, nevertheleſs, of theſe authors, are copied by almoſt every writer of *Roman* hiſtory. *Appian* talks of a *debate* in the Senate, in which the Conſul *C. Marcellus* having put the queſtion ſeparately, firſt, whether they were of opinion that *Pompey* ſhould lay down his command, the majority anſwered in the negative: Then putting the queſtion, whether a ſucceſſor ſhould be named to *Cæſar?* All agreed to it. But that *Curio*, re-uniting what the Conſul had ſeparated, put to the vote another queſtion, Whether they ſhould not both be ordered to diſmiſs their armies; twenty-one rejected it, and 370 anſwered in the affirmative; *all*, ſays he, *affectionate to the public good:* Whereupon the Conſul diſmiſſed the Aſſembly, crying, *Well then, take Cæſar for your maſter.* He adds, that ſoon after, a falſe rumour coming that *Cæſar* had paſſed the *Alps*, and was marching directly to *Rome*, the city was alarmed, and the Conſuls propoſed to the Senate to ſend for the legions at *Capua*, to employ them againſt him as an enemy to the State; but that, upon *Curio*'s declaring the report to be falſe, the Conſul, in great wrath, ſaid: *Since, in conſulting with the Senate*, I am hindered to provide for the ſafety *of the commonwealth, I will provide alone, according to the power I am intruſted with.* Then, ruſhing out of the city with his collegue, [who was *L. Æmilius Paulus*, *Cæſar*'s faſt friend] and preſenting a ſword to *Pompey*, *we order you*, ſaid he, *my collegue and I, to march againſt Cæſar, and fight for your country*; and, to *that end, we give you the command of the army at Capua, and all the forces in Italy; with power to raiſe troops at your diſcretion.* Pompey declared he would obey them, becauſe it was their command; adding, however, theſe words, *if no better expedient can be found.* *Plutarch* has much the ſame tale, but has added, moſt ridiculouſly, that the Senate followed the Conſul, and that the whole city put on mourning. *Dio* has adopted only a part of the ſtory, and tells us that the ſubject of the debate was, whether *Curio* ſhould be turned out of the Senate; *Appius*, the Cenſor, having declared that, in his judgment, he ought to be degraded. He obſerves, that only *C. Marcellus* and the two Conſuls elect went to *Pompey*. *Lib.* xl. *p.* 151.

ſineſs

fineſs in the winter-ſeaſon to pacify his province, and to take away all occaſion of future inſurrections. He treated the cities honourably; rewarding generouſly the Noblemen and Leading-men, and did not burden the country with new impoſitions. In the ſpring, he haſtened into *Italy*, under the pretence of aſſiſting his Quæſtor *Antony* in his ſuit for the augurate; but in reality to take a nearer view of the tranſactions in the city, and to encourage his party there. The news therefore which he received of *Antony*'s[y] ſucceſs, before he reached *Italy*, did not ſtop him. It was then time to thank the municipal towns for the aſſiſtance they had given his friend upon his recommendation, and to recommend unto them his own caſe touching the conſulate, which he purpoſed to apply for the next year. He was received with extraordinary reſpect and affection: All the people came forth to meet him; ſacrifices were offered over the whole country; and the gates where he was to paſs, the market-places, and the temples were adorned as in a day of triumph. After making his tour through the municipal towns, and agreeing with his friends at *Rome*, he left *T. Labienus* to command in *Italy*, and went himſelf into *Gaul* to review his army and put it in readineſs to act on the firſt call.

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In the end of the year 703, he returned to *Italy*: And, when he came thither, he found that the two legions which he had diſmiſſed, and which, by the decree of the Senate, ſhould have been employed againſt the *Parthians*, had been delivered to *Pompey* by *C. Marcellus*, the Conſul, and were kept in the neighbourhood of the city, and that every meaſure had been taken to abrogate his command, and reduce him to the ſtate of a private citizen. Here he was joined by *Curio*, who, after ſome fruitleſs attempts to prohibit *Pompey*'s levies, ſeeing the oppoſite party greatly incenſed againſt him, had left the city before the expiration of his office.

Mark Antony[z] ſucceeded him in the tribunate on *the 10th of November*, and in all his zeal for *Cæſar*. He was no ſooner in poſſeſſion of his

[y] We have an account of this election in a letter from *Cælius* to *Cicero*: "If you had "taken the King of *Parthia* himſelf priſoner, and ſacked his metropolis, it could "not make you amends for your abſence.— "You have loſt indeed a ſubject of inexhauſtible mirth, by not being ſpectator of "the very ridiculous figure which the luckleſs [*L.*] *Domitius* diſplayed, when he "lately found himſelf diſappointed in his "election. The aſſembly of the people "was exceedingly numerous upon this occaſion; but the force of party bore down "all before it, and even carried away many "of the friends of *Domitius* from his intereſt. This circumſtance he imputes to my "management; and as he conſiders the "preference which has been given to his "competitor *Antony*, as a real injury done "to himſelf, he honours me with the ſame "marks of his diſpleaſure with which he "diſtinguiſhes the moſt intimate of his "friends. He is at preſent indeed a very "diverting compound of wrath and indignation; which he impotently diſcharges, "in the firſt place againſt myſelf for promoting the election of *M. Antony*; and in "the next againſt the people, for expreſſing "too much ſatisfaction in his repulſe." *Ep. Fam.* viii. 14. *Melm.* vi. 15.

[z] Dr. *Middleton* has collected, from *Cicero*'s writings, the hiſtory of *M. Antony*'s life

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his office, than he propoſed that the two legions taken from *Cæſar* ſhould be ſent into *Syria*; that all new levies ſhould be ſtopped, and that

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life to the commencement of the civil wars; and the reader will allow me to tranſcribe this article from that intelligent hiſtorian.

"*M. Antony*, who now began to make a "figure in the affairs of *Rome*, was of an an- "cient and noble extraction; the grandſon "of that celebrated ſtateſman and orator "who loſt his life in the maſſacres of *Ma-* "*rius and Cinna:* His father had been ho- "noured with one of the moſt important "commiſſions of the Republic; but, after "an inglorious diſcharge of it, died with "the character of a corrupt, oppreſſive, and "rapacious Commander. The ſon, trained "in the diſcipline of ſuch a parent, whom "he loſt when he was very young, launched "out at once into all the exceſs of riot and "debauchery, and *waſted his whole patri-* "*mony before he had put on the manly gown*; "ſhewing himſelf to be the genuine ſon of "that father, who was born, as *Saluſt* ſays, "*to ſquander money, without ever employing a* "*thought on buſineſs, till a preſent neceſſity* "*urged him.* His comely perſon, lively wit, "inſinuating addreſs, made young *Curio* "infinitely fond of him; ſo that, in ſpight "of the commands of a ſevere father, who "had often turned *Antony* out of doors and "forbidden him his houſe, he could not be "prevailed with to forſake his company; "but ſupplied him with money for his fro- "lics and amours, till he had involved him- "ſelf on his account in a debt of *fifty thou-* "*ſand pounds.* This greatly afflicted old "*Curio*; and *Cicero was called in to heal the* "*diſtreſs of the family*; whom the ſon in- "treated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede "for *Antony*, as well as for himſelf, and not "ſuffer them to be parted: But *Cicero*, hav- "ing prevailed with the father to make the "ſon eaſy, by diſcharging his debts, adviſed "him to inſiſt upon it as a condition, and "to inforce it by his paternal power, that "he ſhould have no farther commerce with "*Antony*. This laid the foundation of an "early averſion in *Antony* to *Cicero*, in- "creaſed ſtill by the perpetual courſe of "*Antony*'s life, which fortune happened to "throw among *Cicero*'s inveterate enemies: "For, by the ſecond marriage of his mo- "ther, [*Julia*, a relation of *Cæſar*'s] he be- "came ſon-in-law to that *Lentulus* who was "put to death for conſpiring with *Cataline*, "by whom he was initiated into all the ca- "bals of a traiterous faction, and infected "with principles pernicious to the liberty "of *Rome*. To revenge the death of this "father [in-law] he attached himſelf to "*Clodius*; and, during his tribunate, was "one of the miniſters of all his violences; "yet was detected at the ſame time in ſome "*criminal intrigue* in his family, injurious "*to the honour of his patron.* From this "education in the city, he went abroad to "learn the art of war under *Gabinius*, the "moſt profligate of all Generals;" [*Plutarch* tells us, that *Antony* not being able to endure the madneſs of *Clodius*, and apprehenſive of the power of his enemies, withdrew himſelf, and retired into *Greece*, where he inured his body to warlike exerciſes, and applied his mind to the ſtudy of eloquence; and that it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon by *Gabinius* to ſerve under him.] "who gave him the command of his horſe "in *Syria*; where he ſignaliſed his courage "in the reſtoration of King *Ptolemy*, and "acquired the firſt taſte of martial glory, in "*an expedition undertaken againſt the laws* "*and religion of his country.*" [an expedition which *Cicero* encouraged his great and noble friend *Lentulus Spinther* to undertake.] "From *Ægypt*, inſtead of coming home, "where his debts would not ſuffer him to "be eaſy, he went to *Cæſar* into *Gaul*, the "ſure refuge of all the needy, the deſ- "perate, and the audacious:" [This is not a fair manner of repreſenting *Antony*'s behaviour. Was not *Cæſar*'s camp the ſchool of military ſkill, and the field of glory? Had not *Cæſar*, among his Lieutenants, *P. Craſſus*, ſo much extolled by *Cicero*: *Quintus Cicero*, *M. Brutus*, and many other Officers of great merit: And where could *Antony* ſpend his youth better?] And, after "ſome ſtay in that province, being fur- "niſhed with money and credit by *Cæſar*, "he returned to ſue for the *quæſtorſhip*. "*Cæſar* recommended him in a preſſing "manner to *Cicero*, *intreating him to accept* "*Antony's ſubmiſſion, and pardon him what* "*was paſt, and to aſſiſt him in his preſent* "*ſuit: With which Cicero readily complied*, "and obliged *Antony* ſo highly by it, that "he

that all thoſe who had already given in their names, and taken the oath, ſhould be releaſed from their obligation, and even be forbid to ſerve. On *the* 21*ſt*, he made a ſpeech to the people, which was a perpetual invective on *Pompey*'s conduct from his firſt appearance in public, with great complaints againſt the violent and arbitrary condemnation of citizens, and the terror of his arms; and it was probably on this occaſion that he read *Cæſar*'s letter to the people, mentioned by *Plutarch*, in which he expreſſed a deſire that both *Pompey* and he, quitting their governments and diſmiſſing their armies, ſhould ſubmit to their judgment. According to *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian*, *Cæſar* made other equitable overtures, propoſing to part immediately with eight of his legions and *Tranſalpine Gaul*, provided he might keep two legions with the *Ciſalpine* province, or but one legion with *Illyricum* and *Ciſalpine Gaul*, till he was made Conſul. *Plutarch* and *Appian* add, that *Pompey* was ſatisfied with theſe conditions, but that they were rejected by the Conſuls; a circumſtance extremely improbable: For *Pompey*, it is certain, was as averſe to peace as the moſt determined of *Cæſar*'s enemies. In an interview that *Cicero* had with him, on the 10*th* of *December*, *Pompey* told him, that *there was no hope of an accommodation*, and that war was inevitable; and, finding *Cicero* wholly bent on peace, he contrived to have a ſecond conference with him at *Lavernium*, on the 27*th*, before he reached the city, in hopes to allay his fears, and to turn him from the vain project of an accommodation, which might contribute to cool the zeal of his friends in the Senate. He declared, *that there could be no pacification, but ſuch as was treacherous and dangerous; and that, if Cæſar ſhould reſign the command of his army, and take the conſulſhip, he would throw the Republic* [a] *into confuſion.* At this time he was even actually diſpoſing of all the governments; and he tried to engage *Cicero* to go to *Sicily*, *though neither the reſolution of the Senate nor the orders of the People had given him any command in that quarter.* He farther aſſured *Cicero*, that, when *Cæſar* heard of the earneſt and mighty preparations that were making againſt him, he would throw up his pretenſions to the conſulſhip, and ſtick by his army and government: "But ſuppoſing," added he, "that *Cæſar* ſhould act *like a* "*madman*, and fly to extremities, I ſhould deſpiſe every thing he could

Y. R. 703. Bef. Chr. 49. 402 Conſ.

Ad Att. vii. 8.

In Pomp.

"he declared war preſently againſt *Clodius*, "*whom he attacked with great fierceneſs in* "*the Forum, and would certainly have killed,* "*if he had not found means to hide himſelf* "*under ſome ſtairs. Antony* openly gave out, "*that he owed all this to Cicero's generoſity,* "*to whom he could never make amends for* "*former injuries, but by the deſtruction of his* "*enemy* CLODIUS. Being choſen Quæſtor, "he went back immediately to *Cæſar*, with- "out expecting *his lot, or a decree of the Se-* "*nate*, to appoint him his province; where, "though he had all imaginable opportu- "nities of acquiring money, yet, by ſquan- "dering, as faſt as he got it, he came, a ſe- "cond time, *empty and beggarly to Rome*, to "put in for the *tribunate*; in which office, "after the example of his friend *Curio*, "having ſold himſelf to *Cæſar*, he was, as "*Cicero* ſays, *as much the cauſe of the enſu-* "*ing war, as Helen was of that of Troy.*" Phil. ii. 21, 22. Midd. p. 64.

[a] He means the *Ariſtocratic* faction.

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"do, and ſhould place an intire confidence in my own and the Re-
"public's forces [b]." "In ſhort," ſays *Cicero*, "though I was fre-
"quently checked by reflecting on the doubtful events of war, yet I
"was made the more eaſy, when I heard a General, of ſuch courage
"and ſuch experience and authority, diſcourſing, like a Stateſman, up-
"on the dangers that might attend an inſincere accommodation [c]."

[b] This extravagant confidence betrays great weakneſs in *Pompey*, and the hiſtorians bring ſeveral reaſons to account for it. He looked upon himſelf, it is ſaid, as the idol of the people of *Italy*: For, having fallen dangerouſly ill, in the beginning of this ſame year, in *Campania*, the whole country made ſacrifices to the gods for his recovery, and the example was followed by the reſt of *Italy*: And, when he appeared in public, ſuch multitudes came forth to ſee him, that no place could contain them. *Plutarch*, it may likewiſe be obſerved, has informed us, that *Appius* and thoſe who brought him the two legions from *Gaul* very much vilified *Cæſar*'s actions there, and gave out ſcandalous reports in derogation of his honour, telling Pompey *that he was unacquainted with his own ſtrength and reputation, if he made uſe of any other forces againſt* Cæſar *than his own; for ſuch was the ſoldiers hatred to* Cæſar *and their love to* Pompey, *that they would all come over to him upon his firſt appearance.* Whatever were the cauſes which raiſed in him ſo favourable an opinion of his power and ſecurity, certain it is that he proceeded ſo far as to laugh at thoſe who ſeemed to dread the war; and ſomebody telling him, that, if *Cæſar* determined to march to *Rome*, there was nothing to oppoſe him, *Pompey* anſwered: *In whatever part of Italy I ſtamp with my foot, there will riſe up legions.*

[c] *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus* on the ſubject of his interview with *Pompey* on the *10th of December*, writes thus: "*Pompey* "ſaid, that he had long perceived *Cæſar* to "be alienated from him, but had received "a very late inſtance of it: For that *Hirtius* "came from *Cæſar* a few days before, and "did not come to ſee him; and, when *Balbus* promiſed to bring *Scipio* an account of "his buſineſs the next morning before day, "*Hirtius* was gone back to *Cæſar* in the "night: This he takes for a clear proof of "*Cæſar*'s reſolution to break with him." *Ad Att.* vii. 4. Had not *Pompey* given *Cæſar* ſufficient provocation? If *Cæſar* had acted with the perfidious inſincerity of *Pompey*, it had been an eternal blemiſh upon his character.

CHAP. II.

Cæſar *is ordered, by a Decree of the Senate, to diſband his army, and, in caſe of refuſal, is declared a public enemy. The Conſuls and other Magiſtrates are veſted with extraordinary powers.* Cæſar *paſſes the* Rubicon *with one legion, and, in two months time, makes himſelf Maſter of all* Italy.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, L. LENTULUS CRUS, } Conſuls.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

ON the *1ſt of January* [d], *Curio* came to *Rome*, and produced letters from *Cæſar* to the Senate, in which, after enumerating his many ſervices to the Republic, and anſwering the accuſations of his ene-
mies,

[d] The months of the *Roman* kalendar, at this time, did not perfectly correſpond with thoſe of our *Julian* year; but the difference was not ſo great as our learned Biſhop *Uſher* has made it. *Annals*, p. 639. According to him the *1ſt of January* of this *Roman* year anſwered

mies, he declared, "that he was willing to lay down his command, "if *Pompey* ſhould alſo conſent to that meaſure; and that, as there "could be no ſafety for him upon any other terms, he would imme- "diately, if his demand was not complied with, march into *Italy*, "and revenge the injuries done to himſelf and the Commonwealth." Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ. Cæſar de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

It was with great difficulty that the Tribunes procured theſe letters to be read; but nothing could prevail with the Conſuls to permit their contents to come under the deliberation of the Houſe: And they propoſed to debate on the ſtate of the Commonwealth. *Lentulus* declared that he would not be wanting to the Senate and the common cauſe, if they would deliver their opinions with freedom and courage: But that, if they continued to regard *Cæſar*, and affected to court his friendſhip, he would diſclaim intirely their authority. *Scipio*, father-in-law to *Pompey*, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe: He ſaid that *Pompey* was firmly bent not to abandon the Republic, if he found the Senators ready to ſupport him: But that, if they cooled or were remiſs in their reſolves, it would be in vain for them to expect his aid, if they ſhould afterwards find it neceſſary to apply for it. The ſpeech of *Scipio* was conſidered as proceeding from *Pompey*, who was at that time in the ſuburbs. Others propoſed milder councils. *M. Marcellus* objected to any deliberation on this matter till troops were raiſed over all *Italy*, and an army got ready, under whoſe protection the Senate might proceed with freedom and ſafety in their debates. It was moved by *Callidius*, that *Pompey* ſhould be ſent to his government of *Spain*, in order to take away all occaſion of diſcord; becauſe *Cæſar*, it was ſaid, had reaſon to fear that the two legions, taken from him, were retained by *Pompey* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, to be employed againſt him. *M. Cœlius* ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. But they were all ſeverely reprimanded by the Conſul *Lentulus*, who expreſsly refuſed

anſwered to the *22d of October* of the *Julian* year, 50 before *Chriſt*; ſo that the autumnal months were carried back into ſummer, and the winter months into autumn. It is impoſſible to reconcile this way of reckoning with the unanimous teſtimony of the ancient hiſtorians. And the Primate pretends that they were deceived by *Cæſar*'s reformation of the Kalendar. But it is alſo irreconcileable with the facts related by them; and it is aſtoniſhing that Abbé *Mongault*, Dr. *Middleton*, and M. *Crevier*, who have examined ſo narrowly into every thing relating to theſe times, did not perceive this miſtake. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Tiro*, whom he had left ſick beyond ſeas, dated the *29th of January*, charges him not to ſail during winter: *Cave feſtines aut committas, ut aut æger aut hieme naviges*; and he adds, that he imagines the hard winter has prevented his letters from reaching him: *Neque enim meas puto ad te litteras tanta hieme perferre.* Ep. Fam. xvi. 11. Could *Cicero*, then in the Southern parts of *Italy*, call the beginning of *November hard winter?* No; he ſpeaks of letters written in the end of *December*. In a letter dated the *7th of April*, ad Att. x. 2. he ſays, the ſwallow is come, *garrula* [*hirundo*] *en adeſt*, or the ſpring is come. The *1ſt* of *April* therefore could not anſwer to any part of the month of *January*; it was certainly *March*. The ingenious M. *de la Nauze*, Member of the Royal Academy of Literature in *Paris*, has proved the firſt day of this *Roman* year to be the *16th* of *December* of the *Julian* year, which is fifty-five days later than our learned Primate.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

to put *Callidius*'s motion to the vote: And *M. Marcellus*, awed by the Conſul's rebuke, retracted what he had ſaid. Thus the clamours of *Lentulus*, the dread of an army at the gates of *Rome*, and the menaces of *Pompey*'s friends, intimidating the greateſt *part of the Senate*, it was carried, *though with great difficulty, that Cæſar ſhould be ordered to diſband his army before a certain day then fixed; and that, in caſe of diſobedience, he ſhould be declared an enemy to the Republic.* This is *Cæſar*'s account, and it appears to be a true one, from the conduct of the Senate in the laſt year, and from *Cicero*'s letters [c]. The boaſted advantage of *Pompey*'s having the ſupport of the Senate muſt be conſidered, of conſequence, as nothing more than a fair appearance; and was in reality a new infringement of the liberty of his country; ſince it was procured by the moſt illegal and tyrannical means.

Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. Com. lib. i.

M. Antony and *Q. Caſſius*, Tribunes of the People, put their negative on the decree of the Senate; but their prerogative was diſputed, and a debate enſued, in the courſe of which many ſevere ſpeeches were made againſt them. He who ſpoke with the greateſt warmth and paſſion was moſt applauded by the *Pompeian* faction. The aſſembly broke up without coming to any determination; and *Pompey*, in the evening, ſent for all thoſe who were of his party, and commended the forward, and reproved and animated the more moderate. Multitudes of veterans, who had formerly ſerved under him, flocked to *Rome* from all parts, allured by the expectation of rewards and dignities: And a great number of Officers belonging to the legions lately returned by *Cæſar* had likewiſe orders to attend him. The city was filled with troops.

The conteſt between the Conſuls and the Tribunes was renewed the following days, and continued till the *7th*, during which time *Piſo*, the Cenſor, father-in-law to *Cæſar*, and *L. Roſcius*, the Prætor, who had ſerved under *Cæſar* in *Gaul*, offered to go to him and acquaint him with the ſtate of affairs, demanding only ſix days for that purpoſe. Others propoſed to ſend Deputies to him: But all theſe pro-

[c] He writes to *Atticus* in the end of *December*: "I am daily more apprehenſive of "the public commotions, for even our patriots are not ſo unanimous as they ought "to be: How many Knights, how many Senators have I ſeen, *who have bitterly in-* "*veighed againſt the whole of Pompey's con-* "*duct, and eſpecially the unſeaſonable journey he* "*has undertaken?*" Ad Att. l. vii. 5. [This journey was probably to give directions for the raiſing of troops.] *Ibid.* 6. "I am in great "concern about the public, nor have I hitherto found a *Man*, who did not think it "better to yield to *Cæſar* all he demands, "than enter upon a civil war." *Cicero* himſelf was of the ſame opinion, as he declares in the ſame letter: "You will aſk me then, "what are my real ſentiments? Why, truly, "*they are not the ſame with my words.* My "ſentiments are, that any conceſſion is preferable to a civil war: *But I will talk*, and "that too from no ſervile motive, *in the ſame* "*ſtrain that Pompey does.* For indeed it would "be of the worſt conſequence to the public, "and particularly unbecoming in me, ſhould "I differ from *Pompey* at this important juncture." *Unbecoming* to ſpeak his real ſentiments, and to adviſe what he thought was for the public good! This, it muſt be confeſſed, is a very ſtrange morality.

poſals were rejected by the Conſuls, and by *Scipio*, *Cato*, and the other chiefs of the *Ariſtocratical* faction. The tribunes were threatened, or, according to *Appian*[f], were ordered to leave the Houſe: And the Senate had recourſe to that decree, which was never uſed but in the greateſt extremity, *that the Conſuls, Prætors, Tribunes of the People, and the Proconſuls that were near Rome, ſhould take care that the Commonwealth received no detriment*[g]. *Antony* and *Caſſius* left the city that ſame night, diſguiſed like ſlaves, in a hired carriage, and ſtopped not till they got to *Rimini*. *Curio* and *M. Cælius* ſoon followed them. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

The following days the Senate aſſembled *without the city*, where *Pompey* confirmed every thing he had before intimated by the mouth of *Scipio*: He applauded the reſolution and courage of the Senators, and acquainted them, that he had ten legions already in arms, and was beſides well informed that *Cæſar*'s troops were by no means ſatisfied with their General, and had even refuſed to ſupport and follow him. It was then propoſed that troops ſhould be raiſed all over *Italy*; that *Pompey* ſhould be ſupplied with money out of the public treaſury; that *Fauſtus Sylla* ſhould be ſent Proprætor to *Mauritania*; and that King *Juba* ſhould have the title of King and Ally to the people of *Rome*. *Marcellus*, the Conſul, oppoſed the laſt of theſe motions, and *Philippus*, Tribune of the people, would not agree to the proprætorſhip of *Sylla*. The other motions were approved of. The affair of the provinces, two of which were conſular, and the reſt prætorian, came next to be canvaſſed. *Syria* was allotted to *Scipio*, and *Tranſalpine Gaul* to *L. Domitius*. To the prætorian provinces Governors were aſſigned without the privity or approbation of the people, and they inſtantly departed for their ſeveral commands. Thus war was in effect declared againſt *Cæſar*; and meaſures were taken to arm the whole empire in order to cruſh him. The *Pompeians* flattered themſelves that, before *Cæſar* could draw his forces together from the ſeveral quarters of *Gaul* where they Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i. Ep. Fam. xvi. 12. Melm 7. 5.

[f] *Appian* ſays, "that *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* ordered *Antony* and *Caſſius* to leave the Senate, leſt no regard ſhould be had to their dignity: That *Antony*, leaping from his ſeat in great rage, invoked the faith of the gods and men, and lamented that an authority, which had been hitherto held ſacred, was no longer a ſecurity; and that thoſe who propoſed ſalutary advice were driven out of the Senate, as if they had been guilty of murder or ſome other crime: That, after pronouncing theſe words, he inſtantly departed in a fury, foretelling, in a prophetic ſtrain, the wars, proſcriptions, baniſhments, and confiſcations with which the city was threatened, and making horrid imprecations againſt thoſe who were the cauſe of all theſe miſeries." On the contrary, *Cicero*, in a letter to *Tiro*, dated the *12th of January*, writes thus: "*Curio* in conjunction with *Q. Caſſius* and *M. Antony*, without the leaſt violence being offered to them, have withdrawn themſelves to *Cæſar*. They took this ſtep immediately after the Senate had given in charge to the *Conſuls*, the *Prætors*, and the *Tribunes of the People*, together with thoſe of us who are inveſted with *proconſular power*, to take care of the intereſt of the Republic. *Ep. Fam.* xvi. 11. *Melm.* vii. 1.

[g] *Id. Jan.* or the *7th* of *January*: The *28th* of *October* according to Biſhop *Uſher*, but rather the *12th* of *December*.

were

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

were quartered, *Pompey* would have a conſiderable army on foot, with which he might poſſeſs himſelf of the principal parts of *Italy*, obſtruct his acceſs to *Rome*, and hold him continually employed, till the army from *Spain*, conſiſting of five legions under the command of *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*, came up upon his rear, to complete his overthrow. They did not doubt but he would be deſerted by great numbers of his Officers and ſoldiers, and that the two *Gauls* would riſe againſt him; every part of thoſe provinces, excepting only the colonies beyond the *Po*, being thought utterly averſe to him.

Cicero arrived at *Rome* on *the 4th of January*, with all the pomp of his *proconſular* and *imperatorial* dignity: And, in this diſordered ſtate of the city, he ſollicited a decree for his triumph, to which, as he informs us, in a letter to *Tiro*, "the Senate, in a very full Houſe, immediately conſented: But that the Conſul *Lentulus*, in order to appropriate to himſelf a greater ſhare in conferring this honour, told them, that he would propoſe it himſelf in proper form as ſoon as he ſhould have diſpatched the affairs that were neceſſary in the preſent conjuncture." In the ſame letter, which is dated the *12th of January*, he adds, "I am unhappily fallen into the very midſt of public diſſenſion, or, rather indeed, I find myſelf ſurrounded with the flames of a civil war. It was my earneſt deſire to have compoſed theſe dangerous ferments: And I probably might, if the paſſions of ſome in both parties, who are equally eager for war, had not rendered my endeavours ineffectual.——We are raiſing forces with all poſſible diligence, under the authority and with the aſſiſtance of *Pompey:* Who now begins, ſomewhat too late, I fear, to be apprehenſive of *Cæſar*'s power.——I act with great moderation: And this conduct renders my *influence* with both parties ſo much the ſtronger. The ſeveral diſtricts of *Italy* are aſſigned to our reſpective protections: And *Capua* is the department I have taken for mine." And in a letter, dated the *29th of January*, he obſerves, "It has been the perpetual purpoſe of all my ſpeeches, my votes, and my actions, ever ſince I returned to *Rome*, to preſerve the public tranquillity, *but an invincible rage for war had unaccountably ſeized not only the enemies, but even thoſe who are eſteemed the friends of the Commonwealth:* And it was in vain I remonſtrated that nothing was more to be dreaded than a civil war.——Upon my return to *Rome*, it was too late to inforce my pacific ſentiments: I was wholly unſupported in my opinion, and not only found myſelf among a ſet of men, *who were madly inflamed with a thirſt of war*, but was conſidered likewiſe as one, who, by a long abſence, was quite unacquainted with the true ſtate of the Commonwealth [h].

Ep. Fam. xvi. 11. Melm. vii. 1.

Ep. Fam. xvi. 12. Melm. vii. 5.

Ep. Fam. iv. 1. Melm. vii. 12.

[h] It is remarkable that *Cicero*, in his letter to *Tiro*, talks of his influence with both parties, and that here he complains of his being totally diſregarded.

Cæſar

Cæſar was at *Ravenna*, when he received the firſt intelligence of the proceedings againſt him. He aſſembled his troops, and acquainted them with the grateful requital which his long and glorious ſervices had met with from the Senate. In his ſpeech, he inſiſted on nothing ſo much as the violation of the tribunitian power in the perſons of *Antony* and *Caſſius*. He complained of the innovation introduced into the Commonwealth, which checked, by the terror of arms, the authority of the *Tribunes:* He ſaid, "that *Sylla*, who had made it his buſineſs "to humble, and almoſt annihilate that magiſtracy, had yet left it "the liberty of oppoſition; but that *Pompey*, who valued himſelf for "having reſtored it to all its prerogatives, deprived it now of that "privilege which it had always enjoyed." His Officers and ſoldiers having teſtified their readineſs to defend him and the Tribunes, he ſent diſpatches to his Lieutenants in *Gaul* to quit their winter-quarters and come to him with all expedition; and he himſelf entered immediately upon action, and marched to *Ariminum*. There he found *Antony* and *Caſſius*, whom he produced in the ſervile diſguiſe they had been forced to put on for their ſecurity: And the ſight of them greatly exaſperated the ſoldiers, who made freſh proteſtations to their General, that they would follow him wherever he ſhould think proper to lead them [i].

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Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

Cæſar,

[i] *Suetonius (in Vit. Cæſ. c.* 31.) mentions ſeveral particulars which I have not thought worthy of being inſerted into the text of this hiſtory. He ſays, "that, as ſoon as *Cæſar* was informed that the interpoſition of "the Tribunes had been over-ruled, and "that they themſelves had been forced to "ſave themſelves by flight, he *privately* "diſpatched away ſome battalions; and, to "prevent any ſuſpicion of his deſign, he "attended at a public ſhew, and examined "the model of a ſchool for gladiators, "which he intended to build; and ſat down "to table with his friends as uſual: That "after ſun-ſet, having cauſed mules from "a neighbouring mill to be put to his chaiſe, "he ſet out with all poſſible ſecrecy and a "ſmall retinue; but, his lights going out, "he loſt his way, and wandered a long "time in the dark, till, meeting at break "of day with a guide, he got on foot "through ſome narrow paths into the road "again, and came up with his troops on "the banks of the *Rubicon*, which was the "boundary of his province: And that there "he remained ſilent and penſive for ſome "time, muſing on the greatneſs of his at-"tempt; then, turning to thoſe about him, "*we may ſtill retreat*, ſaid he, *but, if we "paſs this little bridge, we muſt put all to the "deciſion of the ſword.*" *Cæſar* mentions nothing of all this. The great ſecrecy ſo much inſiſted on could ſerve no purpoſe; nor is it conſiſtent with *Cæſar*'s ſpeech to his ſoldiers at *Ravenna*. His heſitation on the banks of the *Rubicon* is quite ridiculous: His determination had been taken long before, and indeed was not free: But let us proceed with this curious narrative.

"Whilſt *Cæſar* was demurring upon the "matter, a man of an extraordinary ſize "and ſhape appeared of a ſudden, ſitting "by the river, and playing on a rural flute. "The novelty of the ſight drew together a "great many of the ſoldiers, and among "the reſt a trumpeter, from whom the ex-"traordinary man, ſnatching the trumpet, "leaped into the water, and, ſounding a "charge, went over to the other ſide; "upon which *Cæſar*, without farther con-"ſideration, croſſed the river, crying out "aloud, *Let us go where the Gods ſo remark-"ably call us, and where the fury of our ene-"mies drives us: The lot is caſt.*

The ſame hiſtorian adds, "and accord-"ingly, paſſing the river with his army, "and

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Cæſar, ſenſible of what importance celerity was in his preſent ſituation, to prevent the efforts of his enemies, and to raiſe the courage of his friends, did not loſe a moment, but ſent *M. Antony* with five cohorts to ſeize *Aretium*, and other Officers to ſecure *Piſaurum*, *Fanum*, and *Ancona*, while he himſelf remained at *Ariminum* to levy troops. And, being informed that the Prætor *Thermus* had entered *Iguvium* with five cohorts, and was endeavouring to fortify the town, whoſe inhabitants he knew to be well inclined to his intereſt, he detached inſtantly *Curio* to oppoſe him with three cohorts, drawn from the towns he had already got poſſeſſion of. *Thermus* left the place on *Curio*'s approach, and was deſerted by his ſoldiers in his retreat. *Attius Varus* alſo, who commanded in *Auximum*, was obliged to abandon it, on account of the diſaffection of the townſmen to his cauſe, and, being attacked in his retreat, was likewiſe deſerted by his troops, part of which went to their homes, and the reſt joined themſelves to *Cæſar*.

Arezzo. Peſaro. Fano. Eugubio. Oſmo.

The firſt report of this march towards *Rome* ſtruck the Magiſtrates with ſuch a panic, that they precipitately came to the ſhameful reſolution of forſaking the city. *Pompey* had treated with contempt the menaces of his rival, but it plainly appeared that he was utterly unprepared to oppoſe him. Inſtead of marching towards *Cæſar*, and taking the command of the troops cantoned in *Picenum* and the neighbouring provinces, he withdrew to the two legions near *Capua*, whither he was ſoon followed by the Conſuls and the chief Senators of his faction. *Cæſar* affirms that their conſternation was ſo great, that, when the Conſul *Lentulus* came to the treaſury to deliver out the money to *Pompey*, in conſequence of the decree of the Senate, he ſcarce waited the opening of the inner door, but haſtily left the place, upon a falſe rumour that *Cæſar* was approaching, and that ſome of his cavalry were already in view. However, *Pompey* ſent orders to the Commanders in the North of *Italy*, to ſtop *Cæſar*'s progreſs as much as poſſible: And *Lentulus Spinther* threw himſelf into *Aſculum*, a town of *Picenum*, with ten cohorts, while at the ſame time *L. Domitius* took poſſeſſion of *Corfinium*, a ſtrong town in the country of the *Peliani*, at the foot of the *Appenine*, on the *Adriatic* ſide, where he propoſed to make a ſtand till *Pompey* could come up.

Aſcoli.

At *Capua*, the Conſuls took courage, and began to renew their levies in the ſurrounding colonies. This town had always been the common ſeminary or place for educating gladiators for the great men of

Mid. p. 69.

" and having received the Tribunes of " the people, he, with *tears in his eyes* and " *his cloaths torn away from his breaſt*, im- " plored the protection of the ſoldiers." Could *Cæſar* be ignorant of the attachment of his ſoldiers to him? Had they not followed him with an intire confidence for nine years? Had he not endeared himſelf to them by the unwearied care he had taken of their ſubſiſtence, and by his magnificent preſents? Did not both the ſoldiers and Officers ground the hopes of their fortunes upon his generoſity and protection?

of *Rome*; and there *Cæſar* had a famous ſchool of them at this time, which he had long maintained under the beſt maſters, for the occaſions of his public ſhews in the city. And, as they were very numerous and well furniſhed with arms, there was reaſon to apprehend that they would break out, and make ſome attempt in favour of their Maſter, which, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, might be of dangerous conſequence. *Pompey* therefore, we are told, thought it neceſſary to take them out of their ſchool, and to diſtribute them among the principal inhabitants of the place, *aſſigning two to each Maſter of a family*, by which he ſecured them from doing any miſchief. But *Cæſar*'s account is very different; he tells us, "that *Lentulus* ſummoned the gladiators "into the Forum, gave them their liberty, furniſhed them with horſes, "and commanded them to follow him: But, being admoniſhed by "his friends that this ſtep was unanimouſly condemned, he diſperſed "them into the neighbouring towns of *Campania* to keep garriſon "there." It is probable that *Lentulus* had raſhly employed, or thought of employing, the gladiators, in the manner here mentioned, but that *Pompey*, ſenſible of the impropriety of arming ſlaves againſt their Maſter, had diſpoſed of them as we have juſt now related [k].

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De Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

While preparations were thus making on the ſide of *Pompey*, and while *Cæſar* was puſhing on the war with incredible vigour, meſſages were ſent by the two Generals to each other concerning an accommodation. Before *Cæſar* left *Ariminum*, young *L. Cæſar*, whoſe father was one of his Lieutenants, came to him, and told him, that he was impowered to inform him, "that *Pompey* was deſirous of clearing him-"ſelf to *Cæſar*, leſt he might interpret thoſe actions as deſigned to af-"front him, which had no other aim but the good of the Common-"wealth; the advantage of which it was *Pompey*'s conſtant maxim to "prefer to any private intereſt; and that *Cæſar*, in the opinion of *Pom-"pey*, ſhould ſacrifice his paſſion and reſentment to the ſame noble mo-"tive, and not prejudice his country by puſhing too far his reſentment "againſt his private enemies." The Prætor *Roſcius*, who had a commiſſion of the like nature from *Pompey*, joined likewiſe in the negotiation. *Cæſar* made anſwer, "that the intereſt of the Commonwealth had al-"ways been dearer to him than life; and that, though he could not "help being alarmed at the malice of his enemies, who had fruſtrated "the good intentions of the *Roman* people in his favour, by cutting off

[k] It appears from a letter of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, that, in relation to theſe gladiators, there were two different reports at different times: "I was miſinformed," ſays he, "as "to what I wrote to you, upon the ſtrength "of *Torquatus*'s intelligence, with regard "to *Cæſar*'s gladiators at *Capua*: For *Pom-"pey* has quartered them very judiciouſly "among the inhabitants, two to each fa-"mily. There were five thouſand, and "they threatened to break out. This was "a meaſure greatly for the ſervice of the "public." *Ad Att.* vii. 14. I cannot think there could be *five thouſand* gladiators in one ſchool: Perhaps there may be an error in the number.

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" ſix months from his command, and obliging him to return to *Rome* " to ſue for the conſulſhip, he had yet, for the ſake of his country, " patiently ſubmitted to this aſſault upon his honour. That his pro- " poſal of diſbanding the armies, on both ſides, which he had made " in his letter to the Senate, had been rejected; and that new levies " were making all over *Italy*. That the two legions, which had been " taken from him under the pretence of the *Parthian* war, were ſtill " retained in the ſervice of his enemies; and that the whole State was " in arms. That all this aimed evidently at his deſtruction: But that, " nevertheleſs, he was ready to agree to any propoſal, and expoſe him- " ſelf to any danger for the ſake of his country. Let *Pompey* [he conti- " nued] *go to his government: Let all the armies be diſbanded: Let every* " *one throughout Italy lay down his arms: Let every thing that participates* " *of terror and force be removed: Let the elections of magiſtrates be made* " *with perfect freedom: And let the Republic be adminiſtered by the autho-* " *rity of the Senate and People.* And, the better to ſettle all theſe ar- " ticles, and in order to corroborate them with an oath, let *Pompey* him- " ſelf draw nearer, or ſuffer *Cæſar* to approach him; as all differences " may moſt eaſily be determined by a conference [1]."

L. Cæſar

Ep. Fam. xvi. 12. Melm. vii. 5.

[1] *Cicero*, in a letter to *Tiro*, dated the *29th of January*, gives a quite different account of *Cæſar*'s propoſals, which is followed by Dr. *Middleton*: " *Cæſar* is reported " to have offered us [*feruntur conditiones*] " the following conditions: In the firſt " place, *that Pompey ſhall retire to his go-* " *vernment of* Spain; in the next, *that the* " *army we have raiſed ſhall be diſbanded, and* " *our garriſons evacuated.* Upon theſe terms " he promiſed to *deliver up the farther Gaul* " *into the hands of L. Domitius, and the near-* " *er into thoſe of Conſidius Nonianus*; the " perſons to whom theſe provinces have " been reſpectively allotted. He farther " engages to reſign his right of ſuing for the " conſulſhip in his abſence, and is willing " to return to *Rome* in order to appear as a " candidate in the regular form. We have " accepted theſe propoſitions, *provided he* " *withdraws his forces from the ſeveral* " *towns he has taken*, that the Senate may " aſſemble at *Rome* in order to paſs a de- " cree for that purpoſe. If he ſhould think " proper to comply with this propoſal, there " are hopes of peace; not indeed of a ve- " ry honourable one, as the terms are im- " poſed upon us; yet any thing is prefera- " ble to our preſent circumſtances. But, if " he ſhould refuſe to ſtand to his overtures, " we are prepared for an engagement: But " an engagement which *Cæſar*, after having " incurred the general odium of retracting " his own conditions, will ſcarce be able to " ſuſtain." It is not at all probable that *Cæſar* made the propoſals here mentioned: becauſe he would thereby have given himſelf up to his enemies. *Cicero*, therefore, was either ill informed, or *L. Cæſar* added to what *Cæſar* had propoſed: And this, according to *Dion. Caſſius*, was really the caſe. The following extracts from *Cicero*'s letters to *Atticus*, concerning this whole negotiation, cannot, I think, be diſagreeable to the reader, who may compare them with *Cæſar*'s relation, to which I have given the preference:

" I ſaw *L. Cæſar* at *Minturnæ* on the *23d* " of *January* in the morning. This rope " of ſand, for I cannot call him a man, was " charged with propoſitions ſo abſurd, that " I imagined *Cæſar* deſigned them as a ri- " dicule upon all negotiations, eſpecially as " he gave ſo important a commiſſion to ſo " inconſiderable a creature. I cannot ac- " count for his conduct any other way, un- " leſs (which may poſſibly be the caſe) this " Envoy has catched up ſome random ex- " preſſions of *Cæſar* and converted them " into a commiſſion for himſelf." *Ad Att.* vii. 13. Guthrie's *tranſl.* It is plain, that *L. Cæſar* did not explain his commiſſion to

L. Cæſar and *Roſcius*, having received this anſwer, departed for *Capua*, near which place they found *Pompey* and the Conſuls, and laid *Cæſar*'s Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

to *Cicero* on the 23*d*, as *Cicero* explained it ſix days after to *Tiro*, or *Cicero* would not have treated it with ſuch contempt.

"On the 23*d*, *L. Cæſar* delivered *Cæſar*'s propoſals to *Pompey*, while he was at *Theanum* with the Conſuls. The terms were approved of, on condition that he ſhould withdraw his troops from all the places, not within his own government, that he had ſeized. If he would do that, it was agreed that we ſhould return to *Rome*, and that the Senate ſhould ratify the treaty. *At preſent I am in hopes we ſhall have peace*; becauſe *Cæſar* thinks he has gone too far, and *Pompey* that his army is too weak." *Ad Att.* vii. 14. [dated the 25*th*.]

"Upon my arrival at *Capua* yeſterday, being the 25*th* of *January*, I had a meeting with the Conſuls and many others of the Senate. All of them wiſhed that *Cæſar* would draw off his troops and ſtand to the terms he had propoſed. *Favonius* was the only man who expreſſed his diſlike of his impoſing terms upon us; but he was very little regarded in the meeting, for *Cato* himſelf would now rather comply than fight. He declares, however, that he intends to be preſent in the Senate, where, I am afraid, he will do great hurt.——We have here great variety of opinions as to public matters. It is generally imagined that *Cæſar* will not ſtand to his propoſals, which he is thought to have made to divert us from making the neceſſary preparations to oppoſe him in the field. For my own part, I am of opinion, that he will ſtand to them ſo far as to withdraw his troops from the towns not in his government. For he will have gained his ends, if he ſhould be made Conſul, and the concluſion of this ſcene will be leſs guilty than its commencement. But ſtill we muſt be under his buffet; for we are ſcandalouſly unprovided both as to troops and money; having left to his mercy not only the private property, but the public treaſury of *Rome*." *Ad Att.* vii. 15. [dated the 26*th*.]

"We are now in great ſuſpenſe concerning two points. The one is, how *Cæſar* will proceed upon the anſwer which *L. Cæſar* was charged with to lay before him. The other is, how *Pompey* will act, who writes to me, *that, in a few days, he will be at the head of an effective army, and gives me hopes that, when he arrives at* PICENUM, *we ſhall be in a condition to return to* ROME. He has with him *Labienus*, who takes it for granted that *Cæſar*'s army is but weak, and his deſertion has put our friend *Pompey* into high ſpirits." *Ibid. Ep.* xvi. [dated the 29*th*.]

"Now you doubtleſs know the anſwer which *Pompey* ſent to *Cæſar* by *L. Cæſar*, and the letter he ſent him by the ſame hand; for *they were written and delivered with a view of making them public*. I have blamed *Pompey* in my own mind, as he himſelf has a very perſpicuous ſtyle, for employing our friend *Settius* in drawing up a writing of ſo great importance, eſpecially as it is to be made public: Nor, to ſay the truth, did I ever ſee any thing more truly in the *Settian* ſtyle. But, from *Pompey*'s letter, it is plain that *Cæſar* has been denied nothing; that he has obtained all, and more than he demanded: And, as he has obtained his demands, impudent as they are, he would be the worſt of madmen ſhould he break off the accommodation. For what right had he, or you, or any man to ſay, I will do ſo and ſo, if *Pompey* will go to *Spain*, and if he will withdraw his troops from *Italy*? Yet even this has been complied with, though I own the compliance does not now come with ſo good a grace, after the government has been attacked and hoſtilities commenced, as it would have done before, when he demanded the diſpenſation with his abſence while he ſtood for the conſulate. After all, I am apprehenſive, that even theſe terms will not ſatiſfy him. It was no good ſymptom that he continued his operations during the dependence of the treaty which he committed to *L. Cæſar*, and before he had any anſwer. At preſent, he is ſaid to proceed more violently than ever." *Ibid. Ep.* xvii. [dated *Feb.* 2.]

"We hear that the city is wonderfully pleaſed with *Pompey*'s anſwer, and that it was approved of in an aſſembly of the

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Cæſar's propoſals before them. After deliberating upon the affair, they ſent a reply in writing by the ſame meſſengers, which informed *Cæſar that he muſt quit Ariminum, return to Gaul, and diſband his army; which conditions being performed, Pompey would go into Spain: And that, in the mean time, till he gave ſecurity for the performance of what he had promiſed, neither Pompey nor the Conſuls would diſcontinue their levies.*

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

It was by no means, in the opinion of *Cæſar*, a fair propoſal, that he ſhould be obliged to quit *Ariminum* and return to *Gaul:* whilſt *Pompey* held provinces and legions that had not been legally allotted to him; and *that he ſhould diſmiſs his army, whilſt Pompey was levying troops, and only promiſed to go to his government without fixing a day:* An evaſion by which, was he to be found in *Italy* even at the expiration of *Cæſar*'s conſulſhip, he could not be charged with a breach of faith. His forbearing to appoint a time for a conference, and his declining to approach nearer, gave little reaſon to hope for a peace [m].

T. Labienus,

" people. I always thought it would; and " that *Cæſar* would loſe his intereſt, ſhould " he reject it. But, ſhould he accept it — " alas, ſay you, which is the leſſer evil? " This is a queſtion I cannot anſwer, *unleſs* " *I knew in what forwardneſs our prepara-* " *tions are.* *Ibid. Ep.* 18, [dated *Feb.* 3.]

" I am really ſo far from having any thing " to write, that I have withdrawn a letter " which I was to have ſent you, becauſe it " was ſo full of hopes for the beſt, founded " upon my informations of the diſpoſitions " of the aſſembly of the people of *Rome*, and " upon my own ſuggeſtions that *Cæſar* would " never reject the terms that were granted " him, eſpecially as they were propoſed by " himſelf. Mean while, on the morning " of the *4th* of *February*, I received letters " from you, from *Philotimus* and *Furnius*, " with one to the latter from *Curio*, ridi- " culing the whole of *L. Cæſar*'s negotia- " tion. We are indeed reduced to a deſpe- " rate paſs.——I am ſetting out for *Capua*, " where I can be better informed of *Pompey*'s " ſituation." *Ibid. Ep.* xix. [dated *Feb.* 4.]

" This juncture requires fewneſs of words. " I deſpair of peace: We are unprovided " for war. You cannot imagine *two more* " *deſpicable creatures than our Conſuls.* After " coming, as I was ordered, to *Capua*, " through a deluge of rain upon the *4th* in- " ſtant, in hopes of hearing and underſtand- " ing our preparations, I have miſſed them " here, and when they come they will come " unprovided and unprepared. As to *Pom-* " *pey*, he is ſaid to be at *Luceria* to put him- " ſelf at the head of ſome cohorts of *Attius*'s " legions, who are thought to be wavering." *Ibid. Ep.* xx. [dated *Feb.* 5.]

[m] " It ſeems very evident," ſays the ingenious author of the life of *Cicero*, " that " *Cæſar* had no real thoughts of peace, by " his paying no regard to *Pompey*'s anſwer, " and the trifling reaſons which he gave for " ſlighting it. The ſending a meſſage ſo " important by a perſon ſo inſignificant as " young *L. Cæſar* looked, ſays *Cicero*, as " if he had done it by way of contempt, or " with a view to diſclaim it, eſpecially " when, after offering conditions which " were likely to be accepted, he would not " ſtir ſtill to wait an anſwer, but continued " his march with the ſame diligence, and " in the ſame hoſtile manner as before." He is therefore of opinion, " that *Cæſar* had a " double view in offering theſe conditions; " for by *Pompey*'s rejecting them, *as there* " *was reaſon to expect, from his known aver-* " *ſion to any treaty*, he hoped to load him " with the odium of the war; or, by his em- " bracing them, to ſlacken his prepara- " tions and retard his deſign of leaving *I-* " *taly*; whilſt he himſelf, in the mean " time, by following him with a celerity " that amazed every body, might chance to " come up with him, and give a deciſive " blow to the war; from which he had no- " thing to apprehend, but its being drawn " into length. *I now plainly ſee*, ſays *Ci-* " *cero, though later indeed than I could have* " *wiſhed, on account of the aſſurances given* " *me by Balbus, that he aims at nothing elſe,* " *nor*

T. Labienus, *Cæſar*'s principal Lieutenant in the *Gallic* war, who had not only eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his military exploits, but had raiſed an immenſe fortune, deſerted his General about this time, and came over to *Pompey*. This added a new life to his cauſe, and raiſed an expectation that many more would follow the example. He was much careſſed and carried about every-where by *Pompey*, who promiſed himſelf great ſervice from his fame and experience, and eſpecially from his credit in *Cæſar*'s army, and his knowledge of his councils: But his account of things, like that of all deſerters, was accommodated rather to pleaſe than to ſerve his new friends; repreſenting *the weakneſs of* CÆSAR*'s troops, their averſion to his preſent deſigns, the diſaffection of the two* Gauls, *and diſpoſition to revolt*; the contrary of all

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" *nor has ever aimed at any thing from the be-*
" *ginning but* POMPEY*'s life.*" *Midd.* p. 72, 73. But this is the concluſion of a man whoſe mind was confounded by continual diſappointments, (for indeed he was no prophet, as he is commonly ſuppoſed to have been) and diſturbed by a thouſand vain fears. *Cicero* apprehended alſo that *Cæſar* would prove a *Phalaris*, *ſack Rome*, *and commit all manner of cruelties*. Such paſſionate expreſſions are no authorities. *Velleius Paterculus*, (l. ii. c. 50) has, from the conſideration of *Cæſar*'s conduct, inferred juſt the contrary: *At Cæſar Domitio legionibuſque Corfinii*, *quæ una cum eo fuerant*, *potitus*, *duce aliiſque qui voluerant abire ad Pompeium*, *ſine dilatione dimiſſis*, *perſecutus Brundiſium*, *ita ut appareret*, *malle*, *integris rebus & conditionibus*, *finire bellum*, *quam opprimere fugientes.*——As to the arguments brought in proof of *Cæſar*'s inſincerity, they are very weak. 1. *Cæſar*'s reaſons for paying no regard to *Pompey*'s anſwer are no ways trifling. If he had ſubmitted to go back to his province, whilſt *Pompey* remained in *Italy* to influence the public deliberations, his cauſe was diſcredited, and he was evidently undone. He would have been obliged to ſubmit to every thing impoſed upon him by *Pompey* and his adherents, backed by the forces he would ſoon have had at hand. 2. *Cæſar*'s meſſage was given not only to *L. Cæſar*, but alſo to the Prætor *Roſcius*: And *L. Cæſar* was employed for no other reaſon, than becauſe he had brought a meſſage from *Pompey*. 3. It would have been folly in *Cæſar*, while his enemies were making preparations againſt him with the utmoſt diligence, to have ſuſpended his military operations in a conjuncture when all depended upon expedition. And I oppoſe to the authority of Dr. *Middleton* that of *Matius*, of whom *Cicero* gives this charac-
" ter: (*Ad Att.* ix. 11.) " *Indeed I think*
" *him a diſcreet*, *wiſe man*, *and he has been*
" *always reckoned an adviſer of peaceable*
" *meaſures.*"—" As we had a great deal of
" converſation, ſays *Cicero*, I ſhewed him
" *Cæſar*'s letter to me, and I begged to know
" what he meant by his expreſſions of his
" wanting to be directed by my *advice*, *in-*
" *tereſt*, *authority*, and *aſſiſtance* in all things.
" His anſwer was, that he made no doubt
" *Cæſar* applied to me for my aſſiſtance and
" intereſt in bringing about an accommoda-
" tion.——*He was very poſitive that* CÆ-
" SAR*'s ſentiments were pacific*, and pro-
" miſed to recommend the thing to him
" himſelf." *Velleius Paterculus*, who, in general, is not unfavourable to *Pompey* and his cauſe, intirely condemns the *Pompeians* in this negotiation. After ſaying: *Alterius ducis cauſa melior videbatur*, *alterius erat firmior: Hic omnia ſpecioſa*, *illic valentia: Pompeium Senatus auctoritas*, *Cæſarem militum armavit fiducia:—Vir antiquus et gravis Pompeii partes laudaret magis*, *prudens ſequeretur Cæſaris*; *et illa glorioſa*, *hæc terribiliora duceret:* He adds, *Nihil relictum a Cæſare*, *quod ſervandæ pacis cauſa tentari poſſet: Nihil receptum a Pompeianis*; *cum alter Conſul juſto eſſet ferocior*; *Lentulus vero ſalva rep. ſalvus eſſe non poſſet*; *M. autem Cato moriendum ante*, *quam ullam conditionem civis accipiendam reip. contenderet: ut deinde ſpretis omnibus quæ Cæſar poſtulaverat*, *tantummodo contentus cum una legione titulum retinere provinciæ*; *privatus in urbem veniret*, *et ſe in petitione conſulatus ſuffragiis pop. Rom. committeret decrevere.* L. ii. c. 49.

See Chap. III.

which

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which was found to be true in the event: And as he came to them alone, without bringing with him any of thoſe troops with which he had acquired his reputation, ſo his deſertion had no other effect than to ruin his own fortunes without doing any ſervice to *Pompey* [n]. *Cæſar* behaved on this occaſion with great magnanimity: He took very little notice of his Lieutenant's deſertion, though the example might have been of dangerous conſequence in the beginning of a war of this nature; and ſent after him all his equipage, and every thing he had left behind.

There were now little hopes of an accommodation between the two ambitious Chiefs: Matters were too far engaged, and their enmity too openly declared. Their reciprocal propoſals, which were drawn up in writing and immediately publiſhed, were no more than manifeſtoes to juſtify their conduct. *Pompey*, whoſe chief reliance was on his troops in *Spain*, and the forces of the Eaſt, which were abſolutely in his intereſt, reſolved to hazard nothing in *Italy*, and, while he remained there, his ſole aim was to gain time. *Cæſar*, on the contrary, who had nothing to depend on but his army, and the preſent favourable diſpoſitions of the people of *Rome*, was bent upon puſhing his point, with all poſſible celerity. From *Auximum*, where we left him, he traverſed the whole country of *Picenum* [o], as far as *Cingulum*, with only

[n] *Cicero* thinks aloud in his letters to his friend *Atticus*, and it is entertaining to conſider his various views of the ſame objects, and the ſhiftings of his mind. *Ep.* vii. 12. *ad Att.* dated *Jan.* 22. "It is next to certain that *Labienus* has left *Cæſar*. In that caſe, if he had gone to *Rome*, while the Magiſtrates and the Senate were there, he would have been of great uſe to our party. It would have intimated that the beſt of *Cæſar*'s friends had condemned him as a traitor to his country. The fact is indeed ſo, but, at the preſent juncture, *it is of leſs uſe, becauſe our party cannot avail itſelf of it; and I believe that Labienus himſelf repents of what he has done.* Yet, after all, there is a poſſibility that his leaving *Cæſar* is falſe; we, however, depend upon it as a certainty."

Ep. xiii. "I look upon *Labienus* to be a *Hero. We have not for theſe many years had ſo noble an inſtance of Roman ſpirit.* Had it no other effect, *it has that of galling Cæſar, but I am in hopes of ſeeing it productive of more ſolid conſequences.*"

Ibid. "*Labienus*, whom I think a *truly great man*, came on the 22*d* inſtant to *Theanum*, where he had a conference with *Pompey* and the Conſuls. What the import and reſult of it was, I will write to you when I am better informed.—— *Labienus* ſeems to have given us ſpirits." Yes, *Pompey*, encouraged by him, talked big, *that he would ſoon be at the head of an effective army*; that *he would march into Picenum*, and put things into ſuch a poſture that *the Senate might ſafely return to Rome.*

Ad Att. viii, 2. *Feb.* 17. "There is no dignity in *Labienus*." And thus the Hero, the high-ſpirited *Roman*, ſinks into a baſe deſerter:

——— *Fortis in armis*
Cæſareis Labienus erat; nunc tranſfuga vilis,
Lucan. v. 345.

About the ſame time *Piſo*, *Cæſar*'s father-in-law, left the city: This ſtep engages all *Cicero*'s affection to him, and raiſes his prophetic ſpirit: *I am in love with* Piso, *and I can foreſee the diſlike he has ſignified of his ſon-in-law's conduct will make a great impreſſion on the public.*

[o] *Picenum* was reduced before the 8*th* of *Feb.* for *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus* of that date, (vii. 21.) writes, "*Picenum* is loſt; nobody knows it but myſelf, by letters I have received from *Dolabella*. I expect every moment to hear of *Cæſar*'s being in *Apulia*, and *Pompey* on ſhipboard."

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one legion. He was joyfully received in all parts by the inhabitants, who were dazzled undoubtedly by the ſplendor of his victories, and the reputation of his generoſity: And they furniſhed his army with every thing neceſſary. Even *Cingulum* itſelf, a town founded by *Labienus*, and built at his own expence, ſent deputies to him with an offer of their ſubmiſſion and ſervices; and he demanded from it a certain number of ſoldiers, which were immediately ſent to him. There he was joined by the *12th* legion, and, with this additional force, he continued his march to *Aſculum*, of which *Lentulus Spinther* had taken poſſeſſion, with ten cohorts. *Lentulus*, on the firſt news of his approach, quitted the place, and, in his retreat, was almoſt intirely deſerted by his men: He joined, with the few that remained, *Vibullius Rufus*, whom *Pompey* had ſent into *Picenum*, to encourage his followers in thoſe parts. This Commander, underſtanding the ſtate of affairs, and ſeeing himſelf unable to make head againſt *Cæſar*, drew together, from the neighbouring provinces, as many of *Pompey*'s levies as he could meet with, and, among the reſt, ſix cohorts under the command of *Ulcilles Hirrus*, who were flying from *Camerinum*, where they had been quartered; and, having formed, out of all theſe, thirteen cohorts, he poſted by great journeys to *Corfinium*, where *Domitius* had already got together twenty-two, well diſpoſed to *Pompey*'s cauſe.

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Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

Pompey's intention was not that thoſe numerous cohorts ſhould remain in *Corfinium*, and there become a prey to *Cæſar*: He wrote the moſt preſſing letters to *L. Domitius* to bring them to him; and theſe, as their contents are both intereſting and neceſſary for the underſtanding of *Pompey*'s conduct, ſhould not be omitted, I think, by any one who writes the hiſtory of theſe times.

CN. MAGNUS, Proconſul, to DOMITIUS, Proconſul.

"I AM ſurpriſed at my not hearing from you, and that all my "public intelligence comes through other hands than yours. With "forces ſo diſunited as ours are it is impoſſible for us to be a match "for our enemies; but, were they united, I am in hopes we may "be yet the means of ſaving our country and providing for our own "ſafety. Therefore, as *Vibullius* wrote to me, on the 9th of *Febru*-"*ary*, that you were about to march from *Corfinium* to join me with "your army, I cannot comprehend why you have altered your reſolu-"tion. The reaſon *Vibullius* intimated to me, *viz.* that you had intelli-"gence of *Cæſar*'s march from *Firmum* to the caſtle of *Truentum*, was a "trifling one: For, the quicker the enemy's advances were towards you, "your diſpatch ought to have been the greater to join me, before *Cæſar* "could have the means of either obſtructing your march, or of cutting "off my communication with you. I therefore, in the moſt earneſt "manner, intreat you again to take the very firſt opportunity of march-

Ad Att. viii. 12.

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"ing to *Luceria*, before the troops which *Cæſar* propoſes to draw together can cut off our communication with one another. Should any endeavour to perſuade you to remain as a guard to their properties, you cannot refuſe to ſend me the cohorts which came from *Picenum* and *Camerinum*, and which have left behind them all their fortunes."

CN. MAGNUS, Proconſul, to DOMITIUS, Proconſul.

Ad Att. viii. 12.

"*M. CALENIUS* brought me a letter from you the 16*th* of *February*, informing me, that you intended to obſerve *Cæſar*'s motions; and, ſhould he point his march for me by the ſea, that you would forthwith join me in *Samnium*; but, ſhould he tarry about thoſe parts, that you was reſolved to check him, in caſe he ſhould attempt to extend his quarters. I am ſenſible this reſolution proceeds from your courage and magnanimity; but we muſt be upon our guard, leſt our being divided may give the enemy a ſuperiority, as his army, which is already ſtrong, is hourly increaſing. It is inconſiſtent with your wiſdom to have an eye only to the number of cohorts which *Cæſar* at preſent commands againſt you, without reflecting upon the great force of cavalry and infantry which he will, in a very ſhort time, aſſemble. The letter I received from *Buſſenius* is an evidence that his ſtrength will be much more conſiderable ſoon; for he tells me, and his intelligence is confirmed by many other correſpondents, that *Curio* has drawn all the garriſons out of *Umbria* and *Tuſcany*, and is marching at their head to join *Cæſar*. Now ſhould all theſe troops join, and part of them be detached towards *Alba*, while part of them defile towards you, you muſt be ſhut up, as the enemy needs not fight you but upon his own terms: Neither can you, ſingly, in the face of ſuch an enemy, ſend out foraging parties to maintain your numbers. I therefore again earneſtly conjure you forthwith to march all your troops hither, the Conſuls having come to the ſame reſolution.

"I ordered *Metuſcilius* to acquaint you, how neceſſary it was for me to take care, that the two legions ſhould not, without the *Picentine* cohorts, come in ſight of *Cæſar*'s quarters. You are therefore to give yourſelf no concern, if you ſhall hear that I retreat upon *Cæſar*'s advancing againſt me. I muſt take care not to engage myſelf too far; for both the ſeaſon of the year, and the diſpoſitions of my ſoldiers, render it impracticable for me to form a regular incampment; nor would it be adviſeable for me to draw all our garriſons from the fortified places, leſt I ſhould be cut off from all retreat. I have, therefore, aſſembled no more than fourteen cohorts at *Luceria*. The Conſuls are either to join me with the troops they have drawn from the fortified places, or they are to go to *Sicily*.

"

" For, we muſt either have an army ſtrong enough to force our way Y. R. 704.
" through the enemy, or we muſt take poſſeſſion of ſuch paſſes as they Bef. Chr. 48.
" cannot force. Now, both theſe expedients are impracticable at this 403. Conſ.
" juncture, both becauſe *Cæſar* is maſter of great part of *Italy*, and be-
" cauſe our army is neither ſo well provided, nor ſo numerous as his.
" We are therefore to be the more cautious in expoſing the intereſts of
" the Republic. I again conjure you inſtantly to join me with all your
" troops. We may yet reſtore the government, if we ſerve her in con-
" cert with one another; but, by being diſſipated and diſunited, we
" ſhall become weak. Such are my ſentiments.

" *P. S.* When I had finiſhed this letter, *Sica* delivered to me your
" letter and commiſſion, exhorting me to march towards *Corfinium*;
" but that, I think, is what I cannot venture to do, eſpecially as I
" put no great truſt in the fidelity of the legions I command."

Pompey, who had become ſenſible of the impoſſibility of defending *Rome*, and of his error in leaving the public money a prey to *Cæſar* [p], had ſent, on the 7th of *February*, the Tribune *C. Caſſius* to *Capua* with directions to the Conſuls to return to the city, which they were to leave, after taking all the money out of the Sacred Treaſury. But one of the Conſuls wrote back to *Pompey*, that he ſhould firſt make himſelf Maſter of *Picenum*. The thing was now become impracti- Ad Att.
cable: " Return to *Rome*," ſays *Cicero*, " where is their convoy? vii. 21.
" Return from *Rome*, how ſhall they obtain leave?" Notwithſtanding this teſtimony of *Cicero*, our modern Hiſtorians commonly ſuppoſe that *Lentulus* did venture to go to *Rome*, and that it was on this occaſion, that, frightened by a falſe report of *Cæſar*'s approach, he betook himſelf to flight without waiting till the inner door was opened, which is alſo contrary to the expreſs teſtimony of *Cæſar*.

Cæſar, having made himſelf Maſter of *Aſculum*, ordered the ſoldiers who had deſerted *Lentulus* to be ſought after, and new levies to be made. He remained there but one day, to ſettle what related to proviſions, and purſued his march to *Corfinium*. His advanced parties found five cohorts employed in breaking down a bridge three miles

[p] " The leaving the public treaſure at " *Rome* a prey to *Cæſar* is cenſured more " than once by *Cicero*, as one of the blun- " ders of his friends: [See *Ad Att.* vii. 12. " 15.] but it is a common caſe in civil diſ- " ſenſions, for the honeſter ſide, through " the fear of diſcrediting their cauſe by any " *irregular act*, to ruin it by an *unſeaſon- " able moderation*. The public money was " kept in the temple of *Saturn*, and the " Conſuls contented themſelves with carry- " ing away the keys, *fancying that the ſanc- " tity of the place would ſecure it from vio- " lence*; eſpecially when the greateſt part of " it was a fund of the ſacred kind, ſet apart " by the laws for occaſions only of the laſt " exigency, or the terror of a *Gallic* inva- " ſion." Dr. *Middl.* p. 104. *Cicero* ſays that he adviſed the carrying away of this *ſacred treaſure*. [*Ad Att.* ix. 2.] And it was all along the intention of *Pompey* and the Conſuls ſo to do, and it would have been done, had not their fears deprived them of their ſenſes.

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diſtant from the town, who inſtantly retired upon the firſt attack; and *Cæſar* brought his legions under the very walls where he pitched his camp.

As this was the firſt place which dared to make head againſt *Cæſar*, every body expected with impatience what would be the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. The *Pompeians*, [q] both at *Rome* and in other parts of *Italy*, conceived great hopes, and did not doubt but *Pompey* would advance to the aſſiſtance of *Domitius*, to which he was earneſtly preſſed by that Commander; who repreſented by letters, "that it would be eaſy in "that cloſe country to ſhut up *Cæſar* between two armies, and cut off "all his proviſions; and that, unleſs this courſe was followed, a great "number of Senators and Roman Knights would be expoſed to immi-"nent danger." He, at the ſame time, made preparations for a vigorous defence: He diſpoſed engines all round the walls, appointed every one his particular poſt, and, to animate his men, promiſed every ſoldier four acres of land out of his own eſtate, and in proportion to every centurion and volunteer.

Cæſar de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

Cæſar, who was not without apprehenſions of being attacked by *Pompey*, employed the three firſt days after his ſitting down before *Corfinium* in ſtrongly fortifying his camp, and in procuring corn from the neighbouring towns. He did not, however, keep altogether within his intrenchments. Being informed that the people of *Sulmona*, a town ſeven miles diſtant from *Corfinium*, deſired to put themſelves under his protection, but were hindered by *Q. Lucretius*, a Senator, and *Attius*, a *Pelignian*, who held them in ſubjection with a garriſon of ſeven cohorts; he ſent thither *M. Antony* with five cohorts, whoſe enſigns were no ſooner deſcried from the walls, than the gates were thrown open, and the whole people in a body, both ſoldiers and townſmen, came out to congratulate *Antony* on his arrival. *Lucretius* and *Attius* endeavoured to eſcape over the walls; but *Attius* was taken. *Antony* returned the ſame day; and *Cæſar*, having joined the cohorts to his army, ſet *Attius* at liberty.

"[q] A letter from *Philotimus* informed me "on the 9th of *February*, in the evening, "that *Domitius* was at the head of a ſtrong "army, which had been joined by the "cohorts from *Picenum*, under the conduct "of *Lentulus* and *Thermus*; that *Cæſar* "was apprehenſive his communication "would be cut off, which could be eaſily "effected; and that the Patriot party at "*Rome* had recovered their ſpirits, and that "the rebels were in a manner thunder-"ſtruck. Tho' I am informed that this good "news is little better than viſionary; yet "this letter from *Philotimus* has brought to "life *M. Lepidus*, *L. Torquatus*, and the "Tribune *C. Caſſius*, who are with me at "*Formiæ*. For my own part, I am afraid "they are not ſo well founded as the ac-"counts are of our being almoſt ſurrounded "by the enemy, and that *Pompey* is retiring "from *Italy*." Ad Att. vii. 23.

"At preſent I have a ſmall gleam of "hope, and it is chiefly occaſioned by the "letter which came from *Rome* concerning "*L. Domitius* and the *Picentine* cohorts. "Every thing ſince has put on a more "chearful aſpect, and nobody thinks of "flying, as they intended. *Cæſar*'s threat-"ening manifeſto's are deſpiſed; in ſhort, "our reports concerning *Domitius* are good, "thoſe concerning *Afranius* ſtill better." Ibid. *Ep.* 26.

liberty. His army was now alſo conſiderably increaſed by the arrival of the eighth legion, with two and twenty cohorts of new levies, and about three hundred horſe from the King of *Noricum*. This obliged him to form a ſecond camp on the other ſide of the town under the command of *Curio*, who had brought up theſe recruits, as *Pompey* had foreſeen, and foretold to *Domitius*. He employed the following days in drawing a line with redoubts round the place; which was nearly completed, when the meſſengers that had been ſent by *Domitius* to *Pompey* returned with this anſwer: Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

CN. MAGNUS, Proconſul, to DOMITIUS, Proconſul.

"YOUR letter of the 17*th of February* came to my hands, adviſing me of *Cæſar*'s having incamped before *Corfinium*. I foreſaw and forewarned you of what has happened; that, as things now ſtand, he would not venture to fight you; and that he would draw together all his forces to coop you up, to obſtruct the communication between you and me, and to prevent your joining the well-affected troops you command with my ſuſpected legions. Your letter alarms me the more, becauſe I cannot ſtake the whole fortune of the Republic upon the loyalty of the troops that ſerve under me; nor am I yet joined by thoſe the Conſuls have levied. I therefore recommend it to you to do all you can, if it is now poſſible, to diſengage yourſelf, and immediately to join me, before the enemy's junction can be completed; for our new recruits cannot march time enough to this rendezvous; and, though they were already come up, you are ſenſible how little dependence there is on raw men, who are ſtrangers to one another, againſt a veteran army." *Pompey* wrote at the ſame time the following letter to the Conſuls: Ad Att. viii. 13.

CN. MAGNUS, Proconſul, to C. MARCELLUS and L. LENTULUS, Conſuls.

"BEING perſuaded, that, while we remained ſcattered, we could neither ſerve the Republic, nor defend ourſelves, I wrote to *L. Domitius*, that he ſhould make all haſte to join me with his whole force; and, if he had any apprehenſions with regard to himſelf, that he ſhould ſend me the nineteen cohorts which were upon their march to join me from *Picenum*. It happened, as I dreaded, that *Domitius* was ſurrounded, without having with him forces ſufficient for a regular incampment; my nineteen cohorts and his twelve being quartered in three different towns: (for he had ſtationed ſome of them at *Alba*, and ſome at *Sulmo*;) nor, indeed, could he eſcape ſhould he attempt it. Now, you muſt know, that this accident gives me the greateſt diſquiet imaginable. At the ſame time that I earneſtly deſire to de- Ibid.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

"liver ſo many illuſtrious *Romans* from the danger of being beſieged, it "is impoſſible for me to relieve them; becauſe I judge it unſafe to "march the two legions I command here into thoſe quarters; and of "thoſe two legions I can bring together no more than fourteen cohorts; "having thrown a garriſon into *Brunduſium*, and taken care of *Canu-* "*ſium*, which I did not think proper to leave without a ſufficient force "to defend it.

"As I was in hopes that our army would grow ſtronger, I charged "*Lælius* with a requeſt, if you thought proper, that one of you ſhould "repair to me, and that the other ſhould go to *Sicily* with the troops "you have raiſed at *Capua* or in its neighbourhood, and with the levies "of *Fauſtus*; that *Domitius* ſhould join them with his twelve cohorts; "and that the reſt of the troops ſhould aſſemble at *Brunduſium*, and be "ſhipped over from thence to *Dyrrachium*. Now, as things are circum- "ſtanced, it is as much out of my power, as out of yours, to relieve *Do-* "*mitius*, who cannot get off by the mountains: And we are to take "care that the enemy ſhall neither come up with thoſe fourteen waver- "ing cohorts, nor overtake me in my march. I therefore think proper, "and I am joined in ſentiments by *Marcellus*, and the other Senators "in this place, to march the troops I have with me here to *Brunduſium*. "I therefore requeſt you to make all poſſible diſpatch to join me there, "with as many troops as you can get together. My opinion is, that "you give to the troops, you have with you, the arms you propoſed to "ſend to me; and, if you have more than are requiſite for that purpoſe, "it will be of great ſervice, if they can be conveyed in waggons to "*Brunduſium*. I beg that you will give our friends advice concerning "that matter. I have ſent to require the Prætors, *P. Lupus* and "*C. Coponius*, to join me, and to reſign to you the command of their "forces." [r]

Domi-

[r] In a letter from *Cicero* to *Atticus*, there is a ſhort letter from *Pompey* to the Conſuls on this occaſion, which was written before that which we have now tranſcribed: It runs thus: "I received a letter from *L. Domi-* "*tius* on the 17*th of February*, of which I "incloſe you a copy. Now, though I had "not written to you, I know you are ſenſi- "ble how important it is for the Common- "wealth, that, as ſoon as poſſible, there "ſhould be a general muſter at one place of "all our forces. Therefore, if you pleaſe, "you will make all poſſible diſpatch to join "me; and leave at *Capua* ſuch a garriſon "as you ſhall judge ſufficient." Ad Att. viii. 6. Here *Pompey* conceals his anſwer to *Domitius*, and his reſolution of leaving *Italy*. *Cicero*, who did not doubt but the rendezvous was in order to march forwards, is in great terror for the event on the meeting of the two armies. In the next letter he ſeems to have penetrated into *Pompey*'s deſign; and, in the eighth, he reflects thus on *Pompey*'s conduct: "Diſgraceful and therefore "miſerable meaſure! for ſuch are my ſenti- "ments, that what is diſgraceful is the laſt, "nay the only character of miſery. He "had foſtered up *Cæſar*'s power; of a "ſudden he begins to fear him, he diſcou- "rages all advances to an accommodation, "he neglects all preparation for war, he a- "bandons the city, his miſconduct loſes *Pi-* "*cenum*, he pins himſelf up in *Apulia*, he "prepares to go to *Greece*, he forſakes us "without bidding us adieu, and utter ſtran- "gers to thoſe mighty, thoſe monſtrous re-

ſolu-

Domitius thought proper to diſſemble the contents of the letter he had received from *Pompey*, and declared in Council, that this General of the Republic would ſpeedily come to their aſſiſtance: And he exhorted his troops to behave with courage, and to obey thoſe orders which were neceſſary for providing every thing for a vigorous defence. But as his looks and ſpeech were found to diſagree, and as he behaved not with his uſual compoſure and firmneſs, and was obſerved, contrary to his cuſtom, to be much in conference with his friends, it was not poſſible to conceal the truth. In the evening of the ſame day, the ſoldiers diſcovered that they were not to receive any ſuccour, and that their Commander was meditating his eſcape: And they began to mutiny, and by means of their Under-officers to make known their thoughts to one another. "They were beſieged (they ſaid) by *Cæſar*, who had already in "a manner completed his works; and their General *Domitius*, in whoſe "promiſes of aſſiſtance they had placed their chief hope, abandoning all "concern for their ſafety, was contriving to eſcape privately by flight: "Wherefore it was their buſineſs to look to their own preſervation." The *Marſi*, ignorant of the motive that prompted their companions to mutiny, at firſt oppoſed this reſolution, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſtrongeſt part of the town; and the diſpute grew ſo warm that it almoſt came to be decided by the ſword. But, as ſoon as they underſtood that *Domitius* was preparing for a private eſcape, they dropped their oppoſition, and joined in the ſedition. The perſon of *Domitius* was then ſecured, and Deputies were ſent to *Cæſar*, to inform him, "that "the town and the garriſon were ready to receive his orders."

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

Though *Cæſar* was fully ſenſible of what great importance it was to get poſſeſſion of the town immediately, and join ſo numerous a garriſon to his own army, leſt by largeſſes, promiſes of ſpeedy relief, or falſe reports, any change ſhould be produced in the minds of the ſoldiers; yet fearing that, if he introduced his troops into it in the night, they would take that opportunity to plunder it, he ſent back the Deputies with thanks for their proffer, and delayed the taking poſſeſſion of it till the next day. But he cauſed the walls and the gates to be watched with the greateſt care: He diſpoſed his men along the works, not at certain diſtances,

"ſolutions. Well, all at once a letter comes "from *Domitius* to him, and another from him "to the Conſuls.—*Pompey* retires to *Bru-*"*ndiſium*." [*Cicero* is often too ſevere upon his friend *Pompey* even in regard to his military capacity: The letters above do not ſhew him to have been at this time *ſo bewildered and out of his ſenſes*, as *Cicero* repreſents him in ſeveral of his epiſtles, for no other reaſon, perhaps, than becauſe he did not think proper to make this timorous and talkative orator privy to his motions.] "Where "or when are we to emerge, headed as "we are by a General who knows ſo little "of his profeſſion, that he was a ſtranger to "the important ſituation of *Picenum*? His "miſconduct carries its condemnation upon "its own face.——Even at this time I am "ignorant of his deſigns, but am inceſſantly "endeavouring to fiſh ſomewhat out of him "by letters: Nothing can be more un-"manly or unmeaning than the whole of "his management." *Ad Att.* vii. 13.

Y.R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

diſtances, as uſual, but in one continued range, ſo as to touch each other, and to form a circle; and he ordered the military Tribunes and Officers of the cavalry to patrole about the works, and not only to be upon their guard againſt ſallies, but to take care to prevent the eſcape of any particular perſons. Not a man in the camp cloſed his eyes that night: All were buſy in executing the General's orders, and in conjecturing the fate of the *Corfinians*, of *Domitius*, *Lentulus*, and the other illuſtrious *Romans* confined in the town.

Three in the morning.

About the fourth watch of the night, *Lentulus Spinther* called from the wall to the guard, and deſired to be conducted to *Cæſar*. His requeſt being granted, he came out of the town, attended by ſome of *Domitius*'s ſoldiers, who never left him till he was in *Cæſar*'s preſence: "He begged *Cæſar* to ſpare his life, and pardon the injuries he had done "him, in conſideration of their former friendſhip. He owned the "many great favours he had formerly received from him; that, by his "intereſt, he had been elected into the College of Prieſts, obtained the "government of *Spain*, after the expiration of his prætorſhip, and that he "had been aſſiſted by him when he was candidate for the conſulſhip." Here *Cæſar*, interrupting him, ſaid, "that he was not come out of the "bounds of his province with an intent to injure any one: But to repel "the injuries done to him by his enemies; to revenge the wrongs of "the Tribunes; and to reſtore the *Roman* people, who were oppreſſed "by a ſmall faction of the Nobles, to their liberty and privileges." *Lentulus*, encouraged by this ſpeech, aſked leave to return into the town; "where" he ſaid, "the aſſurances he had obtained of his own "ſafety, would contribute not a little to the conſolation of others, ſome "of whom were ſo terrified, that they were ready to take deſperate "reſolutions."

As ſoon as it was light, *Cæſar* ordered before him all the principal men. Theſe were *L. Domitius*, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, *L. Vibullius Rufus*, *Sextus Quinctilius Varus*, Quæſtor, and *L. Rubrius*; who were of Senatorian rank; and *Domitius*'s ſon, and ſeveral young men of quality, with ſome *Roman* Knights, and a few Decurions or Senators of the neighbouring municipal towns. When they appeared, he gave orders to ſecure them from the inſults of the ſoldiery; and, addreſſing them in a few words, he reproached them with their animoſity to him, which he ſaid he had not deſerved, and then ſet them all at liberty. He likewiſe reſtored to *Domitius* ſix millions of ſeſterces, which that General had brought with him to *Corfinium*, and had depoſited in the hands of the two Treaſurers of the town. As this was public money aſſigned by *Pompey* for the payment of his forces, *Cæſar* might juſtly have ſeized it; but, he ſays, he was willing to ſhew himſelf generous as well as merciful. He ordered *Domitius*'s ſoldiers to take the uſual oath to him, and ſet out immediately for *Apulia*, in purſuit of *Pompey*; who, having now loſt, by the raſhneſs of *Domitius*, the half of his forces, and the only troops well-

48437 l. ſterl.

well-affectioned to his cauſe, was under the neceſſity of retiring with all expedition, and of abandoning *Italy* to his rival. [a] Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48.

Mean-while, a notion univerſally prevailed among the *Pompeians*, of *Cæſar*'s *cruel and revengeful temper*, from which horrible effects were apprehended: *Cicero* himſelf was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with it, as appears from many of his letters; where he ſeems to take it for granted, that he would be a ſecond *Phalaris*, not a *Piſiſtratus*; a bloody, not a gentle tyrant. This he inferred from the *violence of his paſt life*; *the nature of his preſent enterpriſe*; *and, above all, from the character of his friends* and *followers*; who were, generally ſpeaking, a needy, profligate, audacious crew; prepared for every thing that was deſperate. It was affirmed likewiſe, with great confidence, he had openly declared, that he was now coming to revenge the deaths of *Cn. Carbo*, *M. Brutus*, and *all the other Marian Chiefs*, whom *Pompey*, when acting under *Sylla*, had cruelly put to death for their oppoſition to the *Syllan* cauſe. His generous and magnanimous behaviour to his moſt inveterate enemies, taken at *Corfinium*, allayed all theſe vain ſuſpicions and fears, and confirmed what he had always given out, that *he fought nothing by the war, but the ſecurity of his perſon and dignity*. The following letter to *Oppius* and *Balbus* was publiſhed at that time, and expreſſes the motives of his conduct. 403 Conſ. Middl. p. 79.

Cæsar to Oppius and Balbus.

" I AM extremely glad at your expreſſing, under your hands, your " great approbation of what has paſſed at *Corfinium*: I will follow your " advice with the greater pleaſure, that it was always my own diſpoſition " to act with the utmoſt lenity, and to court an accommodation with " *Pompey*. Let us try whether it be poſſible, by this means, to regain " the affections of mankind, and to make our ſucceſſes durable; ſince " others by cruelty fell into deteſtation: and none of them, excepting " *Sylla*, whom I don't chuſe to imitate, enjoyed his ſucceſſes long: Let " us ſhew the world a new method of conquering; and let *clemency and* " *munificence be my only guards*. I have already formed ſome ſchemes; " and many more may be formed, for effecting this. I deſire you to " turn your thoughts to the ſame ſubject. Ad Att. ix. 7.

" I took

[a] *Cæſar* made himſelf maſter of *Corfinium* viii. *kal. Mar.* or the 22*d* of *February* of the *Roman* year: According to *Uſher*, the 11*th* of the *Julian December*; but really on the 26th of *January*. *Cælius*, in a letter written to *Cicero*, while *Cæſar* was marching from *Corfinium* to *Brunduſium*, ſays: " Look " upon *Cæſar*'s troops, my friend, and tell " me, whether one would not imagine, by " the gaiety of their countenances, that, inſtead of having fought their way through " the rougheſt and coldeſt countries in the " *hardeſt winter*, they had been regaling " themſelves in all the delicacies of eaſe and " plenty?"—" *Nonne tibi noſtri milites, qui* " *duriſſimis et frigidiſſimis locis*, teterrima " hieme, *bellum ambulando confecerunt, malis* " *orbiculatis eſſe paſti videntur?*." Ep. Fam. viii. 15. Melm. vii. 7.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

"I took priſoner *Cn. Magius*, one of *Pompey*'s maſters of the works; "but, according to the plan I laid down, I inſtantly diſmiſſed him. "He is the ſecond maſter of the works who has fallen into my hands, "and whom I have diſmiſſed. If they want to ſhew their gratitude, "they will exhort *Pompey* to prefer my friendſhip to that of thoſe men, "who have ever ſhewn themſelves both his and my enemies; and by "whoſe practices the public is reduced to its preſent ſtate."

This conduct gave a conſiderable turn to his affairs;[t] while the behaviour of *Pompey*, on the other hand, appeared every day more and more deſpicable. He fled perpetually before an enemy whom his pride and perverſeneſs were ſaid to have driven to the neceſſity of taking arms; and he was continually throwing out threats againſt thoſe who did not follow him: Before he ſet out from *Brunduſium*, he talked of nothing but proſcriptions, and of acting in imitation of *Sylla*; and his future conduct ſufficiently anſwered theſe early profeſſions.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. I. i.

As ſoon as he got intelligence of the ſurrendry of *Corfinium*, he retreated from *Luceria* to *Canuſium*, and from thence to *Brunduſium*.[u] Here he

Ad At. viii. 13.

[t] "Are you not ſenſible, ſays *Cicero* to "*Atticus*, what a diſcerning, what a vigi- "lant, what a reſolute Commander the "Commonwealth has to do with. By Hea- "vens! if he does not imbrue his hand in "blood, or ſtretch it out in rapine, he will "become the darling of thoſe who dreaded "him moſt. I have had a great deal of "talk with our townſmen, and a great deal "with our country gentlemen in theſe "quarters: And, take my word for it, "they have no concern but about their "lands, their farms, and their money. "You ſee what a paſs things are come to. "They fear the man they truſted; they "love the man they feared. It is with an- "guiſh that I recollect the miſcarriages and "miſconduct that have brought us to this."

Middl. p. 81.

From this firſt experiment of *Cæſar*'s clemency, *Cicero* took occaſion to ſend him a letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of *Lentulus*, who, when Conſul, had been the chief author of his reſtoration; to which *Cæſar* returned the following anſwer:

"You judge rightly of me, for I am "thoroughly known to you, that nothing is "farther removed from me than cruelty; "and, as I have a great pleaſure from the "thing itſelf, ſo I rejoice and triumph to "find my act approved by you: Nor does "it at all move me, that thoſe, who were "diſmiſſed by me, are ſaid to be gone away "to renew the war againſt me; for I deſire "nothing more, than that I may always act "like myſelf; they like themſelves.* I "wiſh that you would meet me at the city, "that I may uſe your council and aſſiſtance "as I have hitherto done in all things. "Nothing, I aſſure you, is dearer to me "than *Dolabella*; I will owe this favour "therefore to him: Nor is it poſſible for "him indeed to behave otherwiſe, ſuch is "his humanity, his good ſenſe, and his af- "fection to me. Adieu!" *Ad Att.* ix. 16.

[u] *Pompey* was now obliged to declare what he had never before owned, his deſign of quitting *Italy*, and carrying the war abroad; he gave notice of it to *Cicero*, and wrote two letters to him at *Formiæ*, to preſs him to come away directly; but *Cicero*, already much out of humour with him, was diſguſted ſtill the more by his ſhort and negligent manner of writing, upon an occaſion ſo

* *Domitius* retired to his country-houſe at *Coſa*, in *Tuſcany*; and, having manned ſome ſhips with his own ſervants, ſet ſail for *Marſeilles*; which he held for *Pompey*, with conſent of the inhabitants, and defended it, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, againſt *Cæſar*. *Ad. Att.* ix. 6. *Cæſar de Bell. Civ. lib.* ii. *Lentulus* went ſecretly to his houſe at *Puteoli*; and, after concealing himſelf for ſome time, he joined *Pompey*. *Vibullius Rufus* went alſo to *Pompey*, who ſent him into *Spain*, charged with orders to his Lieutenants there: And *Varus* ſailed for *Africa*.

he ordered all the new levies to join him; and, arming three hundred slaves and shepherds, he furnished them with horses. The Prætor, Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conf.

so important: The second of *Pompey*'s letters, with *Cicero*'s answer, will explain the present state of their affairs, and *Cicero*'s sentiments upon them.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, Proconsul, to M. CICERO, Emperor:

"IF you are in good health, I rejoice: "I read your letter with pleasure: For I "perceived in it your ancient virtue by "your concern for the common safety. "The Consuls are come to the army, which "I had in *Apulia:* I earnestly exhort you, "by your singular and perpetual affection "to the Republic, to come also to us; that, "by our joint advice, we may give help "and relief to the afflicted State. I would "have you make the *Appian* way your "road, and come in all haste to *Brundusium*. "Take care of your health." *Ad Att.* viii. 11.

M. CICERO, Emperor, to CN. MAGNUS, Proconsul.

"WHEN I sent that letter, which was "delivered to you at *Canusium*, I had no sus-"picion of your crossing the sea for the ser-"vice of the Republic, and was in great "hopes that we should be able either to "bring about an accommodation, which "to me seemed the most useful, or to de-"fend the Republic with the greatest dig-"nity in *Italy*. In the mean time, before "my letter reached you, being informed of "your resolution by the instructions which "you sent to the Consuls, I did not wait "till I could have a letter from you, but set "out immediately towards you, with my "brother, and our children, to *Apulia*. "When we were come to *Theanum*, your "friend *C. Messius*, and many others, told "us, that *Cæsar* was in the road to *Capua*, "and would lodge that very night at *Æser-*"*nia:* I was much disturbed at it; because, "if it was true, I not only took my journey "to be precluded, but myself also to be "certainly a prisoner. I went on, there-"fore, to *Cales*, with intent to stay there, "till I could learn from *Æsernia* the cer-"tainty of my intelligence: At *Cales*, there "was brought to me a copy of the letter "which you wrote to the Consul *Lentulus*, "with which you sent the copy also of one "that you had received from *Domitius*, "dated the 18*th* of *February*, and signified "that it was of great importance to the Re-"public that all the troops should be drawn "together, as soon as possible, to one place; "yet so as to leave a sufficient garrison in "*Capua*. Upon reading these letters, I "was of the same opinion with all the rest, "that you were resolved to march to *Cor-*"*finium* with all your forces; whither, when "*Cæsar* lay before the town, I thought it "impossible for me to come. While this "affair was in the utmost expectation, "we were informed at one and the same "time both of what had happened at *Cor-*"*finium*, and that you were actually march-"ing towards *Brundusium:* And, when I "and my brother resolved, without hesita-"tion, to follow you thither, we were ad-"vertised by many, who came from *Sam-*"*nium* and *Apulia*, to take care that we did "not fall into *Cæsar*'s hands; for that he "was upon his march to the same places "where our road lay, and would reach "them sooner than we could possibly do. "This being the case, it did not seem ad-"viseable to me, or my brother, or any of "our friends, to run the risk of hurting, "not only ourselves, but the Republic, by "our rashness: Especially when we could "not doubt, but that, if the journey had "been safe to us, we should not then be "able to overtake you. In the mean while "I received your letter dated from *Canu-*"*sium*, the 21*st* of *February*, in which you "exhort me to come in all haste to *Brun-*"*dusium:* But, as I did not receive it till "the 29*th*, I made no question but that "you were already arrived at *Brundusium*; "and all that road seemed wholly shut up "to us, and we ourselves as surely inter-"cepted as those who were taken at *Cor-*"*finium:* For we did not reckon them only "to be prisoners, who were actually fallen "into the enemy's hands, but those too "not less so, who happen to be inclosed "within the quarters and garrisons of their "adversaries. Since this is our case, I "heartily wish, in the first place, that I "had

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conf. *L. Manlius*, in his retreat from *Alba*, with ſix cohorts, and the Prætor *Rutilius Lupus*, from *Terracina*, with three, perceiving *Cæſar*'s cavalry at a diſtance, commanded by *Bivius Curius*, were extremely diſconcerted; and, while they meditated what ſtep to take, their ſoldiers deſerted them, and joined the troops under the conduct of *Curius*. Several other parties, flying different ways, fell in, ſome with *Cæſar*'s foot, others with his cavalry. *Cn. Magius*, of *Cremona*, *Pompey*'s maſter of the works, or chief engineer, being taken in his way to *Brunduſium*,

" had always been with you, as I then told " you, when I relinquiſhed the command " of *Capua*, which I did not do for the ſake " of avoiding trouble, but becauſe I ſaw " that the town could not be held without " an army, and was unwilling that the ſame " accident ſhould happen to me, which, to " my ſorrow, has happened to ſome of our " braveſt citizens at *Corfinium*: But, ſince it " has not been my lot to be with you, I wiſh " that I had been made privy to your coun- " cils; for I could not poſſibly ſuſpect, and " ſhould ſooner have believed any thing, " than that, for the good of the Republic, " under ſuch a leader as you, we ſhould not " be able to ſtand our ground in *Italy*: " Nor do I now blame your conduct, but " lament the fate of the Republic; and, " though I cannot comprehend what it is " which you have followed, yet I am not " the leſs perſuaded that you have done no- " thing but with the greateſt reaſon. You " remember, I believe, that my opinion al- " ways was, firſt, to preſerve peace, even on " bad conditions; then about leaving the " city; for, as to *Italy*, you never intimated " a tittle to me about it; but I do not take " upon myſelf to think that my advice " ought to have been followed: I followed " yours; nor that for the ſake of the Re- " public, of which I deſpaired, and which " is now overturned, ſo as not to be raiſed " up again without a civil and moſt perni- " cious war. I ſought you; deſired to be " with you; nor will I omit the firſt oppor- " tunity which offers of effecting it. I " eaſily perceived, through all this affair, " that I did not ſatisfy thoſe who are fond " of fighting: For I made no ſcruple to " own, that I wiſhed for nothing ſo much " as peace; not but that I had the ſame " apprehenſions from it as they; but I " thought them more tolerable than a civil " war: Then, after the war was begun, " when I ſaw that conditions of peace were " offered to you, and a full and honourable " anſwer given to them, I began to weigh " and deliberate well upon my own con- " duct, which, conſidering your kindneſs " to me, I fancied that I ſhould eaſily ex- " plain to your ſatisfaction: I recollected " that I was the only man who, *for the* " *greateſt ſervices to the public, had ſuffered a* " *moſt wretched and cruel puniſhment: That* " *I was the only one, who, if I offended him,* " *to whom, at the very time when we were* " *in arms againſt him, a ſecond conſulſhip and* " *moſt ſplendid triumph were offered, ſhould be* " *involved again in all the ſame ſtruggles*; ſo " that my perſon ſeemed to ſtand always " expoſed as a public mark to the inſults of " profligate citizens: Nor did I ſuſpect any " of theſe things till I was openly threatened " with them: Nor was I ſo much afraid of " them, if they were really to befal me, as " I judged it prudent to decline them, if " they could honeſtly be avoided. You " ſee, in ſhort, the ſtate of my conduct " while we had any hopes of peace; what " has ſince happened deprived me of all " power to do any thing: But to thoſe " whom I do not pleaſe I can eaſily anſwer, " *that I never was more a friend to C. Cæſar* " *than they*, nor they ever better friends to " the Republic than myſelf: The only dif- " ference between me and them is, that as " they are excellent citizens, and I not far " removed from that character, it was my " advice to proceed by way of treaty, which " I underſtood to be approved alſo by you; " theirs by way of arms; and, ſince this " method has prevailed, it ſhall be my care " to behave myſelf ſo, that the Republic " may not want in me the ſpirit of a true " citizen, nor you of a friend. Adieu." *Ad Att.* viii. 11. The expoſtulations in the latter part of this letter were certainly uſeleſs, unfriendly, and ill-timed. His excuſes in the firſt part were all falſe; for he owns to *Atticus*, *that, in truth, he was willing to conſider a little longer what was right and fit for him to do.*—viii. 12.

was

was brought to *Cæſar*, who ſent him back to *Pompey* with this meſſage: "That, as he had not yet obtained an interview, his deſign was to come "to *Brunduſium*, there to confer with him in relation to the common "ſafety; becauſe they ſoon would be able to diſpatch, in a perſonal "treaty, what, if managed by the intervention of others, might run "into a tedious negociation." It appears, by a letter of *Cæſar* to *Oppius*, [x] that *Pompey* ſent back *Magius*, as ſoon as *Cæſar* arrived before *Brunduſium*, with ſome propoſals which we know nothing of; nor of thoſe in return which were then made by *Cæſar*. Young *Balbus* was ſent alſo after the Conſul *Lentulus*, to endeavour to engage him to ſtay in *Italy*, and to return to the city, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him; and *Cicero* ſeems to think that *Lentulus* might have complied with the invitation, if *Balbus* and he had met; but the Conſul had ſailed before *Balbus* could come up with him. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

In fine, *Cæſar* was ſo bent upon an accommodation, that, ſeeing *Magius* [y] did not return to him, as he expected, he diſpatched *Caninius Rebilus*, one of his Lieutenants, a relation and intimate friend of *Scribonius Libo*, to confer with him on the ſubject. His orders were to exhort *Libo*, in the moſt earneſt manner, to procure an interview between him and *Pompey*: To repreſent to him that, by this means, peace might be concluded upon reaſonable terms; and that the honour of it would redound to him by whoſe mediation both parties ſhould be prevailed with to lay down their arms. *Libo*, after conferring with *Caninius*, waited on *Pompey*, and returned with this anſwer: "That the Conſuls were ab-"ſent, without whom *Pompey* had no power to treat of an accommo-"dation." *Pompey*'s averſion to all negociations was known to his Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. i.

[x] "On the 9*th* of *March*, I arrived at "*Brunduſium*, and have inveſted it. *Pom-*"*pey* is within the place. He ſent *Magius* "to me, to treat of peace. I anſwered "him as I thought proper. I was willing "you ſhould be inſtantly informed of this. "When I ſhall have any proſpect of an ac-"commodation, I will let you know with-"out loſs of time." *Ad Att.* ix. 13. "I "have no copy," ſays *Cicero*, "of the pro-"poſals you aſk for, ſent by *Cæſar* to the "Conſuls and to *Pompey*: While I was upon "the road, I ſent you thoſe brought by "*Ægypta*; by which, I ſuppoſe, you may "gather the ſubſtance of the others." *Ad Att.* ix. 15.

[y] *M Crevier* (Vol. XIII. p. 255.) taking it for granted that *Cæſar* means to ſay in this place that *Magius* was never ſent to him by *Pompey*, makes a very ſevere and haſty reflexion upon his veracity. "*Cæſar*" [to uſe the words of this hiſtorian] "ſays, in his Commentaries, "*that Magius brought him back no anſwer* "*from Pompey*; but we have a letter from "*Cæſar* to *Oppius* and *Balbus*, which proves "the contrary. *Pompey*," ſays he, "has "*ſent Magius to me, with overtures of peace,* "*and I have anſwered him what I thought* "*proper*. It is difficult to reconcile theſe "contradictions, but by ſuppoſing that "*Cæſar* has not been ſcrupulouſly faithful "as to facts in his Commentaries; particu-"larly in what regards the civil war. *Aſi-*"*nius Pollio*, who accompanied him in ſeve-"ral expeditions, expreſsly accuſed him of "it. So that this great man, this gene-"rous, elevated ſoul, diſdained not to diſ-"honour himſelf by falſehood, and to ſup-"preſs the truth in a work deſtined for poſ-"terity." The letter cited by *M. Crevier*, and which is copied above, proves that *Cæſar* expected *Magius* again. His firſt meſſage by him, when taken priſoner, was only in general terms, to demand an inter-view;

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party ;[z] and, leſt the Conſuls ſhould engage in one againſt his will, he was all along very deſirous of ſending them out of *Italy*.

Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. Com. l. i.

Cæſar ſat down, on the *ninth* of *March*, before *Brunduſium* with ſix legions ; three of which were compoſed of veteran ſoldiers, and the reſt of new levies drawn together upon his march. He had ſent *Domitius*'s troops directly from *Corfinium*, towards *Sicily*, not caring to bring them near *Pompey*'s quarters. The Conſuls had ſailed on the *4th* with thirty cohorts, and there were ſtill twenty in the town with *Pompey*. Nor was it certainly known whether he continued there for want of ſhipping to tranſport his troops, or with the deſign to keep poſſeſſion of *Brunduſium*, that he might be maſter of the whole *Adriatic* ſea, the fartheſt parts of *Italy*, and the country of *Greece*, in order to make war on both ſides the Gulph. *Cæſar*, having loſt all hopes of an accommodation, and fearing that it was his intention to keep footing in *Italy*, reſolved to puſh the war with vigour, and to deprive him of the advantages he might reap from the port of *Brunduſium*. The following works were contrived by him for this purpoſe. He carried on a mole on each ſide of the haven where the entrance was narroweſt, and the water ſhallow. But as this undertaking could not be carried quite acroſs the port, by reaſon of the great depth of the ſea, he prepared double floats of timber, thirty feet ſquare, which were each ſecured by four anchors, to enable them to reſiſt the fury of the waves. Theſe, which were to extend all the way between the two moles, were covered over with earth and faſcines, that the ſoldiers might paſs and repaſs with eaſe, and have firm footing to defend them. The front and ſides were armed with a parapet of hurdles ; and every fourth float had a tower of two ſtories, the better to keep the enemies ſhips at a diſtance, and to guard the work from fire and the ſhocks of veſſels.

Againſt theſe preparations *Pompey* made uſe of ſeveral large ſhips, upon which he raiſed turrets three ſtories high ; and, having filled them with engines and darts, he let them looſe upon *Cæſar*'s floats in order to break through the ſtaccado, and interrupt the progreſs of the works. Thus daily ſkirmiſhes happened with darts, arrows, and ſlings, at a diſtance ; and *Cæſar* had ſpent nine days in theſe works, and had half-finiſhed the ſtaccado, when the ſhips employed in the firſt embarkation were ſent back by the Conſuls. *Pompey*, either alarmed at *Cæſar*'s works, or becauſe from the firſt he had reſolved to abandon *Italy*, immediately prepared to carry off the reſt of his forces: And, the better to ſecure his retreat, and to hinder the enemy from breaking into the town

view ; he made no propoſals. *Cæſar* has neglected to mention *Magius*'s firſt viſit ; or, perhaps, as in many other places of his Commentaries, there are ſome lines wanting.

[z] "Your laſt letter is dated the *1ſt* of "*March* ; and in it you wiſh for an interview, and do not deſpair of an accommodation between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* ; but, "in my preſent way of thinking, I cannot "believe that there will be any interview ; "or, if there is, that *Pompey will agree "to any terms*." Ad. Att. viii. 15.

town during the embarkation, he walled up the gates, barricaded the ſtreets, or cut ditches acroſs them, which he filled with pointed ſtakes, and covered with hurdles and earth. The two ſtreets which led to the port, and which he left open for the paſſage of his men, were fortified with a double paliſado of very ſtrong well-ſharpened ſtakes. After theſe precautions, he ordered the ſoldiers to embark in ſilence, having placed on the walls and towers ſome ſelect archers and ſlingers, who were to wait till all the troops had got aboard; and were then, upon a ſignal given, to retire to ſome ſmall ſhips that waited for them at a convenient diſtance. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

The inhabitants of *Brunduſium*, diſſatisfied with *Pompey*'s ſoldiers, and provoked by the damage done to their town by his works, found means to give notice to *Cæſar* of his departure, from the tops of their houſes. He immediately upon this intelligence ordered ſcaling-ladders to be prepared, and the ſoldiers to repair to their arms, that he might not loſe any opportunity of acting. *Pompey* weighed anchor a little before night, and gave the ſignal for recalling the ſoldiers that were upon the walls, who retired with all poſſible expedition to the ſhips prepared for them. At the ſame time the ſcaling-ladders were applied to the walls, and *Cæſar*'s troops entered the town: But, being informed by the *Brunduſians* of the ſnares and ditches provided for them by the enemy, they were obliged to take a circuit; which gave *Pompey* time enough to put to ſea. Two tranſports only, impeded by *Cæſar*'s mole, were taken with the troops on board.

Thus *Pompey*, on the 17*th* of *March*, abandoned all *Italy* to his rival. It is the opinion of many, that he ſaw from the beginning he ſhould be reduced to this neceſſity; but had kept the ſecret to himſelf, and had humoured his party in the contrary notion, often talking big to keep up their ſpirits. In this view, after the deſertion of *Labienus*, he wrote to *Cicero*, "that in a few days he would have a firm army, with "which he would march againſt *Cæſar* into *Picenum*; ſo that the Se-"nate might have an opportunity of returning to the city." *Cicero* may be quoted as of this opinion. In a letter to *Atticus*, he writes to the following purpoſe: "*Pompey* and *Cæſar* are rivals in power—— Ad. Att. viii. 11. "*Pompey* did not abandon *Rome* becauſe it was untenable, nor *Italy* be-"cauſe he was driven out of it; it had all along been his intention to "move earth and ſea, to rouſe barbarous monarchs, to introduce the "troops of barbarous nations into *Italy*, and to levy numerous armies. "He has many to ſecond him in what he has long thirſted for, a ſpecies "of *Sylla*'s tyranny." But *Cicero* writes not always to his friend his real ſentiments; he ſays and unſays: He is now all love, and the moment after all indignation. He begins the tenth letter of the ninth book with theſe words: "I have nothing to write to you; becauſe, "ſince I anſwered yours, the day before yeſterday, I have had no freſh "intelligence. But as fretting not only keeps me from ſleeping, but "gives

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"gives me the greateſt pain while I am awake; I ſet myſelf down to "ſcribble ſomewhat or other, *in which I have no manner of meaning, but* "*to converſe as it were with you, who are my only comfort.*" And I do not perceive any thing in the hiſtory of the commencement of this war, but what convinces me that *Pompey* thought himſelf capable of defending *Italy*; in which opinion he was certainly confirmed by *Labienus*, who would never have quitted *Cæſar*, if he had thought otherwiſe. He gave the ſtrongeſt aſſurances to his party before the rupture, that *Cæſar* would never dare to proceed in an hoſtile manner; and that, if he was mad enough to do ſo, he held him in the utmoſt contempt. He had provided himſelf with two legions of veteran troops, and ordered levies all over *Italy* ſufficient to form eight other legions: And he ſent his Officers with troops to ſtop *Cæſar*'s progreſs. But he was greatly diſappointed in every thing he relied upon, and his ſpirits were ſunk by theſe diſappointments. The ſudden panic that ſeized the town on the firſt news of *Cæſar*'s march, and made the two Conſuls and all the Senators of *Pompey*'s faction fly out of it, put a ſtop to all levies there. In the ſouthern parts, on whoſe affection *Pompey* depended ſo much, the levies went on but ſlowly: The people ſhewed a great backwardneſs to enliſt. The northern parts ſhewed themſelves, contrary to his expectation, to be in *Cæſar*'s intereſt, and ſurrendered to him upon the firſt ſummons: Even many towns declared for him before they were ſummoned. The *Pompeian* Commanders were deſerted every-where by their troops, which inſpired *Pompey* with a juſt diffidence of the two legions that had been taken from *Cæſar*; and which conſtituted, in reality, his chief ſtrength. Laſtly, *Cæſar*'s aſtoniſhing celerity baffled all his attempts to preſerve *Italy*: For, from his ſetting out at *Ravenna* with one legion, though he was forced to take in all the great towns on his road, and ſpent ſeven days before *Corfinium*, and nine before *Brunduſium*; yet in two months he marched the whole length of *Italy*, entered *Brunduſium* with ſix legions, and was maſter of four more at leaſt in different parts of the country.

Ad. Att. viii. 3.

Middl. p. 73.

A very ingenious and juſtly-admired writer, to whoſe performance we are much indebted, but to whoſe opinions we are not always diſpoſed to ſubſcribe, ſpeaks in the following manner of *Cæſar*'s enterpriſe: "If we conſider the famous paſſage of the *Rubicon*, ab"ſtractedly from the event, it ſeems to have been ſo hazardous and deſ"perate, that *Pompey* might reaſonably contemn the thought of it, as "of an attempt too raſh for any prudent man to venture upon. If "*Cæſar*'s view indeed had been to poſſeſs himſelf only of *Italy*, *there* "*could have been no difficulty in it:* His army was undoubtedly the beſt "which was then in the world; fluſhed with victory, animated with "zeal for the perſon of their General, and an overmatch for any which "could be brought againſt it into the field: But this ſingle army was "all that he had to truſt to; he had no reſource: The loſs of one battle

"was

" was certain ruin to him; and yet he muſt neceſſarily run the riſk of A. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.
" many before he could gain his end: For the whole Empire was armed
" againſt him; every province offered a freſh enemy, and a freſh field
" of action, where he was like to be expoſed to the ſame danger as on
" the plains of *Pharſalia*. But, above all, his enemies were maſters of
" the ſea, ſo that he could not tranſport his forces abroad without the
" hazard of their being deſtroyed by a ſuperior fleet, or of being
" ſtarved at land by the difficulty of conveying ſupplies and proviſions
" to them: *Pompey* relied chiefly on this ſingle circumſtance, and was
" perſuaded that it muſt neceſſarily determine the war in his favour:
" So that it ſeems ſurpriſing how ſuch a ſuperiority of advantage, in the
" hands of ſo great a Commander, could poſſibly fail of ſucceſs; and
" we muſt admire rather *the fortune*, than *the conduct of Cæſar*, for car-
" rying himſelf ſafe through all theſe difficulties to the poſſeſſion of the
" Empire."

But it muſt be remembered, on the other hand, that a certain deſtruction would have attended *Cæſar*, if he had ſubmitted to the decree made againſt him by the Senate. He would thereby have been diſarmed at once, and reduced to the condition of a private citizen: And *Pompey*, with all the power of the State in his hands, would eaſily have diſappointed him of the conſulſhip. He intended, it is certain, to do ſo, and even to bring him to trial, as *Cato* and others were continually threatening him: And, of this laſt circumſtance, *Cæſar*, according to *Suetonius*, was really apprehenſive. " He engaged in the war," ſays Suet. in Cæſ. 30.
that hiſtorian, " becauſe he was afraid of being called to an account for
" what he had done in his firſt conſulſhip, contrary to the religion, the
" laws, and the authority of the Tribunes: For *Cato* often declared, and
" with an oath too, that he would impeach him as ſoon as he diſbanded
" his army: And it was commonly talked, that, *if he returned a private*
" *perſon, he would, like Milo, be tried with a guard to attend the Court.*
" This circumſtance *Aſinius Pollio* has confirmed, when he ſays that
" *Cæſar*, upon viewing his enemies ſlaughtered and put to flight upon
" the plains of *Pharſalia*, ſpoke theſe words: *They would have it ſo: I*
" *Caius Cæſar, who have performed ſuch great things, muſt have undergone*
" *a ſentence of condemnation, had I not deſired the aſſiſtance of my army.*"

If it was ſo evident, [as Dr. *Middleton* will have it] that *Pompey* could not defend *Italy*, this threw at once an immenſe power into *Cæſar*'s hands, and put him in poſſeſſion of the fortunes of all his enemies: Which conſideration he might think ſufficient to induce them not to purſue their ſcheme of depriving him of his government; and it certainly would have had this effect, if *Pompey* had not deceived the Senate by aſſuring them that he had an army ſufficient to defend the city. This is very plain from the many reproaches which were thrown on *Pompey*, when things went contrary to the general expectation.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Cæſar, with an army of martial and experienced ſoldiers, and poſſeſſed of *Italy*, *Gaul*, and the adjacent iſlands, was an overmatch for the reſt of the world. For what was the fighting world? Truly, ſix legions of veterans in *Spain*, and an army of new levies out of *Italy* and the oriental provinces, with two legions that had ſerved under *Cæſar*, and three more diſperſed in *Aſia*. *But Cæſar*, it is ſaid, *muſt run the riſk of many battles, all the empire was armed, and every province offered a freſh field of action:* This, however, was not the caſe: It was, on the contrary, moſt evident from the beginning, that one general engagement would decide the fate of the two Chiefs; and, with regard to the provinces, it muſt be obſerved, that they were quite indifferent in the quarrel, and could not ſtop, if they intended it, the progreſs of the conqueror.

See Middl. p. 74.

In fine, *Cicero* does not always repreſent *Cæſar*'s enterpriſe *as a kind of madneſs*. Here is his account to his friend *Atticus*: Ad Att. ix. 13. "I perceive *Cæſar* "to be very ſtrong in infantry, in cavalry, in ſhipping, and in auxiliary "Gauls; whoſe numbers *Matius*, I believe, exaggerated, when he ſaid "they had offered to maintain for him, at their own expence, ten thou- "ſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe. But, ſuppoſing this to be a vaunt, "yet it is certain that he is very ſtrong; and he will not, like *Pompey*, "be obliged to maintain his forces upon extraordinary impoſts; for he "will have the riches of all *Rome* at his command: And add to this "*Cæſar*'s enterpriſing ſpirit, and the weakneſs of our Patriots, who are "grieved at war for no other reaſon, than becauſe they have incurred "*Cæſar*'s reſentment.——*Cæſar*, however, has been more moderate than "he appeared to be at ſetting out, and the common people have loſt "the great affection they had for *Pompey*, and ſeem fond of him. "The ſituation therefore of *Cæſar* is ſuch, that, ſuppoſing he cannot "conquer, *yet I cannot ſee how he can be conquered.*——I do not under- Ad Att. vii. 7. "ſtand whom you call *Patriots*: I know of none: I mean I know of "no order of men deſerving that appellation: Take them man by man, "they are very worthy gentlemen: But, in civil diſſenſions, we are to "look for patriotiſm in the conſtituent members of the Body Politic. "Do you look for it in the Senate? Let me aſk you by whom were "the provinces left without governors?——Do you look for patriotiſm "among the farmers of the revenue? Alas! they never were ſteady, "and now *they are entirely devoted to Cæſar*. Do you look for it in our "trading, or in our landed intereſt? They are fondeſt of peace. Can "you imagine that they have any terrible apprehenſions of living under "a monarchy; they, to whom all forms of government are indifferent, "provided they enjoy their eaſe?——When his ſtream of power was "weak, it might have been eaſily ſtopt. But now he is maſter of "*eleven legions* [of veterans] *and as much cavalry as he pleaſes to draw* "*into the field.* Think upon the *towns beyond the Po, the mob of Rome*, "upon ſo great *a majority of the Tribunes*, upon a profligate riſing gene-

ration,

" ration, upon a General, with ſuch ſagacity to contrive, and ſuch " boldneſs to execute." Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48.

" It was with reluctance I undertook that commiſſion at *Capua*; " not that I would have declined it, had we been acting upon any " concert: But I could ſee *no declared, ſincere concern for their country* " *in any of our public bodies; nor, in reality, among private perſons.* Our " Patriots were without ſpirit and activity, as uſual, and as I had fore- " ſeen; while *the mob diſcovered a manifeſt bias to Cæſar*; and moſt of " them were fond of a change." Theſe extracts from *Cicero* ſeem to contain a very natural and true deſcription of the times; and this deſcription leads us to conſider the juſtice of *Pompey*'s or *Cæſar*'s cauſe. 403 Conſ. Ad Att. viii. 3.

The ingenious author above-cited has given his deciſion on this head, in the following paſſage from *Cicero*; which we muſt beg leave to accompany with our remarks. *You have held* [*Cicero* had been ſpeaking of *Cæſar*] *your government ten years, not granted to you by the Senate, but extorted by violence and faction:* [Was not this the caſe with every other grant at this time? Was the *Gabinian*, or the *Manilian*, or the *Meſſian* law, more legally preferred? The government of *Gaul* was given to *Cæſar* by a law of the people, which the Senate thought fit to confirm by a decree of their own] *the full term is expired, not of the law, but of your licentious will: But allow it to be a law*; [*Cicero* allowed it to have been ſuch, and voted for it; and he himſelf engaged *Cælius* to propoſe, in favour of *Cæſar*, another bill to diſpenſe with his preſence in ſuing for the conſulate during the continuance of the law in queſtion] *it is now decreed, that you muſt have a ſucceſſor:* [By whom? By the people? No: By a decree of the Senate? No: For the Tribunes interpoſed: By a vote of the Senate? Yes: But of the Senate awed illegally by the power of *Pompey*] *you refuſe*; *and ſay, Have ſome regard to me: Do you firſt ſhew your regard to us: Will you pretend to keep an army longer than the people ordered, and contrary to the will of the Senate?* To this paſſage from *Cicero Dr. Middleton* has added: " But *Cæſar*'s " ſtrength lay not in the goodneſs of his cauſe, but of his troops: " ——The flight of the Tribunes gave him a plauſible handle to be- " gin, and ſeemed to ſanctify his attempt; but his real motive, ſays " *Plutarch* [*in Ant.*] was the ſame that animated *Cyrus* and *Alexander* " before him to diſturb the peace of mankind; the unquenchable thirſt " of Empire, and the wild ambition of being the greateſt man in the " world; which was not poſſible, till *Pompey* was firſt deſtroyed." Middl. p. 67. Ad Att. vii. 9.

In this ſtate of the merit of *Cæſar*'s cauſe, we have two aſſertions which require a particular conſideration. It is affirmed, that the full term appointed for *Cæſar*'s government of *Gaul* was expired; and that he continued to hold his province againſt law in defiance of the Senate and of the people of *Rome:* And *Dr. Middleton* has ſaid, in another place, that the *1ſt of March* of the year *703 was the term preſcribed to it by law.* Secondly, *Cæſar* is condemned as guilty of an impudent p. 45.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ. J. 39.

and treacherous behaviour in not obeying the orders of the Senate.

Now, as to the firſt point, *Dr. Middleton* is certainly miſtaken, and contradicts *Cicero* himſelf, when he ſuppoſes that *Cæſar*'s government was to laſt but eight years, and ended on the *1ſt of March*, 703. *Dio Caſſius* indeed ſays, that *Cæſar*'s government was only prolonged to him for three years; but he is in this contradicted by every other hiſtorian, and by indubitable facts. *Cæſar*, in his harangue to his ſoldiers at *Ravenna*, tells them, that they had ſerved under him for nine years; and it appears by what he mentions ſoon afterwards, that, beyond the period fixed by the decree of the Senate for diſbanding his forces, there wanted *ſix months* to complete the time allotted to him by law. The complaints of the Tribunes of the people againſt the Senate, for pretending to abrogate a law of the people, were evidently grounded upon this ſuppoſition. What could mean the privilege granted him in the year 701, when *Pompey* was ſole Conſul, *of ſuing for the conſulſhip in his abſence*, if his government was to expire before he could legally preſent himſelf as a candidate? And it would have expired, if it had not been *decennial*. In fine, *Cicero* owns, in other places, that *Cæſar* had law on his ſide: "Yet, ſuch is the General we are either to encounter, "or we are to gratify him *in what he can already claim by law*." And Monſieur l'Abbe *Mongault* has thus remarked on the paſſage of *Cicero* cited above: "*Cicero* writes here in the *Pompeian* ſtyle, or he means only "that *Cæſar*'s government would nearly expire about the time of the "elections of the next Conſuls; and that therefore he might well con- "ſent to leave it, in order to come and ſtand candidate in perſon, as "was required of him: Or, perhaps, *Pompey*'s faction began to reckon "the years of *Cæſar*'s government, from the very moment that the "law was paſſed at *Rome*, allotting that province to him; but the ge- "neral and legal method was to reckon from the day in which the "Governor entered his province."

Ad Att. vii. 7.

As to the ſecond point, I ſhall not interpoſe my judgment: The reader, who has had the whole evidence laid impartially before him, will, probably, have determined for himſelf. I ſhall, however, beg leave to inſert a paragraph or two from the ſpirited performance of our late poet laureat.

The character and conduct of Cicero conſideredfrom the hiſtory of his life, by Dr. Middleton, P. 183.

"After ſeveral difficulties, doubts, debates, and political ſchemes, "to make bad matters worſe, at laſt the Senate, *without any notice taken* "*of the people's right to confirm or reject it*, came to this bold reſolution, "that *Cæſar ſhould diſmiſs his army by a certain day, or be declared an* "*enemy*, &c. Does not the very menace in this vote imply a doubt "or apprehenſion of its not being obeyed? And whence could that "doubt come but from a conſciouſneſs *of their ſeverity in taking his* "*command from Cæſar, before the time of its legal duration was expired?* "Was this a treatment that the high ſpirit of *Cæſar* could comply "with, or quietly bear? Or, indeed, if he would have borne it, where,

at

" at that time, was the policy of it ? What good was the Senate or the Y. R. 704.
" public to reap by it ? Would they have leſs reaſon to be afraid of Bef. Chr. 48.
" *Pompey*'s power, becauſe *Pompey* then muſt have had leſs reaſon to 403 Conſ.
" be afraid of *Cæſar* ; while they were both rivals, they could be but
" *candidates* for empire ; but, when one of them was deſtroyed, the
" other of courſe became equal to their maſter duly elected. Could
" they then imagine that *Cæſar*, whoſe ſtrength (ſays *Dr. Middleton*)
" *lay not in the goodneſs of his cauſe, but of his troops*, would chuſe to
" come from the head of them merely to humble himſelf into a pri-
" vate innocent man, and to *depend upon the favour of Pompey for his*
" *future preferment?* Or, if this was really what their wiſdom propoſed
" by their ſage and ſober vote, why, at leaſt, when they knew *Cæſar*
" was ſo formidable in the field, would they not previouſly chooſe to
" ſoften him into obedience by giving him a reaſonable hope that
" ſome ſuch *great* and *gracious* honour ſhould be ſecured to him ? But,
" perhaps, the neglect of this civility might be owing to the *ſic volo* of
" *Pompey*, whoſe diſregard of *Cæſar* might not as yet have given them
" his orders to make him any ſuch propoſal ; *his orders*, I call them,
" becauſe, whatever at this time was propoſed in the Senate went but
" very ſlowly forward, that had not an eye to the intereſt or good-
" liking of *Pompey*. It would be therefore the greateſt abſurdity to
" ſuppoſe ſo raſh and enterpriſing a vote could have come from them
" *ex mero motu*, as the free and voluntary act of their own pious care
" of the public. No, had that been their caſe, had they been their
" own maſters, it can admit of no doubt but that *Pompey*, as well as
" *Cæſar*, would have had the ſame diſbanding vote paſſed upon him
" too. But, *Cæſar* being then abroad and *Pompey* at home, they natu-
" rally choſe to be moſt afraid of the danger that was neareſt to
" them."

Cicero, we may remember, in the account he gives of his interview with *Pompey*, tells us, that, as to public affairs, *Pompey* talked in ſuch a ſtrain, *as if a war was inevitable, without giving the leaſt hopes of an accommodation.* Vid. ſupr. Chap. I.

" While ſuch [continues our Laureat] was the diſpoſition of *Pom-* Cibber, p.
" *pey*'s mind, we can be no longer in doubt from whence came this 186.
" peremptory vote upon *Cæſar*.

" Thus the government *de jure* having utterly loſt its power, the
" only debateable queſtion now was, whether *Pompey* or *Cæſar* ſhould
" be the ſole governor *de facto*. A melancholy election for liberty !
" Nor had it a better appearance to *Cicero*, who tells us, *that, which*
" *ſide ſoever got the better, the war muſt neceſſarily end in tyranny ; the*
" *only difference was, that, if their enemies conquered, they ſhould be pro-*
" *ſcribed ; if their friends, be ſlaves.*

" This being the moſt equal light that the cauſe of *Pompey* or of
" *Cæſar* can ſtand in, we muſt either ſuppoſe, that, had *Cæſar*, in obe-

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

" dience to the Senate, diſbanded his army, the public liberty would " have been of courſe reſtored; or that, if it would not, *(as there is* " *not the moſt diſtant pretence to ſay it would)* it then muſt follow, that, " whether *Pompey* or *Cæſar* had prevailed, it could have wrought no " different conſequence to the *Roman* liberty; the ruin of which, under " the ſole dominion of either, muſt (as *Cicero* confeſſes) have been " equally inevitable: Let this be granted, and neither the virtue, nor " the critical learning of poſterity, will ever think this cauſe a diſpu- " table point, or give the leaſt preference to the pretenſions of either " of theſe celebrated competitors. 'Tis true, they may tell us, that " *Pompey had the fairer appearance in the Senate's ſupport.* Yes, but in " nothing more than *appearance*; not by *their free and independent* " *choice, but by the palpable terror of his arms*; nor from their opinion " of his better intentions to the public, than they conceived of *Cæſar*'s; " but the plain truth is, that, in this ſituation, they rather choſe to let " *Pompey*'s orders ſeem to be their own, than that any thing ſhould " appear to be tranſacted without their authority. If *Cæſar* then was " not ſo tame as the Senate in yielding up his liberty, or refuſed to " obey the mandate of an intimidated authority; rather chooſing, if " he could not live like a *Roman*, to die like *Cæſar:* Will this ſtand " in no excuſe for him? Or, will it be too partially favourable, " ſhould we call his ſlighting ſuch a Senate an almoſt laudable ambi- " tion? For never ſurely can it be urged that *Cæſar's diſobeying them* " *was a more criminal infringement of the public liberty than was Pompey*'s " *keeping them in fear of him.* And yet, again, if the preſumption of " either their diſobeying or commanding could be *mitigated by appear-* " *ances, Cæſar, by his offering to lay down his arms, provided Pompey might* " *be under the ſame obligation at the ſame time, made an advancement to* " *the Patriot, which* POMPEY *had not virtue enough to diſſemble.* And " though it may have been objected, that this compliance of *Cæſar* " was all but grimace, without the leaſt intention of his making it " good; yet, as this is but an *imaginary charge*, it ought at leaſt to " have been brought to a proof before *Cæſar* could be juſtly con- " demned upon it But *Pompey's abſolutely, and, without heſitation, re-* " *fuſing the propoſal, was an open declaration, that no peaceable terms ſhould* " *prevail upon him to part with a grain of his power.* While *Pompey*, " therefore, lies under this imputation, he ſtands in a leſs favourable " light, or was, rather, a more notorious offender than *Cæſar.*"

CHAP. III.

Cæſar, *after ſettling every thing in the South of* Italy, *and taking meaſures to ſecure* Sicily *and* Sardinia, *ſets out for* Rome. *In his way, he has a conference with* Cicero, *who ſoon after retires to* Pompey's *camp. At* Rome,

Rome, *he ſeizes the public treaſure; and, finding the Senate unwilling to act any part, he takes upon himſelf the public adminiſtration. After a ſtay of ſix or ſeven days, he ſets out for* Spain.

CÆSAR was very ſenſible, that, to put a ſpeedy end to the war, the beſt plan he could follow was to paſs the ſea immediately, and endeavour to come up with *Pompey* and the Conſuls in their preſent defenceleſs ſtate, before they could draw the tranſmarine forces together. But the execution of this deſign was at preſent abſolutely impracticable; for all the ſhips had been carried off the coaſt; and to gather others from *Picenum*, *Sicily*, and the coaſts of *Gaul*, was a tedious buſineſs, and in the winter ſeaſon ſubject to great uncertainty. Dreading therefore this delay and loſs of time, he determined to go to *Spain*, whither alſo a very intereſting conſideration called him. It appeared of dangerous conſequence to ſuffer a veteran army to ſtrengthen themſelves in his rival's intereſt by new levies of horſe and foot, and to prepare a ſure reſource for their General, when driven out of *Greece* and *Aſia*: And he could never have a more favourable opportunity of conquering *Spain*, and the legions there, than when *Pompey* was at ſuch a diſtance from them, and unable to give them any aſſiſtance. He reſolved therefore upon this expedition, ſaying, *he would go firſt to find an army without a General, and then return to a General without an army*. It is commonly ſuppoſed, that *Pompey* committed a capital error in not going to *Spain*, and in neglecting to put himſelf at the head of the beſt troops he had, in a country devoted to his intereſt, and commodious for the operations of his naval force; and *Cicero* is cited, as being ſo much of this opinion, that, when he firſt heard of *Pompey*'s reſolution to go to *Greece*, he called it *monſtrous*. But it is to be conſidered, that *Pompey* had at this time no fleet in readineſs; and, if he had ſailed for *Spain* directly, he would not have had influence enough in the Eaſt to have raiſed the fleets and armies, which, by his preſence there, he was enabled to collect. *Cæſar* would have been before-hand with him; and, by tranſporting a few legions into *Greece*, would have awed all the States of the Eaſt, who were moſt of them very indifferent about this quarrel: And *Pompey*, in the mean time, would have been cooped up in *Spain*, and precluded from every province of the Empire beſides *Africa*.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 49 Conf.

Middl. p. 118.

Cæſar, before he left *Brunduſium*, ſent orders to all the municipal towns upon the ſeveral coaſts to aſſemble all the veſſels they could, and ſend them to that port: And, knowing of what importance it was to his credit, that *Italy* ſhould be abundantly ſupplied with proviſions, which *Pompey* was determined to cut off by every poſſible method, [a] he

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

[a] (*Ad Att.* ix. 9.) "I perceive a moſt deſtructive war ready to break out, which "*Pompey* will begin by famiſhing *Italy*; "And yet I mourn for not taking part in "this

Y. R. 704 Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ. he immediately diſpatched *Valerius*, one of his Lieutenants, into *Sardinia*, with one legion; and *Curio* into *Sicily* with three; commanding him, as ſoon as he had maſtered this iſland, to paſs over into *Africa*. Then, having put his legions into winter-quarters in the towns along the coaſt, at *Brunduſium*, *Tarentum*, *Sipontum*, and other places, in ſuch a manner as to lock up all the paſſages by ſea, and having ordered levies over the whole country, he ſet out for *Rome*.

Ad Att. ix. 15.

Ad Att. ix. 19.

In the midſt of his military operations, he had neglected no means of gaining over to his party all thoſe who were not his avowed enemies. As ſoon as he was informed that the Senators had left *Rome*, he wrote to many of them to return, and deſired *Trebatius* to write to *Cicero* to beg of him not to abſent himſelf from the city: And, after *Cicero* had left it, he employed all their common friends to uſe their endeavours to induce him to imitate the conduct of ſome other Conſulars, who had determined to preſerve a *neutrality*. *Cicero*, upon theſe applications, keeping at a diſtance from *Pompey*, *Cæſar* imagined they had made an impreſſion upon him; and he began to attempt another point with him, viz. *to perſuade him to come back to Rome, and aſſiſt in the Councils of the Senate*, which he deſigned to ſummon at his return from following *Pompey*. With this view, in the hurry of his march towards *Brunduſium*, *Cæſar* ſent him the following letter.

Ad Att. vii. 17.

Middl. p. 90.

CÆSAR, Emperor, to CICERO, Emperor.

Ad Att. ix. 6.

"WHEN I had but juſt time to ſee our friend *Furnius*, nor "could conveniently ſpeak with, or hear him, was in haſte, and on "my march, having ſent the legions before me; yet I could not paſs "by without writing, and ſending him to you with my thanks: "Though I have often paid this duty before, and ſeem likely to pay "it oftener, you deſerve it ſo well of me. I deſire of you, in a ſpe"cial manner, that, as I hope to be in the city ſhortly, I may ſee you "there, and have the benefit of your advice, your intereſt, your autho"rity, your aſſiſtance in all things. But to return to the point: You "will pardon the haſte and brevity of my letter, and learn the reſt "from *Furnius*." To this very polite letter *Cicero* made the following anſwer.

"this war; a war! ſo deteſtable, that, tho' "there is nothing more unnatural than not "to aſſiſt our parents, yet have the leaders "of it taken their meaſures for famiſhing "the moſt venerable, the moſt ſacred of all "parents, I mean their country. My ap"prehenſions are not founded upon conjec"ture, but upon what I have heard from "themſelves. This fleet that is gathering "from *Alexandria*, *Colchis*, *Tyre*, *Sidon*, "*Aradus*, *Cyprus*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, "*Chios*, *Bizantium*, *Leſbos*, *Miletus*, *Smyrna*, "and *Coos*, is deſigned to intercept the pro"viſions of *Italy*, and to ſeize the coaſts of "the corn countries."

CICERO,

CICERO, Emperor, to CÆSAR, Emperor.

" UPON reading your letter, delivered to me by *Furnius*, in which Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conf.
" you preſſed me to come to the city, I did not ſo much wonder at
" what you there intimated, of your deſire to uſe my *advice* and *autho-*
" *rity*, but was at a loſs to find out what you meant by my *intereſt*
" and *aſſiſtance:* Yet I flattered myſelf into a perſuaſion, that, out of
" *your admirable and ſingular wiſdom*, you were deſirous to enter into
" ſome meaſures for eſtabliſhing the peace and concord of the city;
" and in that caſe I looked upon my temper and character as fit e-
" nough to be employed in ſuch a deliberation. If the caſe be ſo, and
" you have any concern for the ſafety of our friend POMPEY, and of
" *reconciling him to yourſelf, and to the Republic*, you will certainly find
" no man more proper for ſuch a work than I am, who, from the
" very firſt, have always been the adviſer of peace both to him and
" the Senate; and, ſince this recourſe to arms, have not meddled with
" any part of the war, but *thought you to be really injured by it, while*
" *your enemies and enviers were attempting to deprive you of thoſe honours*
" *which the Roman people had granted you.* But as at that time I was
" not only a favourer of your dignity, but an encourager alſo of others
" to aſſiſt you in it; ſo now the dignity of *Pompey* greatly affects me:
" For many years ago I made choice of you two, with whom to cul-
" tivate a particular friendſhip, and to be, as I now am, moſt ſtrictly
" united. Wherefore I deſire of you, or rather beg and implore with
" all my prayers, that in the hurry of your cares you would indulge a
" moment to this thought, how by your generoſity I may be permitted
" to ſhew myſelf an honeſt, grateful, pious man, in remembering an
" act of the greateſt kindneſs to me. If this related only to myſelf, I
" ſhould hope ſtill to obtain it from you: But it concerns, I think,
" both your honour and the Republic, that by your means I ſhould
" be allowed to continue in a ſituation the beſt adapted to promote the
" peace of you two, as well as the general concord of all the citizens.
" After I had ſent my thanks to you before on the account of *Lentulus*;
" for giving ſafety to him who had given it to me; yet, upon reading
" his letter, in which he expreſſes the moſt grateful ſenſe of your libe-
" rality, I took myſelf to have received the ſame grace from you,
" which he had done: Towards whom, if by this you perceive me to
" be grateful, let it be your care, I beſeech you, that I may be ſo too
" towards *Pompey*." [b]

In

[b] (*Middleton*, p. 92.) *Cicero* was cenſured for ſome paſſages of this letter, which *Cæſar* took care to make public, *viz.* the compliment on *Cæſar's admirable wiſdom*; and, above all, the acknowledgment *of his being injured by his adverſaries in the preſent war:* In excuſe of which he ſays: (*Ad Att.* viii. 9.) " that he was not ſorry for the pub-

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conf.

In his way to *Rome*, *Cæſar* had a conference with *Cicero*, at *Formiæ*, on the 29*th of March*; of which, the latter gives the following account to

" lication of it, for he himſelf had given ſe-
" veral copies of it; and, conſidering what
" had ſince happened, was pleaſed to have
" it known to the world how much he had
" always been inclined to peace; and, that
" in urging *Cæſar* to ſave his country, he
" thought it his buſineſs to uſe ſuch ex-
" preſſions as were the moſt likely to gain
" authority with him, without fearing to be
" thought guilty of flattery, in urging him
" to an act for which he would gladly have
" thrown himſelf even at his feet."

He received another letter on the ſame ſubject, and about the ſame time, written jointly by *Balbus* and *Oppius*, two of *Cæſar*'s chief confidents: " The advice, not only of
" little men, ſuch as we are, but even of the
" greateſt, is generally weighed, not by the
" intention of the giver, but the event;
" yet, relying on your humanity, we will
" give you what we take to be the beſt in
" the caſe *about which you wrote to us*;
" which, though it ſhould not be found pru-
" dent, yet certainly flows from the utmoſt
" fidelity and affection to you. If we did
" not know from *Cæſar* himſelf, that, as
" ſoon as he comes to *Rome*, he will do
" what in our judgment we think he ought
" to do, treat about a reconciliation be-
" tween him and *Pompey*, we ſhould give
" over exhorting you to come and take a
" part in thoſe deliberations; that, by your
" help, who have a ſtrict friendſhip with
" them both, the whole affair may be ſettled
" with eaſe and dignity: Or, if, on the
" contrary, we believed that *Cæſar* would
" not do it, and knew that he was reſolved
" upon a war with *Pompey*, we ſhould never
" try to perſuade you to take arms againſt
" a man to whom you have the greateſt ob-
" ligations, in the ſame manner as we have
" always intreated you, not to fight againſt
" *Cæſar*. But, ſince, at preſent, we can
" only gueſs, rather than know what *Cæſar*
" will do, we have nothing to offer but
" this, that it does not ſeem agreeable to
" your dignity, or your fidelity, ſo well
" known to all, when you are intimate with
" them both, to take arms againſt either;
" and this we do not doubt but *Cæſar*, ac-
" cording to his humanity, will highly ap-
" prove: Yet, if you judge proper, we will
" write to him, to let us know what he will
" really do about it; and, if he returns us
" an anſwer, we will preſently ſend you no-
" tice what we think of it, and give you
" our word, that we will adviſe only, what
" we take to be moſt ſuitable to your ho-
" nour, not to *Cæſar*'s views; and are per-
" ſuaded that *Cæſar*, out of his indulgence
" to his friends, will be pleaſed with it."
Ad Att. ix. 8. This joint letter was followed by a ſeparate one from *Balbus*: " Imme-
" diately after I had ſent the common letter
" from *Oppius* and myſelf, I received one
" from *Cæſar*, of which I have ſent you a
" copy; whence you will perceive how de-
" ſirous he is of peace, and to be reconciled
" with *Pompey*, and how far removed from
" all thoughts of cruelty. It gives me an
" extreme joy, as it certainly ought to do,
" to ſee him in theſe ſentiments. As to
" yourſelf, your fidelity, and your piety, I
" am entirely of the ſame mind, my dear
" *Cicero*, with you, that you cannot, conſiſ-
" tently with your character and duty, bear
" arms againſt a man, to whom you declare
" yourſelf ſo greatly obliged; that *Cæſar*
" will approve this reſolution, I certainly
" know from his ſingular humanity; and
" that you will perfectly ſatisfy him, by
" taking no part in the war againſt him,
" nor joining yourſelf to his adverſaries;
" This he will think ſufficient, not only
" from you, a perſon of ſuch dignity and
" ſplendor; but has allowed it even to me,
" not to be found in that camp, which is
" likely to be formed againſt *Lentulus* and
" *Pompey*, from whom I have received the
" greateſt obligations: It was enough, he
" ſaid, if I performed my part to him in the
" city and the gown, which I might perform
" alſo to them, if I thought fit; wherefore I
" now manage all *Lentulus*'s affairs at *Rome*,
" and diſcharge my duty, my fidelity, my
" piety to them both: Yet, in truth, I do
" not take the hopes of an accommodation,
" though now ſo low, to be quite deſperate,
" ſince *Cæſar* is in that mind in which we
" ought to wiſh him: One thing would
" pleaſe me, if you thought it proper, that
" you would write to him, and deſire a
" guard from him, as you did from *Pompey*,
" at the time of *Milo*'s trial, with my ap-
" pro-

to his friend *Atticus*. "My diſcourſe with him, ſays he, was ſuch as "would rather make him think well of me than thank me. I ſtood "firm in refuſing to go to *Rome*; but was deceived in expecting to "find him eaſy; for I never ſaw any one leſs ſo: He was condemned, "he ſaid, by my judgment; and, if I did not come, others would be "the more backward: I told him that their caſe was very different "from mine. After many things ſaid on both ſides, he bad me come, "however, and try to make peace: Shall I do it, ſays I, in my own "way? Do you imagine, replied he, that I will preſcribe to you? I "will move the Senate then, ſays I, for a decree againſt your going to "*Spain*, or tranſporting your troops into *Greece*, and ſay a great deal be-"ſides in bewailing the caſe of *Pompey*: I will not allow, replied he, "ſuch things to be ſaid: So I thought, ſays I, and for that reaſon will "not come; becauſe I muſt either ſay them, and many more, which I "cannot help ſaying, if I am there, or not come at all. The reſult "was, that, to ſhift off the diſcourſe, he wiſhed me to conſider of it; "which I could not refuſe to do, and ſo we parted. I am perſuaded, "that he is not pleaſed with me; but I am pleaſed with myſelf; which "I have not been before of a long time. As for the reſt; good Gods, "what a crew he has with him! What a helliſh band, as you call "them![c]——What a deplorable affair! What deſperate troops! "What a lamentable thing, to ſee *Servius*'s ſon, and *Titinius*'s, with "many more of their rank in that camp, which beſieged *Pompey!* He "has ſix legions; wakes at all hours; fears nothing; I ſee no end of "this calamity. His declaration at the laſt, which I had almoſt forgot, "was odious; that, if he was not permitted to uſe my advice, he would "uſe ſuch as he could get from others, and purſue all meaſures that "were for his ſervice."

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Cicero fancied to himſelf, that *Cæſar* deemed his preſence in the city as of the greateſt importance to his cauſe, and meant to get a deciſion from him, that, in the abſence of the Conſuls, the Aſſembly for the elections

"probation: I will undertake for him, if "I rightly know *Cæſar*, that he will ſooner "pay a regard to your dignity, than to his "own intereſt. How prudently I write "theſe things, I know not; but this I cer-"tainly know, that, whatever I write, I "write out of a ſingular love and affection "to you; for, (let me die, ſo as *Cæſar* may "but live) if I have not ſo great an eſteem "for you, that few are equally dear to me. "When you have taken any reſolution in "this affair, I wiſh that you would let me "know it, for I am exceedingly ſollicitous "that you ſhould diſcharge your duty to "them both, which in truth I am confident "you will diſcharge." *Dr. Middleton* is of opinion, that the offer of a guard was inſinuated to deprive him of the liberty of retiring: But, conſidering *Cæſar*'s moſt generous behaviour, even to his enemies, this ſuſpicion ſeems to be intirely groundleſs.

[c] "There was a time [ſays *Cibber*, p. "192.] when theſe followers of *Cæſar* were "all heroes with *Cicero*, they being ſtill the "ſame ragamuffins that had done glorious "buſineſs abroad for the Republic under the "ſame command of *Cæſar*, and did as ef-"fectually (valiant raſcals as they were) as "if they had been all Saints or Patriots." Has not the illuſtrious Conſul, who ſaved *Rome*, condeſcended to ſing their exploits in Greek verſe?

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of the new Magiſtrates might be held by a Prætor: But *Cæſar*, it is probable, did not think his preſence of ſo much uſe, and certainly never intended to force him into a compliance, but to win him by addreſs, and the counſels of his friends.

Middl. p. 97. Ad Att. x. 4, 5, 7.

While *Cæſar* was on the road to *Rome*, young *Quintus Cicero*, the nephew, a fiery, giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his ſervice, with a promiſe of ſome information concerning his uncle; upon which, being ſent for, and admitted to an audience, he aſſured *Cæſar*, *that his uncle was utterly diſaffected to all his meaſures, and determined to leave Italy and go to* POMPEY. The boy was tempted to this raſhneſs *by the hopes of a conſiderable preſent*, and gave much uneaſineſs by it both to the father and the uncle, who had reaſon to fear ſome ill conſequence from it: But *Cæſar*, deſirous to divert *Cicero* from declaring againſt him, and to quiet the apprehenſions which he might entertain for what was paſt, took occaſion to ſignify to him, in a kind letter from *Rome*, that he retained *no reſentment of his refuſal to come to the city, though Volcatius Tullus and Servius Sulpicius* [two Conſular Senators] *had complained that he had not ſhewn the ſame indulgence to them.* And *Curio* told him a few days after, that, when *Dolabella* was earneſtly ſollicitous that he ſhould come to *Rome*, *Cæſar*, in an anſwer, returned him many thanks, and told him, that he was not only ſatisfied, but pleaſed at his not coming. He aſſured him alſo that *Cæſar* would have made no difficulty in granting him the favour he had granted to *Philippus*, that of remaining neuter: That he might act as if the thing was agreed on with *Cæſar* himſelf; and that he would write to him, that matters were ſo ſettled between them: He added, that, if he pleaſed, he might leave *Italy*, and paſs through *Sicily* to go into *Greece*. Yet *Cicero*'s behaviour and reſidence in thoſe villa's of his, which were neareſt to the ſea, gave riſe to a general report, that he was waiting only for a wind to carry him over to *Pompey*; upon which, *Cæſar* ſent him another preſſing letter to try, if poſſible, to diſſuade him from that ſtep.

CÆSAR, Emperor, to CICERO, Emperor.

Ad Att. x. 8.

" THOUGH I never imagined that you would do any thing raſhly " or imprudently; yet, moved by common report, I thought proper to " write to you, and beg of you, by our mutual affection, that you would " not run to a declining cauſe, whither you did not think fit to go while " it ſtood firm. For you will do the greateſt injury to our friendſhip, and " conſult but ill for yourſelf, if you do not follow where fortune calls: " For all things ſeem to have ſucceeded moſt proſperouſly for us, moſt " unfortunately for them: Nor will you be thought to have followed " the cauſe (ſince that was the ſame, when you choſe to withdraw your- " ſelf from their Councils) but to have condemned ſome act of mine; " than which you could do nothing that could affect me more ſenſibly,

" and

" and what I beg, by the rights of our friendſhip, that you would Y. R. 704.
" not do. Laſtly, what is more agreeable to the character of an ho- Bef. Chr. 48.
" neſt, quiet man, and good citizen, than to retire from civil broils? 49 Conſ.
" from which ſome, who would gladly have done it, have been de-
" terred by an apprehenſion of danger: But you, after a full teſti-
" mony of my life, and trial of my friendſhip, will find nothing more
" ſafe or reputable, than to keep yourſelf clear from all this conten-
" tion. The 16*th* of *April*, on the road."

Antony, alſo, whom *Cæſar* left to guard *Italy* in his abſence, wrote to him to the ſame purpoſe, and on the ſame day.

ANTONIUS, Tribune of the People and Proprætor, to CICERO, Emperor.

" IF I had not a great eſteem for you, and much greater indeed Ad Att. x.
" than you imagine, I ſhould not be concerned at the report which is 8.
" ſpread of you, eſpecially when I take it to be falſe. But, out of
" the exceſs of my affection, I cannot diſſemble, that even a report,
" though falſe, makes ſome impreſſion on me. I cannot believe that
" you are preparing to croſs the ſea, when you have ſuch a value for
" *Dolabella*, and your daughter *Tullia*, that excellent woman, and are
" ſo much valued by us all, to whom, in truth, your dignity and ho-
" nour are almoſt dearer than to yourſelf: Yet I did not think it the
" part of a friend not to be moved by the diſcourſe even of ill-deſign-
" ing men, and wrote this with the greater inclination, as I take my
" part to be the more difficult on the account of our late coldneſs, oc-
" ſioned rather by my jealouſy than any injury from you. For I de-
" ſire you to aſſure yourſelf, that nobody is dearer to me than you,
" excepting my *Cæſar*, and that I know alſo that *Cæſar* reckons *M. Ci-*
" *cero* in the firſt claſs of his friends. Wherefore, I beg of you,
" my *Cicero*, that you will keep yourſelf free and undetermined, and
" deſpiſe the fidelity of that man who firſt did you an injury, that he
" might afterwards do you a kindneſs; nor fly from him, who,
" though he ſhould not love you, which is impoſſible, yet will al-
" ways deſire to ſee you in ſafety and ſplendor. I have ſent *Calpur-*
" *nius* to you with this, the moſt intimate of my friends, that you
" might perceive the great concern which I have for your life and
" dignity."

Cælius alſo wrote to him on the ſame ſubject; but finding, by ſome hints in *Cicero*'s anſwer, that he was actually preparing to run away to *Pompey*, he ſent him a ſecond letter, in a moſt pathetic, or, as *Cicero* Ad Att. calls it, *lamentable ſtrain*, in hopes to work upon him by alarming all x. 9. his fears.

COELIUS to CICERO.

Y.R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 703 Conf.

Ep. Fam. viii. 16.

"BEING in a conſternation at your letter, by which you ſhew "that you are meditating nothing but what is diſmal, yet neither tell "me directly what it is, nor wholly hide it from me, I preſently wrote "this to you. By all your fortunes, *Cicero*, by your children, I beg "and beſeech you not to take any ſtep injurious to your ſafety: For I "call the gods and men and our friendſhip to witneſs, that what I "have told, and forewarned you of, was not any vain conceit of my "own, but after I had talked with *Cæſar*, and underſtood from him, "how he reſolved to act after his victory, I informed you of what I "had learned. If you imagine that his conduct will be always the "ſame, in diſmiſſing his enemies and offering conditions, you are miſ-"taken: He thinks and even talks of nothing but what is fierce and "ſevere[d], and is gone away much out of humour with the Senate, "and thoroughly provoked with the oppoſition which he has met with, "nor will there be any room for mercy. Wherefore, if you yourſelf, "your only ſon, your houſe, your remaining hopes be dear to you; "if I, if the worthy man your ſon-in-law, have any weight with you; "you ſhould not deſire to overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate "or to relinquiſh that cauſe in which our ſafety conſiſts, or to enter-"tain an impious wiſh againſt yours. Laſtly, reflect on this, that "you have already given all the offence which you can give by ſtay-"ing ſo long behind; and now to declare againſt a Conqueror, whom "you would not offend, while his cauſe was doubtful, and to fly after "thoſe who run away, with whom you would not join while they "were in a condition to reſiſt, is the utmoſt folly. Take care that, "while you are aſhamed not to approve yourſelf one of the beſt citi-"zens, you be not too haſty in determining what is the beſt. But, if "I cannot wholly prevail with you, yet wait at leaſt till you know "how we ſucceed in *Spain*, which, I now tell you, will be ours as "ſoon as *Cæſar* comes thither. What hopes they may have when "*Spain* is loſt, I know not; and what your view can be in acceding "to a deſperate cauſe, by my faith, I cannot find out. As to the "thing, which you diſcover to me by your ſilence about it, *Cæſar* has "been informed of it; and, after the firſt ſalutation, told me pre-"ſently what he had heard of you: I denied that I knew any thing of "the matter, but begged of him to write to you in a manner the "moſt effectual to make you ſtay. He carries me with him into *Spain*;

[d] It is evident that *Cælius* writes thus to frighten *Cicero*, whom he knew to be a coward. *Curio* told him alſo, in his way to *Sicily*, that *Cæſar*'s clemency flowed not from his natural diſpoſition, but becauſe he thought it popular; and that, if he once loſt the affections of the people, he would be cruel. *Ad Att.* x. 4.

"if

" if he did not, I would run away to you, wherever you are, before Y. R. 704.
" I came to *Rome*, to diſpute this point with you in perſon, and hold Bef. Chr. 48.
" you faſt even by force. Conſider, *Cicero*, again and again, that you 403 Conſ.
" do not utterly ruin both you and yours; that you do not knowingly
" and wilfully throw yourſelf into difficulties, whence you ſee no way
" to extricate yourſelf. But, if either the reproaches of the better ſort
" touch you, or you cannot bear the inſolence and haughtineſs of a
" certain ſet of men, I would adviſe you to chuſe ſome place remote
" from the war, till theſe conteſts be over, which will ſoon be decided:
" If you do this, I ſhall think that you have done wiſely, and you
" will not offend *Cæſar* [e]."

The

[e] The concluſion, the partial concluſion of Dr. *Middleton*, p. 106, from theſe letters, is as follows: " Theſe letters give us the " moſt ſenſible proof of the high eſteem and " credit in which *Cicero* flouriſhed at this " time in *Rome*: When in a conteſt for em- " pire, which force alone was to decide, we " ſee the Chiefs on both ſides ſo ſollicitous " to gain a man to their party, who had no " peculiar ſkill in arms, or talents for war: " But his name and authority was the ac- " quiſition which they ſought; ſince, what- " ever was the fate of their arms, the world, " they knew, would judge better of the " cauſe which *Cicero* eſpouſed. The ſame " letters will confute, likewiſe, in a great " meaſure, the common opinion of his " want of reſolution in all caſes of difficul- " ty, ſince no man could ſhew a greater " than he did on the preſent occaſion, " when, againſt the importunities of his " friends, and all the invitations of a ſuc- " ceſsful power, he choſe to follow the " cauſe which he thought the beſt, though " he knew it to be the weakeſt."

The ſame elegant panegyriſt of *Cicero* has laid open, in the following manner, the motives of his conduct at this time. P. 109, 110, 113. " From the time of his leaving " the city, together with *Pompey* and the Se- " nate, there paſſed not a ſingle day in " which he did not write one or more let- " ters to *Atticus*, the only friend whom he " truſted with the ſecret of his thoughts. " From theſe letters it appears, that the ſum " of *Atticus*'s advice to him agreed intirely " with his own ſentiments, that, if *Pompey* " *remained* in *Italy*, *he ought to join with* " *him*; *if not*, *ſhould ſtay behind*, *and expect* " *what freſh accidents might produce.* This " was what *Cicero* had hitherto followed; " and as to his future conduct, *though he* " *ſeems ſometimes to be a little wavering and* " *irreſolute*, yet the reſult of his delibera- " tions conſtantly turned in favour of *Pom-* " *pey.* His perſonal affection for the man, " preference of his cauſe, the reproaches of " the better ſort, who began to cenſure his " tardineſs, and, above all, his gratitude " for favours received, which had ever the " greateſt weight with him, made him re- " ſolve at all adventures to run after him; " and though he was diſpleaſed with his " management of the war, and *without any* " *hopes of his ſucceſs*; though he knew him " before to be no politician, and now per- " ceived him, he ſays, to be no General; " yet, with all his faults, he could not en- " dure the thoughts of deſerting him, nor " hardly forgive himſelf for ſtaying ſo long " behind him.——What held him ſtill a " while longer was the tears of his family, " and the remonſtrances of his daughter " *Tullia*, who intreated him to wait only " the iſſue of the *Spaniſh* war, and urged it " as the advice of *Atticus*.——Purſuing " at laſt the reſult of all his deliberations, " and preferring the conſideration of *duty* " to that of his ſafety, he imbarked to fol- " low *Pompey* on the *eleventh of June*."

Mr. *Melmoth* has given a quite different, and, I think, a truer account of *Cicero*'s motives. He thinks that his conduct, during this important criſis, evidently ſhews the ſtrength and meaſure of his patriotiſm: " Upon the news that *Cæſar* was marching " into *Italy*, *Pompey* was appointed General " in chief of the *republican* forces: And the " principal Magiſtrates, together with thoſe " who were inveſted with proconſular pow- " er, were diſtributed into different can- " tons in *Italy*, in order to raiſe troops for " the Cic. Lett. b. vii. 17.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

The ſubſtance of his anſwers to theſe letters from *Cæſar*, *Antony*, and others, is contained in the following letter to *Cælius*, which is written with particular care.

CICERO

" the defence of the common cauſe. *Ci-*
" *cero* had his particular diſtrict aſſigned him
" among the reſt: But, inſtead of execu-
" ting this important commiſſion with ſpirit
" and vigour, he remained altogether in-
" active at his ſeveral villa's in that part of
" *Italy*. And this he ſignified to *Cæſar*, by
" means of their common friend *Trebatius*;
" who had written to him in *Cæſar*'s name,
" in order to prevail with him to return to
" *Rome: I anſwered* Trebatius *that what*
" *he required of me was impracticable at this*
" *juncture: But that I lived in my own*
" *farms, and did not concern myſelf in the*
" *new levies of troops, or any public buſineſs.*
" *Ad Att.* vii. 37. *Pompey*, in the mean
" time [a month after] was preſſing *Cicero*
" to join him: But he excuſed himſelf by
" repreſenting, that, while he was actually
" on the road for that purpoſe, he was in-
" formed that he could not proceed without
" the danger of being intercepted by *Cæ-*
" *ſar*'s troops. *Epiſt.* 2. *Cic. ad Pomp. apud*
" *Epiſt ad Att.* viii. *Cicero*, however, is
" ſo ingenuous as to acknowledge in the
" ſame letter to *Pompey*, that, ſo long as
" there were hopes that the negociations
" for a peace would be attended with ſuc-
" ceſs, he thought it a juſtifiable piece of
" prudence not to be too active in forward-
" ing the preparations that were carrying on
" againſt *Cæſar*, *remembering*, he ſays, *how*
" *much he had formerly ſuffered from the re-*
" *ſentment of the latter in the affair of his*
" *exile.* This was explaining at once the
" true principle of his whole conduct: And
" he avows it more expreſsly in a letter to
" *Atticus: Then, ſay you, why did not you*
" *go beyond ſeas with Pompey? I tell you it*
" *was out of my power to do it: And I refer*
" *you to the days and dates of our letters. At*
" *the ſame time I will frankly confeſs what I*
" *might have eaſily conceived; I was, per-*
" *haps, in the wrong in laying too great a*
" *ſtreſs upon a certain circumſtance, in which*
" *I was deceived. I have flattered myſelf*
" *with the hopes of an accommodation: Should*
" *that happen, I was unwilling to have* CÆ-
" SAR *for my enemy, when he was reconciled*
" *with* POMPEY. *I was ſenſible that they*
" *were ſtill the ſame men: And it was this*
" *that occaſioned my indeciſion.* Ad Att. x. 8.
" *Pompey*, however, had no ſooner ſet ſail
" for *Greece*, than *Cicero* was ſtruck with
" the conſciouſneſs of his having acted an
" unworthy part: *Hitherto I was vexed*
" *and uneaſy, becauſe unable to come to any*
" *reſolution. But, now that* POMPEY *and the*
" *Conſuls have left* Italy *it is no longer vex-*
" *ation and grief, it is anguiſh and diſtrac-*
" *tion.—— I am not, believe me, in my ſenſes,*
" *ſo overwhelmed am I with the infamy, I*
" *think, I have incurred. Ad Att.* ix. 6.
" After ſeveral deliberations, therefore, he
" was determined, he tells *Atticus*, to follow
" *Pompey*, without waiting for the event of
" *Cæſar*'s arms in *Spain*. *Ad Att.* ix. 19.
" x. 8. This reſolution, nevertheleſs, ſoon
" gave way to a ſecond: For, having re-
" ceived ſome accounts which contradicted
" a former report that had been ſpread con-
" cerning the advantageous poſture of *Pom-*
" *pey*'s affairs, *Cicero* renounced his inten-
" tion of joining him, and now purpoſed
" to ſtand neuter. *Ad Att.* x. 9. But a new
" turn in favour of *Pompey* ſeems to have
" brought *Cicero* back to his former ſcheme.
" For, in a ſubſequent letter to *Atticus*,
" wherein he mentions ſome reaſons to be-
" lieve that *Pompey*'s affairs went well in
" *Spain*, and takes notice, likewiſe, of ſome
" diſguſt, which the populace expreſſed to-
" wards *Cæſar* in the theatre; we find him
" reſuming his deſign of openly uniting
" with *Pompey*. And, accordingly, he re-
" ſolved to join thoſe who were maintaining
" *Pompey*'s cauſe in *Sicily*. *Ad Att.* x. 12.
" It does not appear, by any of his letters,
" upon what motive he afterwards ex-
" changed his plan, for that of ſailing di-
" rectly to *Pompey*'s camp in *Greece*: Which,
" after various debates with himſelf, he, at
" length, executed. There is a paſſage,
" however, in *Cæſar*'s Commentaries, which
" perhaps will render it probable, that the
" news which, about this time, was confi-
" dently ſpread at *Rome*, that *Cæſar*'s army
" had been almoſt totally defeated in *Spain*,
" was the determining reaſon that ſent *Ci-*
" *cero* to *Pompey*. The fact was, that *Afra-*
" *nius* and *Petreius* had gained ſome advan-
" tages over *Cæſar*: But, as they magnified

" them

CICERO to MARCUS COELIUS.

" I SHOULD have been extremely affected by your letter, if " reaſon had not baniſhed from my heart all its diſquietudes, and deſpair " of ſeeing better days had not long ſince hardened it againſt every new " impreſſion of grief; yet, ſtrong as I muſt acknowledge my deſpon- " dency to be, I am not ſenſible, however, that I ſaid any thing in " my laſt, which could juſtly raiſe the ſuſpicion you have conceived. " What more did my letter contain than general expreſſions of diſſatiſ- " faction at the ſad proſpect of our affairs? A proſpect, which cannot, " ſurely, ſuggeſt to your own mind leſs gloomy apprehenſions than it " preſents to mine. For I am too well perſuaded of the force of your " penetration to imagine that my judgment can diſcover conſequences " which lie concealed from yours. But I am ſurpriſed that you, who " ought to know me perfectly well, ſhould believe me capable of acting " with ſo little policy as to abandon a riſing fortune, for one in its de- " cline, at leaſt, if not utterly fallen; or ſo variable, as not only to de- " ſtroy at once all the intereſt I have eſtabliſhed with *Cæſar*, but to de- " viate even from myſelf, by engaging at laſt in a civil war, which it has " hitherto been my determined maxim to avoid. Where then did you " diſcover thoſe unhappy reſolutions you impute to me? Perhaps you " collected them from what I ſaid of ſecluding myſelf in ſome ſe- " queſtered ſolitude. And indeed you are ſenſible how ill I can ſubmit, " I do not ſay to endure, but even to be a witneſs of the inſolencies of " the ſucceſsful party: A ſentiment, my friend, which once, I am ſure, " was yours no leſs than mine. But in vain would I retire, whilſt I pre- " ſerve the title with which I am at preſent diſtinguiſhed, [of *Impera-* " *tor*] and bear about this embarraſſing parade of Lictors. Were I " eaſed of this troubleſome honour, there is no part of *Italy* ſo obſcure, " in which I ſhould not be well contented to hide myſelf. Yet theſe, " my laurels, unwelcome as they are to myſelf, are the object both of " the envy and the raillery of my malevolent enemies. [f] Nevertheleſs, under

Y.R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Ep. Fam. ii. 16. Melm. vii. 14.

" them in their letters to *Rome*, much be- " yond the truth; ſeveral perſons of note, " who had hitherto been fluctuating in " their reſolutions, thought it was high time " to declare themſelves, and went off im- " mediately to *Pompey*." *De Bell. Civ.* i. 55. *Cicero* very well knew from the beginning, which was the moſt honourable part for a man of his political principles to act under his connections with the Chiefs of the ariſtocracy, and his formal engagements to *Pompey*; but the prudential part was not ſo clear a point. He dreaded *Cæſar's* reſentment, but he was ſtill more afraid of the reſentment of *Pompey*: " I find I am " either way in danger; from the one party " by not doing my duty, and from the other " by doing it; and ſo diſtracted are public " affairs, that I can ſteer no courſe but " what is full of perils."

[f] *Cicero*, undoubtedly, gave upon this occaſion but too much colour to the cenſure of his enemies: For it could not but have a very ſtrange appearance, that he ſhould preſerve the thoughts of a triumph, at a time when his country was bleeding with a civil war.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403. Conſ.

" under all theſe temptations of withdrawing from ſo diſguſting a " ſcene, I never once entertained a thought of leaving *Italy* without the " previous approbation of yourſelf and ſome others. But you know the " ſituation of my ſeveral villa's: And as it is among theſe that I am " obliged to divide my time, that I may not incommode my friends; " the preference I give to thoſe which ſtand on the ſea-coaſt has raiſed " a ſuſpicion that I am meditating a flight into *Greece*. If peace, indeed, " were to be found in that country, I ſhould not perhaps be unwilling " to undertake the voyage: But to enter upon it, in order to engage in " a war, would be altogether inconſiſtent, ſurely, with my principles " and character; eſpecially, as it would be taking up arms not only a- " gainſt a man who I hope is perfectly well ſatisfied with my conduct, " but in favour of one whom it is now impoſſible I ſhould ever render " ſo. In a word, as I made no ſecret to you when you met me at " my *Cuman* villa, of the converſation which had paſſed between *Am-* " *pius* and myſelf, you could not be at a loſs to gueſs my ſentiments " upon this head: And indeed you plainly ſaw how utterly averſe I was " to the ſcheme of *Pompey*'s deſerting *Rome*. Did I not then affirm, " that there was nothing I would not ſuffer, rather than be reduced to " follow the civil war beyond the limits of *Italy?* And has any event " ſince happened, that could give me juſt reaſon of changing my ſenti- " ments? On the contrary, has not every circumſtance concurred to " fix me in them. [g]

" Be aſſured, (and I am well perſuaded 'tis what you already believe) " that the ſingle aim of my actions, in theſe our public calamities, has " been to convince the world, that my great and earneſt deſire was to " preſerve the peace of our country; and, when this would no longer be " hoped, that there was nothing I wiſhed more, than to avoid taking " any part in the civil war. And I ſhall never, I truſt, have reaſon to " repent of firmly perſevering in theſe ſentiments. It was the frequent " boaſt, I remember, of my friend *Hortenſius*, that he had never taken " up arms in any of our civil diſſenſions. But I may glory in the " ſame honeſt neutrality, with a much better grace: As that of *Horten-* *ſius*

war. But, as he was extremely ambitious of this honour, he was greatly unwilling to renounce it; ſtill flattering himſelf, perhaps, that ſome accommodation between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* would afford him an opportunity of enjoying what he ſo ſtrongly deſired. *Melmoth.*

[g] Notwithſtanding *Cicero*'s ſtrong aſſertions, that he had no thoughts of joining *Pompey*, he had actually determined to do ſo a few days before he received the preceding letter from *Cælius*; as appears by an epiſtle to *Atticus*, wherein he expreſsly tells him, *that he was only waiting for a fair wind.* But, before he wrote the preſent letter, he had received ſome news not altogether favourable to *Pompey*'s party: In conſequence of which, he renounced his former deſign, and was now determined, (though he does not think proper to own it in this letter) to retire to *Malta*, as a neutral iſland. This reſolution, however, he ſoon afterwards rejected, and reſumed his firſt intentions of following *Pompey* into *Greece*. And this ſcheme he at length executed. *Ad Att.* x. 8, 9.

" *fius* was ſuſpected *to have ariſen from the timidity of his temper*; *whereas* Y. R. 704.
" *mine*, I think, *cannot be imputed to any motive of that unworthy kind.* Bef. Chr. 48.
[*Cicero* ſeems to have been ſenſible that *Cælius* intended to frighten him 403 Conſ.
into a neutrality] " Nor am I in the leaſt terrified by thoſe conſidera-
" tions, with which you ſo faithfully and affectionately endeavour to
" alarm my fears. The truth of it is, there is no calamity ſo ſevere,
" to which we are not all of us, it ſhould ſeem, in this univerſal anarchy
" and confuſion, equally and unavoidably expoſed. But if I could have
" averted this dreadful ſtorm from the Republic, at the expence of my
" own private and domeſtic enjoyments, even of thoſe, my friend,
" which you ſo emphatically recommend to my care, I ſhould moſt
" willingly have made the ſacrifice. As to my ſon, (who I rejoice to
" find has a ſhare in your concern) I ſhall leave him a ſufficient patri-
" mony in that honour with which my name will be remembered, ſo
" long as the Republic ſhall ſubſiſt: And, if it be deſtroyed, I ſhall
" have the conſolation at leaſt to reflect, that he will ſuffer nothing more
" than muſt be the common lot of every *Roman*. With regard to that
" dear and excellent young man, my ſon-in-law, whoſe welfare you in-
" treat me to conſider; can you once doubt, knowing, as you perfectly
" do, the tenderneſs I bear, not only for him, but for *Tullia*, that I am
" infinitely anxious upon his account? I am the more ſo indeed, as it
" was my ſingle conſolation amidſt theſe general diſtractions, that they
" might poſſibly prove a means of protecting him from thoſe inconve-
" niencies in which his too generous ſpirit had involved him. [h] How
" much he ſuffered from them during the time he continued in *Rome*, as
" well as how little that circumſtance was to my credit, are points
" which I chooſe to leave to your own inquiry.

" Affairs in *Spain*, I doubt not, will terminate in the manner you
" mention. But I neither wait the event of them in order to determine
" my conduct, [i] nor am I acting in any other reſpect with the leaſt arti-
" fice. If the Republic ſhould be preſerved, I ſhall certainly hold my
" rank in it: But, if it ſhould be ſubverted, you yourſelf, I dare ſay,
" will join me in my intended ſolitude. But this latter ſuppoſition is,

[h] It ſhould ſeem, by this paſſage, that *Dolabella*, who had contracted very conſiderable debts, was at this time under ſome difficulties from his creditors: From whom *Cicero* flattered himſelf that *Cæſar*'s power would have protected him. Some commentators, however, inſtead of *liberalitate*, adopted in this tranſlation, read *libertate*: And ſuppoſe that *Cicero* alludes to the proſecution in which *Dolabella* had been engaged againſt *Appius*. But, whichever be the true word, the ſentiment is obſervable. For, ſurely, it was utterly unworthy of *Cicero* to find the leaſt conſolation amidſt the calamities of his country, in the hope that they might prove a ſcreen to *Dolabella*, either from the juſtice of his creditors, or the malice of his enemies. *Melmoth.*

[i] The contrary of this was the truth: For *Cicero* was at this time determined to wait the event of *Cæſar*'s expedition againſt the Lieutenants of *Pompey* in *Spain*. And for this purpoſe he had thoughts of retiring to *Malta*: *Melitum, opinor, capeſſamus* (ſays he to *Atticus*) *dum quid in Hiſpania.* Ad Att. x. 9. Melm.

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" perhaps, the vain and groundleſs ſurmiſe of a diſturbed imagina-
" tion; and affairs, after all, may take a happier turn than I am apt
" to preſage. I remember the deſpondency which prevailed in my
" earlieſt days amongſt our patriots of more advanced years[i]: Poſſibly
" my preſent apprehenſions may be of the ſame caſt, and no other than
" the effect of a common weakneſs incident to old age. Heaven
" grant they may prove ſo! And yet you have heard, I ſuppoſe, that
" a robe of magiſtracy is in the looms for *Oppius*; and that *Curtius*
" has hopes of being inveſted with the double-dyed purple: But the
" principal workman, it ſeems, ſomewhat delays him. I throw in
" this little pleaſantry, to let you ſee I can ſmile in the midſt of my
" indignation.

" Let me adviſe you to enter into the affair which I formerly men-
" tioned concerning *Dolabella*, with the ſame warmth as if it were your
" own. I have only to add, that you may depend upon it I ſhall take
" no haſty or inconſiderate meaſures. But, to whatever part of the
" world I may direct my courſe, I intreat you to protect both me and
" mine, agreeably to your honour and to our mutual friendſhip.
" Farewell."

Cicero tarried about two months in *Italy*, after *Cæſar*'s departure, under continual perplexities, whether to ſtay or to go; to wait the iſſue of the *Spaniſh* war, or to depart before it; whether to ſail to *Sicily* firſt, or to *Malta*, or to *Pompey*'s camp. He reſolved, at laſt, to croſs the ſea to *Pompey*: yet, knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, eſpecially from *Antony*, who reſided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a ſtrict eye upon him. He ſent him word, therefore, by letter, *that he had no deſign againſt Cæſar*; *that he remembered his friendſhip, and his ſon-in-law Dolabella*; *that, if he had other thoughts, he could eaſily have been with* POMPEY; *that his chief reaſon for retiring was to avoid the uneaſineſs of appearing in public with the formality of his lictors.* But *Antony* (who ſaw through his fineſſe) wrote him a ſurly anſwer; which *Cicero* calls a *Laconic mandate*, and ſent a copy of it to *Atticus*, *to let him ſee*, he ſays, *how tyrannically it was drawn.*

Middl. p. 105.

Ad Att. x. 10.

——— " How ſincere is your way of acting? for he, who has a
" mind to ſtand neuter, ſtays at home; he, who goes abroad, ſeems
" to paſs a judgment on the one ſide or the other. But it does not
" belong to me to determine, whether a man may go abroad or
" not. *Cæſar* has impoſed this taſk upon me, not to ſuffer any man
" to go out of *Italy*. Wherefore it ſignifies nothing to me to approve

[i] This alludes to the contentions between *Sylla* and *Marius*: Which, notwithſtanding the probability of their terminating in the total ſubverſion of the Conſtitution, the Republic, however, ſurvived. *Melm.*

" your reſolution, if I have no power to indulge you in it. I would Y. R. 704.
" have you write to *Cæſar*, and aſk that favour of him: I do not Bef. Chr. 48.
" doubt but you will obtain it, eſpecially ſince you promiſe to retain 403 Conſ.
" a regard for our friendſhip."

Antony, after this letter, he tells us, never came to ſee him, but Ad Att. x.
ſent an excuſe, *that he was aſhamed to do it, becauſe he took him to* 12. 15.
be angry with him, giving him to underſtand, at the ſame time, by *Trebatius*, *that he had ſpecial orders to obſerve his motions* [k]. In theſe circumſtances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting only for a fair wind, he removed from his *Cuman* to his *Pompeian* villa beyond *Naples*, which, not being ſo commodious for an embarkment, would help to leſſen the ſuſpicion of his intended flight [l]. He at laſt ſtole away on the *eleventh of June* [m], with

K 2

[k] *Cicero*, in his letters to *Atticus*, vents his ſpleen againſt *Antony*: He thus deſcribes his uſual equipage in travelling about *Italy*: " He carries with him in an open chaiſe the " famed actreſs *Cytheris*; his wife follows " in a ſecond, with ſeven other cloſe litters " full of his whores and boys. See by what " baſe hands we fall; and doubt, if you " can, whether *Cæſar*, let him come van- " quiſhed or victorious, will not make cruel " work among us at his return." Among *Antony*'s other extravagances, he had the inſolence to appear ſometimes in public, *with his miſtreſs Cytheris, in a chariot drawn by lions.* But *Cicero* tells his friend that, *though the beaſts were fierce, the Maſter himſelf was very tame. Pliny* gravely reflects on this frolic, and ſpeaks of it *as a deſigned inſult on the Roman people, as if, by the emblem of lions, Antony intended to give them to underſtand, that the fierceſt ſpirits of them would be forced to ſubmit to the yoke. Plutarch* alſo mentions it, but both of them place it *after the battle* of *Pharſalia*, though it is evident, from *Cicero*'s letters, that it happened long before. *Ad Att.* x. 10. 13. *Middl.* p. 107.

[l] *Cicero*, ad Att. x. 12, writes: " I often " propoſe to myſelf the example of *Cælius* " *Caldus*," [a conſular man of the *Marian* faction, who raiſed troops for *Marius*, when at war with *Sylla*, and was killed in the attempt to ſupport him] " Could I find an " occaſion of imitating him, I would not let " it ſlip.——I perceive the legions, which " *Cæſar* raiſed in *Italy*, are very ill affect- " ed to him: But he has not a greater foe " than he is to himſelf. You rightly fear " his abandoning himſelf to all exceſſes, " which he certainly will, if he grows " deſperate. This is the reaſon why I " ought to attempt ſomething *in the ſpirit* " *of a Cælius*, but, I hope, with better ſuc- " ceſs." And, in *Ep.* 15, he ſays: " The " opportunity for executing my project of " imitating *Cælius* ripens every day: If a " ſtandard was erected, numbers would flock " to it." Now, while he was at his *Pompeian* villa, his friend *Ninnius* brought him a meſſage from the Officers of the three cohorts, which were in garriſon at *Pompeii*, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver their troops and the town into his hands; but, inſtead of liſtening to the overture, he ſlipped away the next morning before day, to avoid ſeeing them. " I reflected, ſays he, on the fate " of *Cælius*." *Ep.* 16. " I do not blame, " ſays Abbé *Mongault*, his circumſpection; " but why does he boaſt ſo much of his " proweſs?"

[m] According to *Uſher*'s computation on the *firſt* of *April*, or thereabout, of the *Julian* year. Now, if *Cicero* ſet out ſo early in the year, it is not poſſible that he ſhould have heard any thing of the affairs of *Spain*, as he certainly did; for it was about harveſt-time, when *Cæſar* forced *Pompey*'s Lieutenants to capitulate; and he reduced them to this extremity in forty days, ſo that he had ſcarce got into *Spain* by the month of *April* of the *Julian* year. According to our calculation, he ſailed about the 15*th* of *May*. In a letter dated the 16*th* of *May* of the *Roman* ſtyle, *ad Att.* x. 17, he writes: *Nunc quidem æquinoctium nos moratur, quod valde perturbatum erat.* Abbé *Mongault* and Mr. *Guthrie*,

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 703 Conſ. with his *ſon*, his *brother*, and nephew, and arrived ſafely at *Dyrrachium* [n].

Ad Att. xi. 3, 13. To make ſome amends for his paſt behaviour, and gain the greater authority with his party, he furniſhed *Pompey*, *who was in great want of money, with a large ſum out of his own ſtock, for the public ſervice.* But he met with nothing but diſguſt: He was reproached by ſome for coming ſo late; and *Cato* blamed him for coming to them at all, and deſerting that neutral poſt, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation. *Pompey* gave him no employment; and his counſels were ſlighted as timorous and cowardly; ſo that he ſoon repented of having embarked in the war, contrary to the advice of his beſt friends. In this diſagreeable ſituation he reſumed his uſual way of raillery, and, what he could not diſſuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his jeſts. By this conduct he is ſaid to have provoked *Pompey* ſo far, that he told him, *I wiſh you would go over to the other ſide, that you may begin to fear us:* And it gave occaſion afterwards to *Antony*, in a ſpeech to the Senate, to cenſure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not only upon his fears, but the unſeaſonableneſs alſo of his jokes [o]. Having paid this attention to the greateſt civil character of his time, let us return to *Cæſar*, whom we left in his progreſs to *Rome*.

Ad Att. ix. 1, 5, 12. *Cæſar*, ſo vigorous in action, ſo temperate in victory, was now become the object of public admiration all over *Italy*. The municipal towns in the ſouthern parts, who, the year before, had put up prayers for *Pompey*'s recovery, were now as earneſt to ſhew their zeal for his rival; and he every-where received congratulations on his ſucceſs. The people flocked to *Rome*, not only thoſe whom particular favours

Guthrie, deceived by our learned Primate, have tranſlated theſe lines in this ſenſe: *I wait for the equinox, the ſeaſon of which is now in great confuſion.* But it is plain that the *equinox* was paſſed; *quod perturbatum erat: The equinox, which has been very tempeſtuous, ſtops me.* In the next letter, dated the 19*th* of *May*, he ſays he is detained by the dead calms more than by the guards that watch him: *Me mirifice tranquillitates adhuc tenuerunt.* This deſcription of ſtorms and ſubſequent calms agrees very well with the month of *April*, in which, according to our computation, theſe letters were written, one on the 22*d*, the other on the 25*th*.

Middl. p. 114. [n] We have no account of the manner and circumſtances of his voyage, or by what courſe he ſteered towards *Dyrrachium*: For, after his leaving *Italy*, all his correſpondence with it was in a great meaſure cut off, ſo that, from *June*, in which he ſailed, we find an interminſion of about nine months in the ſeries of his letters, and not more than *four* of them written to *Atticus* during the continuance of the war. *Ad Att.* xi. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[o] Some of *Cicero*'s ſayings on this occaſion are preſerved by different writers. When *Pompey* put him in mind of *his coming ſo late* to them: How can *I come late*, ſaid he, *when I find nothing in readineſs among you?* And upon *Pompey*'s aſking him ſarcaſtically, *Where his ſon-in-law Dolabella was*; *He is with your father-in-law*, replied he. To a perſon newly arrived from *Italy*, and informing them of a ſtrong report at *Rome, that Pompey was blocked up by Cæſar*; and *you ſailed hither therefore*, ſaid he, *that you might ſee it with your own eyes.* Vid. Macrob. Sat. ii. 3. Plut. in Cic. *Middl.* p. 116.

had

had attached to his perſon, but thoſe alſo, who, guided by their intereſt, thought, with *Cælius*, that in civil contentions, when it came to arms, the *ſtronger* ſide was the *beſt*, becauſe the *ſafeſt*. Several alſo of the Nobles, of the *honeſt*, were more complaiſant than *Cicero*; and did not think it adviſeable to diſregard *Cæſar*'s ſollicitations: Among theſe were *Servius Sulpicius*, *Volcatius Tullus*, and *M. Lepidus*. The city neither wanted a Senate, nor its Magiſtrates, except the Conſuls: The Prætors adminiſtered juſtice as uſual; and the Ediles were making preparations for the public games. *M. Antony* and *Q. Caſſius*, two Tribunes of the people, the moſt zealous in *Cæſar*'s intereſt, convoked, on his arrival, the Senate in the ſuburbs, that he might be preſent without the infringement of the laws.

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Ep. Fam. viii. 16.

Dio. l. xii.

In his harangue to the Houſe, after complaining of the injuries of his enemies, he ſaid, "that he had never affected *extraordinary* and "*illegal* honours [P], but waited patiently the time preſcribed by the "laws to ſollicit for a ſecond conſulſhip. That the people, with the "concurrence of the whole college of Tribunes, had allowed him to "ſtand candidate, though abſent, and that even in the conſulſhip of "*Pompey*; who might have prevented the paſſing of the decree, if he "had diſapproved of it; and who could now have no good reaſon to "oppoſe it. That he had given proof of his moderation, by having "voluntarily propoſed, that both parties ſhould lay down their arms; "a meaſure which would have diveſted him of his government and "command. That the malice of his enemies was ſuch, that they "ſought to impoſe terms upon him, to which they would not ſubmit "themſelves; chuſing rather to involve the ſtate in a civil war, than "to part with their armies and provinces. That he had been injured "by having two of his legions taken away from him, and that the "violation of the authority of the Tribunes was oppreſſive and inſo"lent. That he had frequently made offers of peace, and had often "deſired an interview; and that all his efforts for an accommodation "and the public good had been ineffectual." Upon all theſe accounts, he requeſted and conjured the Senate to take the Republic under their protection, and to aſſiſt him to govern it: And, if they declined, he ſaid, through fear, this important charge, he would take it wholly upon himſelf. He then propoſed to ſend Deputies to *Pompey* to treat of an accommodation. "Nor was he moved, he told them, by a re"flection which *Pompey* had made lately in the Houſe, that to ſend

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

[P] *Pompey* had been habituated to them from his youth, and made haughty and inſolent by them: He would bear no equal, and *Cæſar* did not think himſelf obliged to acknowledge him for his ſuperior:

Nec quemquam jam ferre poteſt Cæſarve *priorem*,
Pompeiuſve *parem*.— — Lucan.

"Sure then *Cæſar* comes nearer to the com"monwealth's-man than *Pompey*. *Pompey*'s "*no equal* has a viſible tincture of offenſive "ambition; while *Cæſar*'s *no ſuperior*, at "moſt, aſpires but to a ſhare in command"ing." *Cibber*. p. 183.

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" Deputies was to acknowledge the ſuperiority of him to whom they were " ſent, and a mark of timidity in the ſender. This, he ſaid, was a low " way of thinking; and, in the ſame manner as he had endeavoured at " a ſuperiority in action, he would alſo ſtrive at a ſuperiority in juſtice " and equity." This propoſal of a deputation was generally applauded; but no one was found who would undertake the office: And three days were ſpent in debates and excuſes upon this point. For *Pompey* had declared, before his departure, *that he ſhould look upon thoſe who ſtaid behind in Rome equally guilty with thoſe who were in* CÆSAR's *camp* [q].

L. xli. p. 160.

Dio writes, that, having alſo aſſembled the people without the city, he harangued in the ſame ſtrain, and promiſed to keep up plenty in *Rome*, by ſending corn from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and to make a donative

About 2 l. 10 s.

of three hundred ſeſterces to each of the poorer citizens; and that, in conſequence of theſe pacific ſpeeches, the *Romans* reſumed the appearance of peace, which they had put off from the taking of *Rimini*; but were far from being eaſy. The great number of *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers in the city; the little confidence to be put in a language which the circumſtances of affairs might dictate; and the examples of *Marius* and *Sylla*, who had made as fair promiſes at firſt; all contributed to excite the anxiety and terror of the more deliberate and thoughtful.

Cæſar, finding that the Senate was backward to take any reſolution, and that his enemies had engaged *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes, to oppoſe his deſigns, was not willing to waſte his time to no purpoſe; and he reſolved not to commit the ſame error his enemies had been guilty of, in leaving behind them the public money. He therefore ordered the Treaſury to be broke open, and ſeized the money for his own uſe. *Metellus* had the boldneſs to attempt to obſtruct him in this meaſure; and *Cæſar* is ſaid to have treated him with unuſual roughneſs; telling him *that it was in vain to talk of laws in the midſt of arms*; *and that he*

[q] *Cicero* himſelf was not very forward to undertake the taſk of peace-making; and others might very well be backward: He writes thus to *Atticus*: " But, if *Cæſar* does " not leave me at liberty to ſtand neuter, " you adviſe me to declare myſelf publicly " a mediator for an accommodation. No " danger ſhall deter me from that: For, " ſurrounded as I am with dangers, act how " I will, why not expoſe myſelf to that " which will do me the moſt honour? But *I* " *am afraid leſt this ſhould gall Pompey, and* " *engage him to give me a very bad reception.* " For our friend affects ſtrangely the domi- " nation of *Sylla*. I know what I ſay, and " he has never made leſs a ſecret of any " thing in his life, than he does of this. If " ſuch, ſay you, are his diſpoſitions, would " you follow him? Believe me, my friend, I " follow him for the kindneſſes he has done " me, not as he is the head of a party. I " befriend him as I did *Milo*, as I did ——, " Then, ſay you, you diſapprove of his " cauſe. No, it is an excellent one: but, " remember what I ſay; he and his party " will act ſcandalouſly. They will endea- " vour to ſtarve *Rome* and *Italy*, then plun- " der and burn their country, and ſeize the " properties of monied men.——If *Pompey* " prevails, we will not leave in *Italy* one " ſtone upon another." And *Ad Att.* ix. 10. he ſays, " What threatenings againſt our " free towns, againſt ſome of our patriots in " particular, and againſt *all thoſe who ſtaid* " *behind!* How frequent was that ſaying in " *Pompey*'s mouth, *Could Sylla do ſuch a thing,* " *and cannot I do it!*"

Ad Att. ix. 7.

was

was Maſter, not only of the money, but of the lives of all thoſe whom he had conquered. The Tribune, not being intimidated by theſe terrible words, and perſiſting in his oppoſition with the applauſe of ſome that were preſent, *Cæſar* threatened to kill him, adding: *Young man, conſider it is harder for me to ſay it than to do it.* Some people, ſays *Plutarch*, yet ventured to repreſent, that there was in the Treaſury a ſacred fund, not to be employed but under the terror of a *Gallic* invaſion: *I have entirely removed that ſcruple*, replied *Cæſar*, *by ſubduing the Gauls.* He found there, according to *Pliny*'s computation, twenty-five thouſand bars of gold, thirty-five thouſand of ſilver, and forty millions of ſeſterces [r]. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ. About 322,916 l.

Cæſar left the city immediately after this neceſſary but unpopular ſtep, and, as *Curio* told *Cicero*, much diſturbed to ſee the people diſguſted with it. He had reſolved to ſpeak to them before he ſet out, but he durſt not venture upon it for fear of ſome affront: And hurried away much diſcompoſed, having made a ſtay of *only* ſix or ſeven days.

[r] *Pliny* has alſo related, l. xxxiii. 3, that *Cæſar* took out of the Treaſury 1500 pounds of *Laſer* of *Cyrene*, a drug of great value among the ancients, and much eſteemed by them, not only for medicinal uſe, but for ſauce. This drug is, however, according to the opinion of an author much to be depended on in theſe matters, what we now call *aſſa fœtida*, the taſte and ſmell of which are ſcarce to be borne. The Orientals are to this day very fond of it. *Crevier.* Geoffroi Mat. Med. t. ii. p. 606.

CHAP. IV.

The reduction of SARDINIA *by* VALERIUS, *of* SICILY *by* CURIO, *and of* SPAIN *by* CÆSAR.

CÆSAR, before he ſet out for *Spain*, committed the care of the city to the Prætor *L. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was afterwards Triumvir with *Antony* and *Octavius*: He appointed *Antony* to command the forces in *Italy*, named his brother *C. Antonius* to the government of *Illyricum*, and *Licinius Craſſus* to that of *Ciſalpine Gaul.* He alſo gave orders for the ſpeedy fitting out of two fleets, the one to guard the coaſts of the *Adriatic*, of which he made *Dolabella* Admiral; the other, under the direction of *Q. Hortenſius* [s], the ſon of the famous Orator of that name,

[s] Young *Hortenſius* had been diſinherited by his father, who left his great wealth to his wife *Marcia.* This lady had been married before to *Cato*, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children; and was actually with child when he conſented to let his friend have her. When ſhe was a rich widow, *Cato* took her back again: Which gave, ſays *Plutarch*, in *Cat.* an occaſion to *Cæſar* to reproach him with covetouſneſs and mercenary views. For, ſaid he, *if he wanted a wife, why did he part with her? And, if he did not, why did he take her again? Unleſs he gave her only as a bait to Hortenſius; and lent her when ſhe was young, to have her again when ſhe was rich.* This behaviour of *Cato* did not inſpire the young man with any zeal for his and *Pompey*'s cauſe; and, though the father was a pillar of the *Ariſtocratical* faction, it is no wonder to ſee the ſon employed on the *popular* ſide.

was

Y. R. 704. Ref. Chr. 48. 49 Conf.

was to protect thoſe of the *Tuſcan* ſea. He ſet at liberty, at the ſame time, the unfortunate *Ariſtobulus*, formerly King of the *Jews*, and ſent him to *Judea*, to raiſe commotions there, and give diſturbance to *Scipio*, who was gone to his province of *Syria*, to gather forces and money for *Pompey*.

Valerius and *Curio* had been appointed at *Brunduſium* to paſs over into *Sardinia* and *Sicily*; and they now ſet out with *Cæſar* for the execution of his orders, in which they met with no oppoſition. The inhabitant of *Callaris*, now *Cagliari*, the principal town in *Sardinia*, no ſooner heard of *Valerius*'s commiſſion, than they drove out *Cotta*; who commanded there for *Pompey*, and who, finding the whole iſland in *Cæſar*'s intereſt, fled precipitately into *Africa*.

Cato had been ſent into *Sicily* by *Pompey* ſome weeks before he left *Italy*. On his arrival there, he applied himſelf with great diligence to gather forces for both the ſea and land ſervice. He refitted old ſhips and cauſed new ones to be built, and he ordered the ſeveral ſtates of the iſland to furniſh him with levies of horſe and foot. He alſo ſent his Officers to raiſe troops in *Lucania*, and the country of the *Brutii*.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. i.

But, perceiving that he was not to be ſupported by *Pompey*, and muſt truſt entirely to his own ſtrength, he did not think it expedient to defend his province: And, calling his officers together, he complained of *Pompey*, who, without any previous preparations, had involved the Commonwealth in an unneceſſary war; and who, when queſtioned by himſelf and others, in the Senate, had aſſured them that he was in readineſs to ſuſtain it. Having declared, in this manner, his ſentiments, he quitted the iſland on the approach of *Curio*. *Cicero* was much ſcandaliſed at this conduct, being perſuaded that he might have held his poſſeſſion without difficulty, and that all honeſt men would have flocked to him, eſpecially when *Pompey*'s fleet was ſo near to ſupport him. *I wiſh*, ſays he, *that Cotta may hold out Sardinia, as it is ſaid he will; for, if ſo, how baſe will Cato's behaviour appear!* And he cites *Curio*, as being of this opinion, who, he ſays, confeſſed, that, if *Pompey*'s fleet had appeared upon the coaſt and begun to act, *he would himſelf have run away the firſt* [t].

Ad Att. x. 4, 7, 16.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

Cæſar, on his arrival in *Gaul*, was informed that *Pompey* had ſent *Vibullius Rufus* into *Spain*; who, not many days before, had been taken

[t] *Plutarch in Cat.* and *Appian de Bell. Civ.* l. ii, relate, that *Aſinius Pollio*, having brought over ſome troops to *Meſſana* before *Curio*'s arrival, *Cato* ſent to him to inquire, by whoſe authority, whether of the Senate or the people, he had landed in his province: That *Pollio* anſwered, *it was by the authority of him who was Maſter in Italy:* That *Cato*, at the ſame time, being informed that *Pompey* had really ſailed for *Dyrrachium*, ſaid he could eaſily drive *Pollio* out of *Sicily*; but, as greater forces were coming to join him, he would not engage the iſland in a war; and after complaining, not of *Pompey*, as *Cæſar* relates, but of the *Gods*, *who gave Pompey ſucceſs in every fooliſh and diſhoneſt enterpriſe, and now abandoned him when he was defending his country*, he adviſed the people of *Syracuſe* to ſubmit to *Curio*, and provide for their own ſafety.

priſoner

priſoner at *Corfinium*, and had been ſet at liberty; that *L. Domitius*, named by the Senate to the government of *Gaul*, was expected at *Marſeilles*; and that, to prepare the way for his reception, the *Maſſilian* Deputies in *Rome*, young men of the firſt quality, had been ſent home by *Pompey*, before he left the city; and had been exhorted by him to remain in their ancient attachment and fidelity to the Senate, and not to ſuffer the memory of his paſt ſervices to their country to be blotted out by thoſe they had ſince received from *Cæſar*. The inhabitants of *Marſeilles*, in conſequence of theſe remonſtrances, had determined to ſhut their gates againſt *Cæſar*, and called to their aid the *Albici*, a barbarous people who had long been under their protection, and inhabited the adjoining mountains. They laid in ſtores of proviſions, ſet up workſhops for the making of arms, refitted their navy, repaired their walls and gates, and neglected nothing to put their town in a ſtate of defence. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

The government of the city was ariſtocratical, the whole power being in the hands of a Senate conſiſting of ſix hundred Nobles, who held their places for life: But out of this number there was formed a Council of fifteen for the execution of the laws and diſpatch of buſineſs. *Cæſar* ſent for theſe, and exhorted them to follow the example and authority of all *Italy*, which was now in his intereſt, rather than the will of one particular perſon and his adherents. The Counſellors, returning into the city, aſſembled the Senate on this important occaſion, which ſent back the following anſwer: "That they ſaw that the *Romans* were divided into two parties, and that it did not belong to "them to decide the quarrel. That at the head of theſe parties were "*Pompey* and *Cæſar*, both patrons of their city; the firſt having added "to its dominion the country of the *Volcæ-Arecomici* and *Helvii*; the "other that of the *Salyæ*: And that, as they were equally indebted to "both, it did not become them to aſſiſt the one againſt the other; but "to remain in a ſtate of neutrality, and to grant to neither an admittance into their town or port. Strabo l. iv. p. 179.

This anſwer had juſt been given, when *Domitius* arrived at *Marſeilles*, with a fleet of ſeven gallies, which he had manned with the ſlaves, freedmen, and peaſants, who belonged to his lands in *Tuſcany*. He was received, however, into the town, was appointed its Governor, and charged with the adminiſtration of the war; and by his order the *Maſſilian* fleet was ſent out immediately to ſail along the coaſts, that it might ſeize and bring in all the merchant-veſſels it could find, in order that they might be made fit for ſervice, or taken to pieces to repair others. *Cæſar* was incenſed at theſe proceedings, and, being ſenſible of the conſequence of leaving behind him in the intereſt of his enemies a city which was the key of *Gaul*, he reſolved to lay ſiege to it directly both by ſea and land. He appointed three legions for this purpoſe, and, at the ſame time that he prepared towers and other works for the approaches by land, he had twelve gallies built at *Arles*; which, being

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

completed, and brought down the *Rhone* to *Marſeilles* in thirty days, he gave the command of them to *Decimus Brutus*, and charged *C. Trebonius* with the conduct of the ſiege.

The employment *Cæſar* found ſo unexpectedly at *Marſeilles* delayed not his *Spaniſh* expedition. While preparations were making for the ſiege, he ſent *C. Fabius* with three legions that were quartered near *Narbonne*, to take poſſeſſion of the paſſes of the *Pyrenees*, which were guarded by a party of *Afranius*'s troops: And this Commander, having forced theſe, advanced by long marches towards the main army. *Pompey* had three Lieutenants in *Spain*, *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*: The firſt of theſe was at the head of three legions in the nearer *Spain*: The other two, reckoning their new levies, had each two legions. *Petreius* commanded from the *Caſtilian* foreſt to the *Anas*: *Varro* from the *Anas* quite through *Luſitania* and the territories of the *Vettones*. Theſe Lieutenants, upon the arrival of *Vibullius Rufus*, had conſulted together, and agreed, that *Petreius* ſhould join *Afranius* with his two legions, and that *Varro* ſhould remain in further *Spain* and ſecure that province. They raiſed with all diligence eighty cohorts among the *Spaniards*, and five thouſand horſe; and determined to make *Ilerda* the ſeat of the war, on account of its convenient ſituation, upon a riſing ground, twenty miles from the *Iberus*, between the rivers *Sicoris* and *Cinga*.

Lerida.

Segre.

Cæſar ſent after *Fabius* what other legions he had in *Gaul* not employed at the ſiege of *Marſeilles*; which could not be more than two, unleſs he brought from *Italy* the three with which he had made himſelf maſter of it. To theſe legions he added ſix thouſand auxiliary foot, and three thouſand horſe, who had ſerved under him in all his former wars; and he was now furniſhed with as many more. For, having heard that *Pompey* was coming with his whole force through *Mauritania* into *Spain*[u], he ſent circular letters to all the *Gallic* States, inviting by name thoſe of the moſt known and approved valour, and, in particular, a ſelect body of mountaineers from *Aquitania*, where it borders upon the *Roman* province. And, to aſſure himſelf the better of the fidelity of both officers and ſoldiers in his army, he borrowed ſums of money of all his Tribunes and Centurions; which he diſtributed among the ſoldiers; by that means engaging his officers by their own intereſt, and the ſoldiers by his liberality. He ſoon followed himſelf, with nine hundred horſe, which he had kept for a body-guard.

Fabius, before *Cæſar*'s arrival, had left nothing unattempted for gaining the country round about to his party by his letters and ambaſſadors. He had already laid two bridges over the *Sicoris*, four miles diſtant from each other, for the convenience of foraging, having conſumed all the paſ-

[u] It was reported at this time in *Italy*, that *Pompey*, at the head of a great army, had paſſed through *Illyria* into *Germany*: And *this news*, ſays *Cicero*, *is grounded upon indiſputable authority*. *Ad Att.* x. 9.

ture

ture on his ſide of the river. *Pompey*'s Generals did the ſame, and with the ſame view; which occaſioned frequent ſkirmiſhes between the horſe. It happened, one day, that two of *Fabius*'s legions, going out to guard the foragers, according to cuſtom, had paſſed the river, and, the carriages and cavalry endeavouring to follow after, the bridge broke down on a ſudden, and prevented them from joining the foot. This *Afranius* and *Petreius* perceiving, by the hurdles and other materials that came ſwimming down with the ſtream, immediately detached four legions, with all their cavalry, to attack the two legions. *L. Plancus*, who commanded the foraging guard, ſeized a riſing ground, and, forming his men in two diviſions, poſted them back to back, and ſo made a double front to prevent their being ſurrounded by the enemy's horſe. By this diſpoſition, though inferior in number, he was enabled to ſuſtain the furious charge of the *Pompeian* legions and cavalry, till the colours of two legions, which *Fabius* ſent over by the further bridge to the aſſiſtance of his party, were deſcried at a diſtance. Their approach put an end to the engagement, and both armies returned to their ſeveral camps. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Two days after this engagement, *Cæſar* arrived in the camp [x]: And he ordered the bridge that had broke down to be inſtantly repaired. The next day he took a view of the country, and, leaving ſix cohorts to guard the bridge and the camp, he marched with the reſt of his forces in three lines to *Ilerda* and ſtopped near *Afranius*'s camp, where he remained under arms, and offered him battle on an even ground. *Afranius* drew out his troops and formed them half-way down the hill. *Cæſar*, finding that he declined an engagement upon equal terms, reſolved to encamp within four hundred paces of the foot of the mountain; and, to hinder his troops from being alarmed or interrupted in their works by ſudden incurſions from the enemy, he ordered the ſoldiers of the third line, while thoſe of the firſt and ſecond continued in order of battle, to cut a ditch fifteen feet broad behind them, without throwing up a rampart, which would have been perceived by the enemy. Thus the front of his camp was ſecured by a ditch, before *Afranius* had the leaſt ſuſpicion of his deſign to encamp ſo near him. In the evening he made the legions file off by the two ends of the ditch, and brought them behind it, where he paſſed the whole night under arms. The day after, he carried his entrenchments quite round the camp: And, becauſe materials for a rampart muſt have been fetched from a great diſtance, he contented himſelf for the preſent with a naked ditch; allotting a legion to each ſide of the camp, and keeping the reſt of the troops under arms to cover thoſe employed in the works. The *Pompeian* Generals came down with their troops as far as the bottom of the mountain, and threatened to give battle. But

[x] *Cæſar* arrived at *Marſeilles* before the end of the month of *April*: (*Ad Att.* x. 10.) and he ſeems to have reached his army in *Spain* before the end of the month of *May*.

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Cæſar, truſting to the three legions under arms, and the defence of his ditch, did not call off his workmen; and *Afranius*, not venturing to come farther into the plain, after a ſhort ſtay, wheeled off with his men. The third day *Cæſar* added a rampart to his fortifications, and ſent orders to the cohorts he had left behind, to decamp, and come up to him.

Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. Com. lib. i.

Between the city of *Ilerda* and the hill, where *Petreius* and *Afranius* were encamped, there was a plain of about three hundred paces; in the midſt of which was a riſing ground: And *Cæſar* perceived, that, by the means of this poſt, it would be eaſy for him to deprive the enemy of the conveniency of their bridge, and their communication with the city, from whence they furniſhed themſelves with all their ſubſiſtence. In order to get poſſeſſion of it, he drew out three legions, and, having formed them in order of battle, commanded the foremoſt of them to run before and gain the place. *Afranius*, ſeeing his deſign, diſpatched, by a nearer way, the cohorts that were upon guard to the ſame eminence. The fight was ſharply maintained on both ſides: but *Afranius*'s men, who firſt got poſſeſſion, obliged thoſe of *Cæſar* to give ground; and, being reinforced by freſh ſupplies, put them at laſt to the rout, and forced them to fly for ſhelter to the legions. *Cæſar* aſcribes the advantage which *Afranius*'s troops had over his on this occaſion to their manner of fighting. It was their method to come forward briſkly againſt an enemy, and boldly poſſeſs themſelves of ſome poſt; neither taking care to preſerve their ranks, nor holding it neceſſary to fight in a cloſe compact body; and, if they found themſelves hard preſſed, they thought it no diſhonour to retire. In theſe particulars they followed the example of the *Luſitani* and the other barbarous nations of *Spain*. This manner of fighting, as it was new and unexpected, diſordered *Cæſar*'s men, who, ſeeing the enemy come forward without regard to order, were apprehenſive of being ſurrounded, while they were obliged to maintain their ranks, and not to abandon their enſigns.

Cæſar, contrary to his expectation, finding the conſternation like to ſpread through the whole army, encouraged his men, and, leading on himſelf the ninth legion to the aſſiſtance of thoſe that fled, he ſoon put a ſtop to the vigorous and inſulting purſuit of the enemy, obliged them in their turn to give way, and purſued them to the very walls of *Ilerda*. But the ſoldiers, elated with ſucceſs, and eager to repair the loſs they had ſuſtained, followed the runaways with ſo much impetuoſity, that they were drawn into a diſadvantageous place, and found themſelves directly under the hill where the town ſtood; whence, when they endeavoured to retire, the enemy, facing about, charged them vigorouſly from the higher ground. The hill was rough and ſteep on each ſide, and the ſpot, where they ſtood, was ſo narrow, that only three cohorts could be drawn up in front, which could be neither reinforced in flank, nor protected by the cavalry. The enemy's forces increaſed every moment, freſh

freſh cohorts being ſent from the camp through the town, to relieve thoſe that were fatigued: And *Cæſar* was obliged to detach alſo ſmall parties to maintain the battle, and bring off the wounded. Y.R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

The fight had laſted five hours, without intermiſſion, when *Cæſar*'s men, preſſed by the multitude of the enemy, and having ſpent their darts, attacked the cohorts on the hill ſword in hand, and, bearing down a few, obliged the reſt to betake themſelves to flight. The purſuit was continued to the very walls of *Ilerda*, and, a part of the enemy taking ſhelter within the town, *Cæſar*'s men had an opportunity of making good their retreat. At the ſame time the cavalry found means to gain the ſummit of the mountain, and, riding between both armies, hindered the enemy from harraſſing the rear. Thus the engagement was attended with various turns of fortune; and both ſides, of conſequence, laid claim to the victory: *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers, becauſe they had bravely maintained themſelves for five hours in a diſadvantageous poſt, and had, at laſt, driven the enemy into the town; and *Afranius*'s ſoldiers, becauſe they had kept poſſeſſion of the hill which had occaſioned the battle. The loſs on both ſides was but inconſiderable for ſo long and ſo fierce a contention. *Cæſar* loſt the firſt Centurion of the *haſtati* of the fourteenth legion, with about ſeventy men: And above ſix hundred were wounded. On the other ſide were ſlain five Centurions and above two hundred ſoldiers. *Afranius*, made ſenſible of the great importance of the diſputed poſt, cauſed the place to be fortified, and placed in it a ſtrong garriſon for its defence.

This engagement was followed, two days after, by an accident, which brought *Cæſar*'s whole army into the greateſt diſtreſs and danger. A violent ſtorm of rain, and the melted ſnow from the mountains, made the *Sicoris* overflow its banks, and break down, in the ſame day, the two bridges which *Fabius* had erected over it. Thus *Cæſar* found himſelf ſhut up in a compaſs of thirty miles, between two rivers, neither of which was fordable. The States that had declared for him could ſupply him with no proviſions: the troops ſent beyond the river to forage could not return to the camp; and the convoys he expected from *Gaul* and *Italy* could not get to him. It was almoſt harveſt-time, and for that reaſon corn was become very ſcarce, and the more ſo, as *Afranius* had carried great quantities of it into *Ilerda*, and the reſt had been conſumed by *Cæſar*'s troops. The cattle, which were the next reſource in the preſent want, had been removed to a diſtance by the neighbouring nations, upon the breaking out of the war. The parties, ſent out to get proviſions in the country that lay behind the camp, were perpetually harraſſed by the *Spaniſh* infantry, who, being accuſtomed to paſs the rivers on blown-up ſkins, purſued them every-where.

Cæſar endeavoured to repair his bridges, but to no purpoſe: The river was deep and rapid, and the enemy, ſtationed along the oppoſite bank, ſhowered their darts upon the ſpot where the men attempted to

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work. While things were in this poſture, a large convoy from *Gaul* arrived on the other bank of the river, at ſome diſtance above *Cæſar*'s camp. It conſiſted of archers from the *Rutheni*, ſome *Gallic* horſe, with many carts and much baggage, and about ſix thouſand men of all ſorts, with their domeſtics and ſlaves, who, being apprehenſive of no danger, kept no order or diſcipline in their march. There were likewiſe along with it many young Noblemen, Senators ſons, and *Roman* Knights, with the Deputies from the States of *Gaul*, and ſome of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants. *Afranius*, appriſed of their arrival, ſet out in the night with three legions and all his cavalry; and, ſending the horſe before, attacked them, when they leaſt expected it. The *Gallic* ſquadrons, forming themſelves with great expedition, began the fight; and, though few in number, comparatively with the enemy, maintained their ground, and gave the reſt of the convoy time to repair to the neighbouring mountains; whither they alſo retreated, as ſoon as they ſaw the legions advancing towards them. They loſt only two hundred archers, a few troopers, and ſome ſervants and baggage.

This event ſerved to enhance the price of proviſions; a calamity inſeparable from preſent ſcarcity, and the proſpect of future want. Corn was ſold at *fifty denarii* a buſhel: The ſoldiers began to loſe their ſtrength, and, the evil increaſing every moment, *Cæſar* diſmiſſed all the uſeleſs mouths. *Afranius*, on the contrary, abounded in all things: He had large magazines of corn, was continually receiving freſh ſupplies, and had plenty of forage.

About 1 l. 10 s.

Theſe circumſtances were greatly exaggerated by *Afranius* and *Petreius* in their letters to *Rome*, where moſt people concluding, that the war was almoſt at an end, made public congratulations to the relations of the two Generals on their great ſucceſs. Many alſo of the Nobility left *Italy* in order to join *Pompey*; ſome to carry the firſt accounts of this grateful news, others that they might not be ſo late as to ſubject themſelves to the reproach of having waited for the event of things. Among the reſt, *Servius Sulpicius* and *C. Marcellus* probably put to ſea on this occaſion, and, perhaps, *Cicero* himſelf; for intelligence of the battle of *Ilerda*, and of *Cæſar*'s diſtreſs, might very well have reached him before the *eleventh* of *June*.

The joy of *Pompey*'s party was but ſhort. *Cæſar*, ſeeing no poſſibility of repairing the bridges, gave orders for the building ſome of that ſort of veſſels, the uſe whereof he had learned in his *Britiſh* expedition. The keel and ribs of theſe boats were of light wood, and the reſt of oſier covered over with leather. When he had got a ſufficient number, he ſent them by night in waggons to a place twenty-two miles diſtant from his camp. There having embarked a good number of his ſoldiers and carried them over the river, he took poſſeſſion of a hill on the other ſide; threw up a fortification and poſted a legion in it before the enemy thought of obſtructing him: And here, in two days time, he laid a bridge

bridge over the *Sicoris*, by which means he recovered his foragers, secured the convoy, and opened a paſſage for future ſupplies. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

The change of fortune was ſudden and great. *Cæſar* being much ſuperior in cavalry, the enemy was now reduced to confine their foraging within the neighbourhood of their camp; and to detach parties for that purpoſe in the night. Six conſiderable States alſo[y] declared themſelves in his favour, and agreed to furniſh him with proviſions. A cohort compoſed from one of them, which ſerved under *Afranius*, deſerted to him upon hearing the reſolution of their countrymen. The other provinces more diſtant, ſeeing the rumour induſtriouſly ſpread of *Pompey*'s march through *Mauritania* quite extinguiſhed, renounced alſo their engagements with *Afranius*, and beſought *Cæſar*'s friendſhip.

The bridge over the *Sicoris* was twenty-two miles from the camp, which obliged the cavalry to take this compaſs, when they went to forage: And *Cæſar*, to remedy this inconveniency, undertook to make the river fordable by turning its water into canals, thirty feet deep. When the work was almoſt completed, *Petreius* and *Afranius*, perceiving that they would be ſoon cut off from their proviſions by a cavalry ſo ſuperior to their own, took the reſolution to carry the war into *Celtiberia*, a province where *Pompey*'s fame was great, and where they expected to make new levies of horſe and foot. They propoſed by taking poſſeſſion of ſome ſtrong poſt to protract the war till winter. In order to execute this plan, they got together all the boats they could on the *Iberus*, and carried them to *Octogeſa*, a town upon that river, about twenty miles from their camp. There they cauſed a bridge of boats to be made; and, having ſent two legions over the *Sicoris* to fortify a camp with a rampart of twelve feet, they prepared to follow with the reſt of their army.

Cæſar, informed of this motion by his ſcouts, laboured day and night at his drains, and lowered the water in the *Sicoris* to that degree that the cavalry could paſs without difficulty; but it ſtill took the infantry up to the ſhoulders, a depth which, joined to the rapidity of the ſtream, ſeemed to render it impaſſable to them. On the other ſide, *Afranius*, ſeeing *Cæſar*'s works in ſuch forwardneſs, and having notice that the bridge over the *Iberus* was perfected, loſt no time, but, leaving two auxiliary cohorts in *Ilerda*, he croſſed the *Sicoris* with all his forces, and joined the two legions he had ſent before. *Cæſar* had no means of ſtopping their march, but by harraſſing them with his cavalry; for he could not ſend his foot ſoon enough over his bridge, the diſtance was ſo great.

He ordered therefore his horſe to paſs the river, and they ſoon came up with *Afranius*, who had decamped at midnight. At break of day their motions were eaſily deſcried from the hills near the camp. They

[y] The *Oſcenſes*, *Calagurritani*, *Tarraconenſes*, *Jacetani*, *Auſetani*, and *Illurgavonenſes*.

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preſſed extremely the enemy's rear, diſordered their ranks, and obliged them to halt: Then the cohorts facing about forced the cavalry to give ground; who, as ſoon as they began to march, renewed the attack. At this fight the legionary ſoldiers, running up and down the camp, loudly complained, that the enemy would eſcape, and that the war would be unneceſſarily protracted: And they deſired their officers to aſſure *Cæſar*, that they feared neither danger nor fatigue, and were ready to paſs the river as the horſe had done. *Cæſar*, moved by their alacrity, though he ſaw ſome danger in expoſing his army in a deep and rapid ſtream, yet reſolved to make a trial of the paſſage. Having firſt drawn from every company ſuch as were weak of body, he left them with one legion to guard the camp. Then diſpoſing a double line of cavalry above and below the ford, he carried over all his ſoldiers without the loſs of one man. Thoſe, who were borne down by the violence of the current, were ſaved by the horſe below them. *Cæſar* began the purſuit without delay, marching in three lines; and ſuch was the ardour of the ſoldiers, that, though they were forced to go ſix miles about, and had loſt a great deal of time in paſſing the river, they came up with the enemy at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Afranius and *Petreius*, intimidated by an approach ſo ſudden and unexpected, halted on an eminence, and put their troops in order of battle. *Cæſar* kept his in the plain, being unwilling to hazard an action till his army had recovered their fatigue. But, the moment that the two Generals began again to move on, he followed; and thus forced them to encamp much ſooner than they intended. They took up their quarters in a range of mountains to avoid the inſults of the cavalry; and, having placed parties in all the paſſes to ſtop *Cæſar*'s progreſs, hoped by this means to get off ſafe to the *Iberus*. This, ſays *Cæſar*, was their great object, and what, above all things, they ſhould have endeavoured to effect: But, being fatigued by a long march, and their continual ſkirmiſhes with the horſe, they imprudently deferred it till the next day. *Cæſar* likewiſe encamped on a hill not far from them.

About midnight, however, *Cæſar*'s cavalry, having picked up ſome ſoldiers of the enemy, who had ventured too far from the camp in queſt of water, were informed by them that *Pompey*'s Lieutenants had altered their reſolution, and were decamping in deep ſilence. Immediately he ordered the alarm to be ſounded, and the ſignal given for marching: Which engaged the enemy to delay their retreat, as they would have had greatly the diſadvantage in a nocturnal march, both on account of their heavy baggage, and the ſuperiority of *Cæſar*'s cavalry. Next day, *Petreius* went out with a party of horſe to take a view of the country: And *Decidius Saxa* [z] was detached by *Cæſar* with a ſquadron for the ſame purpoſe,

[z] This *Decidius Saxa* was afterwards advanced by *Cæſar* to be Tribune of the people, at which *Cicero* was much ſcandaliſed. In his 13*th Philippic* he ſays, "How can I omit

purpoſe. Both made the like report, in their ſeveral camps, that the country for five miles together was level and open, but after that rough and mountainous; and that which ever army firſt got poſſeſſion of the defiles might eaſily prevent the other from approaching. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Afranius and *Petreius* called a Council of war to debate whether they ſhould depart that night, or wait till the morning. The greater number were for ſetting out in the dark, in hopes of reaching the defiles before *Cæſar* could have notice of their departure. Others argued againſt the poſſibility of decamping privately. They mentioned "the alarm "given in *Cæſar*'s camp the night before; and obſerved, that the "enemy's cavalry were continually patrolling in the night, and had be- "ſet all the ways and paſſes; that a nocturnal engagement was to be "avoided, becauſe, in a civil war, the ſoldiers were more apt to liſten to "their fears, than to the obligations of the military oath; that ſhame, "and the preſence of the Tribunes and Centurions, the great inſtru- "ments of obedience and military duty, could have their proper effect "only in the light; and that therefore they ſhould make their attempt "by day; in which caſe, if they received a diſaſter, or ſmall loſs, yet "the bulk of the army would eſcape, and be able to poſſeſs themſelves "of the poſt in queſtion." Theſe reaſons prevailed, and it was reſolved to ſet out the next morning by break of day.

But *Cæſar* got the ſtart of them, and marched with his legions as ſoon as it was light, taking a conſiderable circuit, and following no particular route: For the direct way to the *Iberus* by *Octogeſa* lay through the enemy's camp. He was obliged therefore to lead his men through deep valleys, and over ſteep rocks, which they could not climb, but by diſencumbering themſelves of their arms, and returning them afterwards to one another. The ſoldiers, however, in the hopes of putting ſpeedily a period to their labours, went on joyfully. As in this march *Cæſar*'s army ſeemed to turn their backs, and purſued at firſt an oppoſite courſe, *Afranius*'s ſoldiers, elated with this appearance, came forth from their camp, and inſulted them on their ſuppoſed flight, imagining that the want of proviſions forced them to return to *Ilerda*. Their Generals applauded themſelves upon the reſolution they had taken of not decamping in the night; and were confirmed in the notion of *Cæſar*'s retreat, when they ſaw that he had neither baggage nor carriages, which made them conclude that the ſcarcity muſt be exceeding great. But when they perceived his men ſoon after turn to the right, and that his advanced guard had already gained the ground beyond their camp, all immediately ran to arms, and, leaving a few cohorts to guard the baggage, they ſallied out in a body, purſuing their way directly to the *Iberus*.

"omit this *Decidius Saxa*, a man brought "from the fartheſt end of the world; whom "we ſee Tribune of the people, before we "ever ſaw him a citizen."

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

All depended now upon diſpatch. The difficulty of the ways was a great hindrance to *Cæſar*'s troops; but his cavalry in return greatly incommoded the ſoldiers of *Afranius*; who, though he ſhould ſucceed in getting firſt to the defiles, was yet certain of loſing his baggage, and the cohorts which were left to guard it in the camp. But *Cæſar* outmarched him, ſuch was the vigour and alacrity of his men; and, having got into the plain beyond the rocks, formed his legions in order of battle. The two Generals, perceiving the enemy's infantry in front, and being attacked by his cavalry in their rear, halted upon a riſing ground, from whence they detached four Spaniſh cohorts to take poſſeſſion of the higheſt mountain that appeared in ſight; thinking to open to themſelves a way over the hills to *Octogeſa*. The Spaniards, wheeling obliquely to take poſſeſſion of the place, were perceived by *Cæſar*'s cavalry, who, charging them furiouſly, broke them at the firſt onſet, and ſurrounded and cut them to pieces in the view of both armies.

Cæſar had now a moſt favourable opportunity of giving his enemy a total overthrow; and he was ſenſible they could make but a faint reſiſtance under their preſent conſternation, ſurrounded on all ſides as they were by his cavalry, and obliged to fight on an open and even ground. His Officers, gathering round him, earneſtly begged that he would not delay the engagement: They repreſented, "that the ſoldiers were "eager for a battle, and that *Afranius*'s army had given many marks of "fear: For they had neither dared to ſupport their own detachment, "nor come down the hill: And that they had brought all their Enſigns "into one place, where they crouded confuſedly round them, without "obſerving rank or order." They added, "that, if he thought the "enemy too advantageouſly poſted, he would ſoon have an opportunity "of attacking them in another place more favourable, the want of wa-"ter laying them under a neceſſity of changing their camp." But *Cæſar*, having cut them off from all proviſions, was confident that he had it now in his power to reduce them without bloodſhed: And he thought it better to gain the victory by his conduct, than by the force of arms. He therefore retired to a ſmall diſtance, to give *Afranius* an opportunity to regain his camp: And then, placing troops in the mountains to guard all the paſſages to the *Iberus*, he lodged himſelf as near as he could to the enemy.

The next day, while *Pompey*'s Lieutenants were in Council debating what meaſures they ſhould follow, whether to return to *Ilerda*, or march to *Tarraco*, notice was given them, that *Cæſar*'s cavalry had fallen upon the parties ſent out in queſt of water, and preſſed them hard. Upon this intelligence, which called for all their attention, they immediately formed ſeveral corps of horſe and foot intermixed with legionary cohorts, and began to throw up a rampart from the camp to the place where they watered. *Afranius* and *Petreius* divided this work between them, and went in perſon to direct it.

In the mean time, the ſoldiers of the two armies had an opportunity of conferring together; and thoſe who belonged to *Afranius* and *Petreius* thanked *Cæſar*'s troops for the generoſity they had ſhewed in ſparing them the day before, and teſtified their concern at being obliged to fight with their countrymen and relations. They then inquired, if they could truſt to *Cæſar*'s clemency, and even promiſed to join him, if the lives of *Petreius* and *Afranius* were granted them: And they ſent ſome of their principal Officers to treat with *Cæſar*. Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, the ſoldiers of both armies went to one another's tents, and a great number of Centurions and military Tribunes came to pay their court to *Cæſar*, and to beg his protection. The Spaniſh Chiefs, who had been ſummoned to attend upon *Afranius*, and were detained in the camp as hoſtages, followed their example. Things were carried to ſuch a length, that *Afranius*'s ſon, a young man, treated with *Cæſar*, by the mediation of *Sulpicius*, for his own and his father's preſervation. The joy was general; the *Afranians* thought themſelves happy to have eſcaped ſuch imminent danger; and the *Cæſarians* to have brought to a happy concluſion ſo important an enterpriſe without ſtriking a blow. *Cæſar*, in the judgment of all, was upon the point of reaping the fruits of his clemency, and all unanimouſly applauded his late conduct. Y.R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Afranius, informed of what was tranſacting, quitted the work he was engaged in, and returned to the camp, not at all diſturbed, and prepared for all events: But *Petreius* diſcovered a very different ſpirit. He armed his ſlaves, and, joining to them a prætorian cohort and ſome Spaniſh cavalry, he flew to the rampart, and broke off the conferences of the ſoldiers, drove *Cæſar*'s men out of the camp, and put all of them he could find to the ſword. Thoſe of them who had an opportunity to rally, wrapping their clokes round their left arms, drew their ſwords; and, truſting to the nearneſs of their camp, defended themſelves till they gradually retreated to the advanced guard, who ſcreened them from any further purſuit.

Then *Petreius* went through the whole camp, begging the troops, with tears in his eyes, to have pity on him and on *Pompey* their General, and not to deliver them up to the cruel vengeance of their enemies. The ſoldiers followed him to the head-quarters; and there he propoſed to them to bind themſelves by a new oath, not to abandon their Commanders, nor to act ſeparately, but with concert and unanimity for the public good. He himſelf took the oath firſt, then tendered it to *Afranius*, then to the military Tribunes and Centurions; and, laſtly, to all the companies of the army. At the ſame time an order was iſſued, that all who had any of *Cæſar*'s troops in their tents ſhould produce them, in order that they might be put to death in the ſight of the whole army. A few obeyed; but the greateſt part, deteſting this bloody decree, carefully concealed thoſe who were under their protection, and procured them means to eſcape in the night. However, the terror im-

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preſſed upon them by their Generals, the ſeverity ſhewn in puniſhing, and the new oath they had been obliged to take, defeated, for the preſent, all hopes of a ſurrender, and reduced the war to its former ſtate. *Cæſar*, on his ſide, ordered diligent ſearch to be made after the *Afranians* who had remained in his camp, and carefully ſent them back. Some Officers choſe to ſtay with him; and theſe he afterwards treated with great diſtinction, promoting them to higher ranks, and honouring ſuch of them as were *Roman* knights with the office of military Tribune.

The army of *Afranius* had now no forage, and could not water but with much difficulty. The legionary ſoldiers, who had been ordered to take with them two and twenty days proviſion, had ſome corn remaining: But the Spaniſh infantry and auxiliary troops had none; and, having no opportunity of ſupplying themſelves, they deſerted in great numbers to *Cæſar*. In this extremity, the expedient of returning to *Ilerda* appeared the ſafeſt, as they had ſtill ſome proviſions in that city; and there they propoſed to conſult concerning the future management of the war. *Tarraco* was at a greater diſtance, and they would of conſequence be expoſed to greater hazards in the way. This reſolution being taken, they decamped; and *Cæſar* followed, ſending his cavalry before, which perpetually harraſſed the rear of the enemy. The manner of fighting was thus: Some light-armed cohorts formed the rear-guard of *Afranius*'s army; and theſe, where the ground was even, halted from time to time, and made head againſt the cavalry. When they fell in with an eminence, the very nature of the ground furniſhed them with the means of defending themſelves; becauſe thoſe who were foremoſt could protect thoſe who followed. When they came, however, to a deſcent, the van could give no aſſiſtance to the rear, and the cavalry annoyed them with their darts. To avoid this inconveniency, the legions halted, and, driving back the cavalry a good way, ran down the hill precipitately, and traverſed the valley until they came to the oppoſite eminence. Their cavalry, which ſhould have been of great uſe in this retreat, and of which they had a conſiderable number, were ſo terrified by their ill ſucceſs in former engagements, that they had been placed in the midſt of the army, in order to be defended by the infantry; and, if any of them dared to ſtraggle out of this ſituation, they were immediately taken by *Cæſar*'s horſe.

During theſe perpetual ſkirmiſhes, in which the *Afranians* were often obliged to ſtop to diſengage the rear, their march could not but be very ſlow. After advancing four miles, finding themſelves hard preſſed by the cavalry, they halted on an eminence, and drew a line before them, as if they meant to encamp; but did not unload their baggage: And when they ſaw that *Cæſar* had marked out his camp, pitched his tents, and ſent his cavalry to forage, they ſuddenly, towards noon, reſumed their march, hoping to be rid of the cavalry for ſome time. *Cæſar*, leaving

leaving a few cohorts to guard his baggage, followed with his legions, and ſent orders for his cavalry to return with all ſpeed. The cavalry obſerved his orders, and, coming up with the enemy before the cloſe of day, fell upon their rear with ſuch impetuoſity that it was almoſt put to the rout. A great number of ſoldiers, and ſome Centurions, loſt their lives. At the ſame time *Cæſar* appearing with his whole army, the enemy were threatened with a total overthrow, as they could neither continue their march, nor look out for a proper place for a camp. They were forced to halt in a very diſadvantageous ground, and at a diſtance from water. *Cæſar*, conſtant in his purpoſe, did not offer to attack them, but kept all his troops under arms to be in readineſs to purſue, if they ſhould attempt to eſcape either in the day or night. *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, ſenſible of the diſadvantage of their ſituation, employed the whole night in throwing up intrenchments, and in diſpoſing their camp with an oppoſite front to *Cæſar*'s army. The next day they continued at their works, and laboured from ſun-riſe to the evening. But the farther they extended their lines in order to better their poſition, the farther they removed from water: And thus, to avoid one inconveniency, they fell into a greater. *Cæſar*, who wanted to oblige them to capitulate, by reducing them to extreme neceſſity, drew lines round their camp; and by this method he offered an obſtruction to any ſallies or eruptions which they might make. The ſcarcity of forage, and the view of performing their march with the greater expedition, ſoon induced them to kill all the beaſts of burden which they could not feed: And two days were waſted in forming and executing this reſolution. But, on the third, *Afranius* and *Petreius*, ſeeing *Cæſar*'s works very much advanced, and being apprehenſive of the conſequences, drew all their forces out of the camp, and formed them in order of battle. *Cæſar*, aware of the hurt it might do his reputation, if, contrary to the inclination of his troops, and the general expectation, he ſtill continued to decline an engagement, called in his workmen, aſſembled his cavalry, and put his army in a condition to receive them. He reſolved, however, to remain upon the defenſive; and the rather, becauſe the diſtance between the two camps was ſo ſmall, being only two thouſand feet, that, ſhould he put the enemy to the rout, he could not flatter himſelf with the hopes of a complete victory.

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Afranius's troops were ranged in a double line, conſiſting of five legions: The *Spaniſh* cohorts, which uſed to be ſtationed in the wings, formed the body of reſerve. *Cæſar*'s legions were drawn up in three lines: The firſt conſiſted of twenty cohorts, four out of each of his legions; the ſecond of fifteen cohorts, three out of each legion; and the third of the ſame number. The archers and ſlingers were diſpoſed in the middle, and the cavalry in the two wings. The army being drawn up in this manner, each General kept firm to his reſolution; *Cæſar*, not to engage unleſs forced to it; and *Afranius* to prevent the pro-

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greſs of *Cæſar*'s works. In this poſture they continued till ſun-ſet, when both armies returned to their ſeveral camps. The next day *Cæſar* propoſed to finiſh his lines; and *Pompey*'s Lieutenants endeavoured to find a fordable place in the *Sicoris:* But *Cæſar* had taken his meaſures againſt this attempt, and had ſent his light armed *Germans* with part of his cavalry over the river, and poſted bodies of troops along the banks at a ſmall diſtance from one another.

The two Generals, having now no hope left, and being in want of wood, water, and corn, they demanded a parley, and begged that it might be in ſome place out of the ſight of the ſoldiers. *Cæſar* conſented to an interview, but the latter part of their requeſt was denied them: And *Afranius*, having firſt given his ſon for an hoſtage, met *Cæſar* in the preſence of both armies. He addreſſed him to this effect, with all poſſible marks of ſubmiſſion: "that it was no juſt matter of blame, "either in him or his ſoldiers, to have preſerved their fidelity to their "General *Pompey*; but that they had now ſufficiently acquitted themſelves of their duty, and ſuffered enough in his cauſe by the want of "all kinds of neceſſaries: That, like wild beaſts caught in a toil, "they were deprived of the moſt common enjoyments; having their "bodies oppreſſed with want, and their minds overwhelmed with ignominy; and that therefore they acknowledged themſelves to be "vanquiſhed, and beſought and conjured him not to make a rigorous "uſe of his victory, but to ſpare the lives of his unhappy countrymen." *Cæſar* replied, "that *Afranius*, of all men, had the leaſt reaſon to complain of his preſent unfortunate ſituation, and the leaſt "pretenſions to any favour; for that every one elſe had performed "their duty: *He himſelf*, in declining to attack his army, though "favoured by the advantages of time and place, in order that the way "might be open to an accommodation: *His army*, in returning unhurt the men that were in their power, after injuries received, and "the maſſacre of their comrades: And even *Afranius's own troops*, in "endeavouring to conclude a peace whereon the common ſafety depended. That thus, when all orders had ſhewn an inclination to "treat, *Afranius* and *Petreius* alone had oppoſed the ſteps to an accommodation; refuſing an interview, and barbarouſly murdering thoſe "whom the faith of a conference had inticed into their camp. That "it had therefore happened to them, as it often happens to men of "obſtinacy and arrogance; and they were forced to have recourſe to "prayers, and earneſtly to ſollicit the ſame terms which they had rejected with ſcorn. That he would not, however, take advantage of "their preſent ſubmiſſion, or the favourable circumſtances he was in, "to inſiſt upon any thing tending to the increaſe of his power: And "that he only requeſted they would diſband thoſe troops which "had been ſo long kept on foot againſt him: For with what other "view (he ſaid) had ſix legions been ſent into *Spain*; a ſeventh levied "there;

" there; ſo many powerful navies equipped; and ſo many able and " experienced Officers ſent over? That ſuch mighty preparations " could not be meant againſt *Spain*, or to ſupply the want of a pro- " vince, which, having enjoyed a long peace, had no occaſion for ſuch " extraordinary forces: That their real end was his deſtruction; to " effect which, a new ſpecies of power had been introduced into the " Commonwealth; and that, on this account, the ſame man had been " appointed to command in *Italy* at the gates of *Rome*, and to hold for " ſo many years, though abſent, the government of the two moſt po- " tent provinces of the Republic. That, for this reaſon alone, the " Magiſtrates had been ſtripped of their prerogatives, the Conſuls and " Prætors not being ſuffered, as had been always the cuſtom, to take " the different provinces at the expiration of their offices; and particu- " lar Governors were appointed by the choice and management of a " faction. That, for this reaſon alone, he had been denied that juſtice " which had never been refuſed to any General before him; and was " not allowed to diſband his army, and to return home with honour; " or, at leaſt, without ignominy, after having ſucceſsfully ſerved the " public. That all theſe injuries he had hitherto borne, and ſtill re- " ſolved to bear with patience; that it was not now his deſign to take " from *Afranius* his ſoldiers, and to enliſt them in his own ſervice, " which it would be eaſy for him to do; and that he only meant to " prevent their being employed againſt him. That, therefore, *Afra-* " *nius* muſt quit *Spain*, and diſband his forces; that this was his de- " termined reſolution: And that theſe were the only terms of peace " he would grant."

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Theſe conditions were very agreeable to *Afranius*'s ſoldiers; who, inſtead of being puniſhed, as they feared, were, in ſome ſort, rewarded by the diſcharge procured them. They plainly ſhewed their ſatisfaction: For, while the place and time of their diſmiſſion were under debate between *Cæſar* and *Afranius*, they ſignified by their geſtures and cries from the rampart, that they deſired to be immediately diſbanded. After ſome diſcuſſion, it was determined that thoſe who had houſes and poſſeſſions in *Spain* ſhould be diſcharged upon the ſpot, and the reſt, when they arrived at the *Varus*, a river between *Gaul* and *Italy*. And *Cæſar* declared, that no perſon ſhould be injured or forced into his ſervice: And that all thoſe who had loſt any thing during the war ſhould be indemnified. He alſo engaged to furniſh them with corn till they got to the *Varus*. By this generous behaviour, he acquired the confidence of *Pompey*'s army to ſuch a degree, that he became the arbiter of all their diſputes, either among themſelves, or with their Commanders: And when they were ready to mutiny about their pay, which *Petreius* and *Afranius* affirmed not to be yet due, the matter was referred to him, and he determined it to the equal ſatisfaction of both parties. One third of the army was disbanded during the two days they

The *Var.*

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they continued in their camp: The reſt ſet out for the *Varus*, two of *Cæſar*'s legions marching before, and the others following after, and encamping near them. *Q. Fuſius Calenus*, one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, preſided over the march; and, when he arrived at the *Varus*, diſbanded them; but the greateſt part of them came over voluntarily to *Cæſar*: The two Generals went to find out *Pompey*.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. i.

Thus did *Cæſar*, within forty days from his arrival in *Spain*, with five legions, and ſome auxiliary *Gauls*, reduce an army of five legions of veterans, eighty cohorts of *Spaniards*, and five thouſand horſe: And now many reaſons called upon him to return into *Italy*; but he did not think it adviſeable to leave *Spain*, till he had ſubjected the whole country to his obedience. *M. Varro* commanded two legions in further *Spain*, to which he had added thirty auxiliary cohorts: And he had formed great magazines of corn, not only for his own uſe, but with a view alſo of ſupplying *Marſeilles*, and the army under *Afranius* and *Petreius*. The *Gaditani* had been ordered to furniſh him with ten ſhips of war, and more had been built at *Hiſpalis*. He had put all his proviſions into *Gades*, and had conveyed thither all the money and ornaments which he had found in the temple of *Hercules*: And, to guard this town, he gave it a garriſon of ſix cohorts, under the command of *C. Gallonius*, a Roman Knight. This Commander had ſpoken upon every occaſion with contempt of *Cæſar*'s forces, and had frequently declared from his tribunal, that *Cæſar* had been worſted, and that his ſoldiers had gone over to *Afranius*. By theſe arts, he had ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Roman* citizens who reſided in his province, that he engaged them to promiſe him one hundred and ninety thouſand ſeſterces, twenty thouſand weight of ſilver, with one hundred and twenty thouſand buſhels of wheat. The States well affected to *Cæſar* he loaded with heavy impoſitions, and quartered ſoldiers upon them: He harraſſed private men whom he thought averſe to his cauſe with arbitrary judgments: He confiſcated the eſtates of many, whom he accuſed of having ſpoken againſt what he called the *Commonwealth*: And he obliged the whole province to take an oath of fidelity to himſelf and *Pompey*. *Cæſar*, who ſeems to give an account of this General's[g] behaviour with a particular reſentment, tells us, that in the beginning of the civil war, while his affairs went on ſucceſsfully in *Italy*, *Varro* had affected to ſpeak of him with great regard, and in a moſt friendly manner, ſaying, "that indeed he was under particular obligations to *Pom-*
"*pey*, who had made him his Lieutenant, but at the ſame time was
"greatly indebted to *Cæſar*: That he was not ignorant of the duty of
"an Officer employed by his General in an office of truſt; but that
"he likewiſe knew his own weakneſs, and the attachment of the whole

The people of Cadiz. Seville. Cadiz.

[g] He was probably the learned *Varro*, who had alſo ſerved under *Pompey* in the war againſt the pirates.

pro-

" province to *Cæſar*." When he underſtood, however, that *Cæſar* was ſtopped by the ſiege of *Marſeilles*; that *Afranius* and *Petreius* had executed the junction of their troops, which they had conſiderably increaſed; and that all hither *Spain* had unanimouſly declared to ſupport them; he changed his behaviour and ſpeech. *Varro*, therefore, having committed ſo many acts of hoſtility, reſolved to perſiſt in his meaſures, and prepare for war: And, being ſenſible that the whole province was in *Cæſar*'s intereſt, he determined to ſhut himſelf up in *Gades*, where all his proviſions and ſhipping lay; hoping, by the ſtrength of the town, which is an iſland ſurrounded by the ſea, and with the help of his fleet, to draw out the war into length. Y. R. 704 Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Cæſar ſent againſt him *Q. Caſſius*, Tribune of the people, with two legions; and he himſelf ſet out by great journeys at the head of ſix hundred horſe, for *Corduba*, whither he ſummoned the Magiſtrates of the different States. All obeyed: Every city ſent its Deputies, nor was there a *Roman* citizen of any note who did not repair to him. The Senate of *Corduba* ſhut their gates againſt *Varro*, ſtationed guards and centinels along the walls, and detained two cohorts, called *Colonicæ*, which were accidentally marching that way, that they might ſerve to protect the town. At the ſame time, the people of *Carmona* drove out of their city, which is the moſt conſiderable in the whole province, three cohorts which *Varro* had left there, and ſhut their gates againſt them. Cordova.

The apparent affection of the province for *Cæſar* determined *Varro* to make all poſſible diſpatch to reach *Gades* before his march could be intercepted. But he had advanced but a little way, when he received letters, informing him, " That, as ſoon as *Cæſar*'s edict was known, " the principal men of the town had conſpired with the Tribunes of " the garriſon to drive out *Gallonius*, and deliver up the city and iſland " to *Cæſar*; that, this agreement being made, they had warned *Gallo-* " *nius* to retire of his own accord; threatening, if he refuſed to com- " ply voluntarily, to force him to it: And that this Commander, ter- " rified by ſo general a revolt, had thought proper to leave *Gades*." Upon this intelligence, one of the legions, called *Vernacula*, took up their enſigns in *Varro*'s preſence, quitted the camp, and marched directly to *Hiſpalis*, where they ſat down in the market-place, without committing the leaſt act of violence; a circumſtance which ſo wrought upon the *Roman* citizens reſiding in the town, that every one was deſirous of accommodating them in their houſes. *Varro*, aſtoniſhed and confounded at theſe proceedings, turned back with deſign to reach *Italica*, but was informed that its gates were ſhut. At laſt, finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, and the ways every-where beſet, he wrote to *Cæſar*, that he was ready to reſign the legion under his command to whomſoever he would appoint to receive it. *Cæſar* ſent *Sextus Cæſar* to take the command; and *Varro*, having delivered up

Y.R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

the legion accordingly, came to him at *Corduba:* Where, after giving an account of the ſtate of the province, he faithfully reſigned all the public money he had in his hands, and informed him of the quantity of corn and ſhipping he had prepared.

Cæſar, in the Aſſembly of the States at *Corduba*, having returned thanks to all thoſe who had declared in his favour, remitted the tribute impoſed by *Varro* upon the *Roman* citizens; reſtored their eſtates to thoſe who had been deprived of them for ſpeaking freely their thoughts; diſtributed rewards to a great many in public and private; gave all hopes to receive the like favours hereafter; and, after a ſtay of two days, went to *Gades*; where he reſtored to the temple of *Hercules* all the treaſures and ornaments it had been ſpoiled of, and ſoon after procured this city the freedom of *Rome*. And, having committed the government of the province to *Q. Caſſius*, with the command of four legions, he embarked for *Terraco* on board the fleet which *Varro* had obliged the *Gaditani* to equip. There he found the Deputies of all *nether Spain*; and having, in like manner as at *Corduba*, thanked and rewarded them, both publicly and privately, he went by land to *Narbonne*, and ſo to the ſiege of *Marſeilles*.

CHAP. V.

The ſiege of Marſeilles. Caius Antonius *and* Dolabella, Cæſar's *Lieutenants*, *in* Illyricum, *are defeated by* M. Octavius *and* Scribonius Libo. Curio's *unfortunate expedition into* Africa.

WHILE *Cæſar* was employed in reducing *Spain*, *C. Trebonius* and *D. Brutus* had carried on the ſiege of *Marſeilles* with great vigour; and the inhabitants had bravely defended themſelves. The town of *Marſeilles* was formerly waſhed by the ſea on three ſides: It could be approached by land only on the fourth; and the citadel, being very ſtrong by nature, becauſe of a deep valley that ran before it, required a long and difficult ſiege.[1] It was of great importance to the beſieged to command the ſea: And, to beat off *Brutus's* fleet, they equipped ſeventeen gallies. To theſe they added a great number of ſmaller veſſels, filled with archers and the mountaineers whom they had engaged in their ſervice; and, on board of which, *Domitius* put alſo his own domeſtics whom he had brought with him from *Italy*. With this force they ſailed out to give battle to *Brutus*, who lay at anchor at an iſland over-againſt the town. His fleet was much inferior

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i.

[1] From this deſcription it appears, ſays *M. D'Anville*, that the town did not then ſtand upon the ſame extent of ground as now: It only covered a triangle formed on one ſide by the port, and on the other by the coaſt of the great ſea: Whereas now it is built round the port. *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaul, p.* 440.

to

to that of the *Maſſilians* in the number of ſhips; but *Cæſar* had manned it with his beſt ſoldiers, choſen out of all the legions, and headed by Centurions of diſtinguiſhed bravery; and he had provided it with hooks and grappling irons, and offenſive weapons of all ſorts. Upon the firſt notice of the approach of the enemy, *Brutus* ſtood out to ſea. The conflict was ſharp and vigorous; for the mountaineers, a hardy race, habituated to arms, and trained up to war, yielded little in point of valour to the *Romans*. *Domitius*'s vaſſals were animated with the hopes of liberty; and, fighting under the eye of their maſter, behaved gallantly. The townſmen confided in the nimbleneſs of their ſhips and the ſkill of their pilots, and employed all their art to elude the ſhock of *Brutus*'s veſſels, and to baffle all their attempts. The enemy extended their line of battle in order to ſurround his fleet, or attack his ſhips ſingly with a number of theirs, or in running along ſide, to ſweep away a range of oars. When they were compelled to come to a cloſer engagement, they relied wholly on the bravery of their mountaineers and the *Italian* peaſants. *Brutus's* fleet was but indifferently provided with rowers and pilots, who had been haſtily taken out of ſome merchant-ſhips, and knew not ſo much as the names of the tackle. They were incommoded too by the weight and lumpiſhneſs of their veſſels, which, being built with too much expedition and of unſeaſoned timber, were not ſo ready at tacking about. When an opportunity however offered of coming to cloſe fight, they would boldly get between two of the enemy's ſhips; and, grappling them with their hooks, charge them on each ſide, board them, and cut to pieces the mountaineers and peaſants who defended them. In this manner, they ſunk part of the *Maſſilian* veſſels, took ſome, with all the men on board, and drove the reſt into the haven.

Y.R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

This loſs was repaired with all poſſible expedition. The *Maſſilians* drew out of their docks, and rigged as many old ſhips as they had loſt; they alſo prepared a number of fiſhing barks, which they filled with archers and engines; and thus they were in readineſs to ſail upon the firſt occaſion. *Pompey*, who was ſenſible of what importance it was to keep *Cæſar* employed in theſe parts, ſent *L. Naſidius* to the ſuccour of *Marſeilles*, with a fleet of ſixteen ſhips, ſome of which were very ſtrong, and armed with beaks of braſs. This fleet paſſed the ſtreights of *Sicily* unknown to *Curio*, and, in their way, put in at *Meſſana*, where their unexpected arrival cauſed ſo great a terror, that the town was deſerted by the Senate and the principal inhabitants: And *Naſidius*, entering the harbour without any oppoſition, drew out one of the galleys, which he joined to his fleet. The *Maſſilians*, informed of his arrival, ſailed out a ſecond time to try their fortune, and rendezvouſed at *Taurentum*, a caſtle belonging to the town, where *Naſidius* lay with his whole ſquadron.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. ii.

Meſſina.

Taurenti, on the right ſide of the bay of *Cio-*

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Brutus went to fight them with his fleet, which he had conſiderably increaſed by ſix ſhips which he had taken in the late action. The battle was maintained on both ſides with determined courage. The *Maſſilians* had put on board their ſhips the choice of their youth, and the moſt conſiderable men of the city; who were all convinced, that on the iſſue of that day's engagement depended the ſafety and preſervation of their country. But *Naſidius* was of no ſervice to them: He left them during the engagement, and retired without hurt to the coaſt of *Spain*. *Brutus* obtained a ſecond victory, having ſunk five, and taken four of the enemy's ſhips.

Theſe diſaſters at ſea diſheartened not the inhabitants of the town: They continued to defend themſelves by land againſt *Trebonius* with great courage. This Commander had attacked them in two places; on the ſide of the port where the docks were; and on the ſide towards the ſea, near the mouth of the *Rhone:* And, having been furniſhed from all parts of the province with a great number of workmen and carriages, and with wood and other materials, he had greatly advanced his works. But ſo well was the town ſtored with all engines neceſſary for its defence, that no mantelets of ozier were ſufficient to withſtand their violence. Their *Baliſtæ* ſhot wooden beams, twelve feet in length, and armed with iron, with ſuch force, that, after they had pierced four rows of hurdles, they entered a conſiderable way into the earth. To reſiſt the violence of theſe machines, the beſiegers were obliged to roof their galleries with pieces of wood of a feet in thickneſs, ſtrongly compacted together. Under this cover the materials neceſſary for raiſing the mount or terras, which was to be oppoſed to the town wall, were conveyed; and a tortoiſe, ſixty feet long, compoſed of ſtrong beams, and every thing neceſſary to defend it againſt fire and ſtones, was carried before to level the ground. But, in ſpight of all endeavours, and the greatneſs of the works employed againſt them, the height of their wall and towers, and the multitude of their machines, retarded the approaches of the beſiegers. Beſides, the mountaineers made frequent ſallies, which greatly annoyed the workmen.

The Legionaries, who had the charge of the works on the right, perceived that a tower of brick, built at a little diſtance from the walls, would be of great ſervice to ſhelter them from the frequent ſallies of the enemy. At firſt they made it very low and ſmall; and it ſerved chiefly as a place of retreat, when they were repulſed. But they ſoon perceived that it would be of much more uſe if it were raiſed to a greater height. This they effected in the following manner: The tower was of a ſquare form, thirty feet every way, allowing for the thickneſs of the walls, which was five feet. When it was raiſed to the height of one ſtory, they laid a floor over it, the extremities of whoſe beams were concealed in the thickneſs of the wall, that they might

not, by appearing on the outſide, be liable to be ſet on fire. Then the wall was continued directly upwards as far as their mantelets would permit: And two beams were laid acroſs each other, the ends of which almoſt reached the angles of the wall. Theſe were for ſupporting the floor, which was to ſerve as a roof to the tower. Over theſe beams they placed the joiſts of the roof, and covered them with planks. Theſe joiſts projected a little beyond the wall, in order to ſuſpend from them what might be neceſſary to ſhelter the workmen. This floor they paved with tiles and mortar, to render it proof againſt fire; and it had beſides a covering of mattreſſes to break the force of the darts and ſtones which might be thrown againſt it by the enemy. At the ſame time, they hung from the beams of this roof, that projected beyond the wall, curtains, made of ſtrong cables, woven to the depth of four feet, and which went round the three ſides of the tower which were expoſed to the engines; having formerly experienced, that this kind of cover was impenetrable to any dart or engine whatever. When the roof with its curtains was thus prepared, they removed the mantelets, and elevated the roof from the firſt ſtory as far as the curtains would permit. Then, ſecure from all inſult, they laboured at the brick wall: And, when they had raiſed it to the height of a ſecond ſtory, they again ſcrewed up the roof; and, under its defence, and of the curtains hanging from it, they continued the work, and laid the interjacent floors. In this manner they proceeded till they had completed ſix ſtories, leaving always holes in convenient places from which they could play their engines. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

When, by means of this tower, they thought they had ſufficiently provided for the ſecurity of the works around it, they undertook to build a moveable gallery, ſixty feet long, of timber two feet in thickneſs, to extend from their brick tower to the walls of the town. The gallery they conſtructed in this manner: Two beams of equal length were firſt laid upon the ground at the diſtance of four feet from one another: And upon theſe were erected pillars, five feet high, joined at the top by pieces of wood deſigned to ſupport the roof of the gallery. Over theſe were placed rafters two feet ſquare, faſtened ſtrongly with nails and plates of iron. The upper part of the roof was compoſed of ſquare laths, four inches thick, to bear the weight of the tiles that were to be laid upon them; and a covering of hides was thrown over it to hinder the cement from being waſhed away by ſpouts of water. Over all were laid ſtrong mattreſſes to ſcreen the hides from fire and ſtones. This work was finiſhed cloſe by the brick fortreſs, under cover of four mantelets, and immediately carried forward upon rollers, till it unexpectedly reached the very tower of the enemy.

The beſieged, aſtoniſhed at ſo threatening and unlooked for a machine, puſhed forward with levers the largeſt ſtones they could find, and tumbled them upon it. But the ſtrength of the wood reſiſted their weight

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

weight and violence, ſo that they fell to the ground without doing any hurt. Obſerving this, they poured down barrels of burning pitch and other combuſtible matter. But theſe likewiſe rolled along the roof without damage, and, falling to the ground, were thruſt away from the works with forks and long poles. Meanwhile the ſoldiers, under the protection of this gallery, were endeavouring to undermine the enemy's fortreſs; the gallery itſelf was defended by the brick tower, whence the engines played without intermiſſion, inſomuch that the enemy, driven from their battlements, were at laſt obliged to abandon their defence. By degrees the tower being undermined, part of it fell down, and the reſt was ſo ſhaken that it could not ſtand long.

The *Maſſilians* diſmayed, and dreading the plunder and devaſtation of their city, came out in the habit of ſupplicants, and beſought the compaſſion of the army and Generals, earneſtly requeſting that all further operations ſhould be ſuſpended till *Cæſar*'s arrival. They told them, "that, their tower being deſtroyed, they were ſenſible the city "could hold out no longer; and therefore meant not to defend it. "That, in the mean time, no prejudice could ariſe to the beſiegers from "a ſhort reſpite, becauſe, if they refuſed to ſubmit upon *Cæſar*'s "coming, he would have it in his power to treat them as he pleaſed." They added, "that, if the whole tower ſhould be broken down, it would "be impoſſible to hinder the ſoldiers from yielding to the deſire of "plunder, by breaking into and pillaging the town." *Cæſar* had earneſtly recommended to *Trebonius*, by letter, to prevent, if poſſible, the city's being taken by ſtorm, leſt the ſoldiers, irritated by its obſtinate reſiſtance, ſhould put all the youth to the ſword, which they threatened to do. The requeſt of the *Maſſilians* was therefore complied with, though the ſoldiers murmured at the delay of a conqueſt which they looked upon as eaſy and certain.

But the *Maſſilians* were inſincere, and aimed at nothing in all this, but to find a time and opportunity to deceive the *Romans*, and put in practice the perfidious deſign they had formed. For, after a few days, they ſuddenly ſallied from the town, and, the wind being favourable, they ſet fire to the enemy's works. The flame, in a moment, ſpread itſelf on all ſides, and the terraſs, the mantelets, the tortoiſe, and the tower, with its machines, were entirely conſumed, before it was poſſible to diſcover whence the diſaſter aroſe. The *Romans* ran immediately to their arms, every one taking what came firſt to his hands; and flew from the camp to their works, where they attacked the enemy with great fierceneſs, but their ardour was checked by the arrows and darts poured in upon them from the town. The beſieged, now ſecure under their walls, deſtroyed without difficulty the brick tower, and the gallery connected with it. Next day, being favoured by the ſame wind, they attacked, with ſtill greater aſſurance, another tower and terraſs of the other attack. But *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant, grown wiſe by his late

late misfortune, had made all neceſſary preparations for their defence: So that the enemy, after loſing many men, were obliged to retreat into the city without effecting their purpoſe. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Trebonius immediately reſolved to repair his loſs, and he was warmly ſeconded by his ſoldiers, who were greatly provoked to ſee their credulity had been abuſed, and that they were the jeſt of a perfidious enemy. All the wood in the neighbourhood of *Marſeilles* had been already cut down: They were therefore obliged to raiſe a terraſs of a new kind, and ſuch as hiſtory no where mentions before that time. They erected two walls of brick, each ſix feet thick, and of the ſame diſtance from each other with thoſe of the former terraſs. Over theſe they laid a covering which was ſupported by beams laid acroſs: And, to make it firm, they placed pillars underneath between the walls. Hurdles, with brick and earth intermixed, ſerved to make it proof againſt fire. The ſoldiers, thus ſheltered over head, on the right and left by the walls, and before by mantelets, brought without danger the neceſſary materials for carrying on the works: And, by the eagerneſs with which they laboured, ſoon completed them; leaving doors at convenient places, from which they might ſally out upon occaſion.

The townſmen ſeeing that the *Romans* had repaired in a few days what they imagined muſt have coſt them the labour of many months; that there was no hope left either of deceiving them, or ſallying out upon them with ſucceſs; that all the approaches to the city by land might in like manner be ſhut up by a wall and towers, ſo as to render it impoſſible for them to appear upon their battlements; that they could neither diſcharge their javelins to any effect, nor make uſe of their engines, in which their principal hope lay; and that they were now reduced to the neceſſity of fighting upon equal terms; they were forced to have recourſe again to the ſame conditions of truce they had ſo ill deſerved before; and, on *Cæſar*'s arrival, having no proſpect of relief, they ſurrendered at diſcretion. *Domitius*, ſome days before, took the opportunity of a ſtorm to ſail out of the harbour with three veſſels. They were chaced by *Brutus*'s ſhips, which kept conſtantly at anchor in the road, or before the port: And two of the three were obliged to return back, but that, which carried *Domitius*, made its eſcape. *Cæſar* ſpared the town, he ſays, more in regard to its antiquity and reputation, than to any real merit it could plead. He obliged the citizens, however, to deliver up their arms, machines, and ſhips of war, to ſurrender all the money in their treaſury, and to receive a garriſon of two legions. The reſt of his army he ſent into *Italy*, and he himſelf ſet out for *Rome* [k]. Cæſar de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. ii.

[k] *Pompey* and the Senate in his camp, to reward, in ſome manner, the fidelity of the town of *Marſeilles*, gave the rights and privileges of a free city to *Phocæa* in *Ionia*, which was the mother-town of *Marſeilles*. *Dio*.

Cæſar's

Y.R. 704. Ant. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

Cæſar's arms were not equally ſucceſsful when conducted by his Lieutenants. Fortune, ſays *Florus*, ventured to do ſomething in *Illyricum* and *Africa* againſt the abſent General: But it was as if ſhe meant, by ſome dark ſhades of adverſity, to heighten the ſplendor of his own exploits. We have but few particulars of what paſſed in *Illyricum*, *Cæſar*'s account being loſt. We may gather from the hiſtorians, particularly *Florus*, that *Dolabella* and *Antonius* were ſuddenly ſurrounded by a ſuperior number of men from *Pompey*'s fleets, commanded by *M. Octavius* and *Scribonius Libo:* And that *C. Antonius* was obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, with fifteen cohorts, in the iſland of *Corcyra*, off the coaſt of *Dalmatia*. An expreſſion of *Cæſar* informs us, that the loſs of the army was occaſioned by the perfidy of *Pulcio*, one of his officers. Some of the troops attempted to eſcape in ſmall flat-bottomed boats; but were ſtopped by a contrivance of the *Cilician* marines in *Pompey*'s fleet. Theſe had formed nets made of twiſted ropes and chains, and extended them from rock to rock under water. However, of three boats, two got off by the working of the ſea, but the third, filled with ſoldiers from a town beyond the *Po* called *Opitergium*, could not be diſengaged. It was ſurrounded on all ſides: And the ſoldiers, after having defended themſelves for a whole day, choſe, in the night, at the inſtigation of one of their officers, to turn their ſwords againſt one another, and mutually kill themſelves to the laſt man, rather than ſurrender to the enemy.

Oderzo.

The cauſe of *Cæſar*'s loſs in *Africa* was the raſhneſs of *Curio*. This Commander, who had conceived the higheſt contempt for the troops headed by *Attius Varus*, ſailed from *Sicily* into *Africa*, with only two of the four legions, which had been put under his command by *Cæſar*, and five hundred horſe. *Varus*, after the loſs of his cohorts at *Auximum*, had fled into *Africa*; which he had governed ſome years before, after the expiration of his prætorſhip. There, by his knowledge of the people and country, he levied two legions, and took the command of the province with the conſent of the natives. *Tubero*, who had been named by the *Pompeians* to this command, arriving ſome time after with his fleet before *Utica*, was forbid the town and harbour: Nor could he even obtain leave for his ſon to land, who was ſick on board his fleet: And he was obliged to weigh anchor and return to *Pompey*. *Curio*, after two days and three nights ſailing, landed at a place called *Aquilaria*, twenty-two miles diſtant from *Clupea*; where *L. Cæſar*, the ſon, was waiting for him with ten gallies, which *Varus* had repaired at *Utica* and put under his command. But *L. Cæſar*, terrified at the number of ſhips *Curio* brought with him, ſtood in for the coaſt; where, running his galley on ſhore, he left her, and went by land to *Adrumetum*, a town poſſeſſed by *C. Conſidius Longus*, with a garriſon of one legion. To this place likewiſe the reſt of his fleet repaired. *M. Rufus*, the Quæſtor, who commanded for *Curio* twelve ſhips, towed the galley off the ſtrand, and returned with the fleet to *Curio*.

Curio

Curio ordered him to ſail directly for *Utica*; whither he followed with his land-army. After a march of two days, he arrived at the river *Bagradas*, where he left *C. Caninius Rebilus* with the legions, and advanced before with the cavalry to take a view of the ſpot called the *Cornelian* camp, becauſe the firſt *Scipio Africanus* had encamped there. The ſituation was judged to be very advantageous. It was a high rock jutting out into the ſea, ſteep and rough on both ſides, but with an eaſy deſcent where it fronts *Utica*. It lay little more than a mile from that town, in a direct line: But as there was a fountain about half-way, which overflowed the plain and formed a moraſs, it was neceſſary to take a compaſs of ſix miles in marching to *Utica*. When he had taken a view of this poſt, he went and examined *Varus*'s camp. A. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

It was covered by the town of *Utica* itſelf on one ſide, and on the other by a kind of theatre that ſtood without the walls: And, the works round this theatre taking up a great extent of ground, they rendered the approach to the camp extremely difficult. While he was taking his ſurvey, he ſaw all the roads crouded with people, who were carrying their valuable effects into the city: And he detached his cavalry to plunder them. At the ſame time *Varus* ordered ſix hundred *Numidian* horſe, with four hundred foot, to their aſſiſtance. The *Numidians*, unable to ſtand the firſt ſhock, retreated immediately to their camp with the loſs of one hundred and twenty men. Mean while the port of *Utica* was deſerted by all the merchant-ſhips that were there to the number of two hundred, in obedience to a proclamation *Curio* had publiſhed, in which he threatened to treat them as enemies, if they did not inſtantly repair to the *Cornelian* camp. By this means the army was at once plentifully ſupplied with every commodity: And *Curio*, upon his return to the camp at *Bagradas*, was ſaluted *Imperator* by the joint acclamations of the ſoldiers.

Next day, he led his army towards *Utica*, and encamped not far from the town: But, before he had made his intrenchments, he was informed by ſome parties of horſe ſtationed near the camp, that a powerful body of infantry and cavalry had been ſent by *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, to its ſuccour, and were marching towards it. At the ſame time was ſeen a cloud of duſt, and ſoon after the enemy's van was in view. This King inherited from his father an affection for *Pompey*, and he perſonally hated *Curio*, who, during his tribuneſhip, had propoſed a law to deprive him of his kingdom. *Curio* immediately ſent the cavalry to ſuſtain their firſt charge and keep them in play: And he haſtened to form the legions in order of battle. The horſe engaged according to his orders, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that, before the legions could be drawn up, the whole body of the King's troops, which marched without order or apprehenſion of danger, falling into confuſion, betook themſelves to flight. The cavalry, wheeling nimbly along the ſhore,

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ. found means to eſcape with little loſs into the town: But great numbers of the infantry were cut to pieces.

The night following two Centurions of the nation of the *Marſi*, with twenty-two ſoldiers, deſerted from *Curio*, and went over to *Attius Varus*. Theſe men aſſured him, that the whole army was extremely averſe to *Curio*, and would infallibly revolt, if he would but ſhew himſelf, and come to a conference with them. *Varus* accordingly drew out his legions the next day: *Curio* did the ſame: And both armies ſtood facing one another in order of battle, with a ſmall valley between them. *Sextus Quinctilius Varus*, who had been made priſoner at *Corfinium*, where he performed the office of Quæſtor to *Domitius*, and had been diſmiſſed by *Cæſar*, was now in *Attius*'s camp: And *Curio* had brought over the very ſame legions which had revolted from him and his General. He took occaſion, from this circumſtance, to try to debauch *Curio*'s army, "and began with putting the ſoldiers in mind of their former oath to "*Domitius* and to himſelf: He exhorted them not to bear arms againſt "the old companions of their fortune, who had ſhared with them all the "hazards of the ſame ſiege; nor fight in defence of a party which could "not call them but by the ignominious name of deſerters." To theſe conſiderations he added offers of a liberal recompence, if they would follow his fortune, and that of *Attius*. *Curio*'s ſoldiers returned no anſwer, nor made any declaration of their ſentiments: But an uncommon panic ſpread itſelf ſuddenly among them, and the reflections, which they communicated to one another, ſerved only to increaſe it.

Curio ſummoned a Council of war to deliberate on the proper remedies for this evil. Some of the officers propoſed to attack at all hazards *Varus*'s camp, and deemed this the beſt expedient to free the ſoldiers of their alarms. "It was better, they ſaid, to truſt to valour, and try "the fortune of a battle, than to ſee themſelves abandoned by their men, "and delivered up to the barbarity of the enemy." Others were for retiring during the night to the *Cornelian* camp, where they might at leiſure cure the minds of the ſoldiers: And whence, in caſe of a diſaſter, they could with more ſafety and eaſe retire into *Sicily* by the means and under the protection of their fleet. *Curio* was averſe to both theſe meaſures: The one, he thought, argued cowardice; the other an unjuſtifiable temerity. "With what hope, ſaid he, can we attack a camp "fortified by nature and art, and what advantage can we draw from "an attempt whence we ſhall be obliged to retire with loſs? Does not "ſucceſs always ſecure to a General the affection of his troops, where-"as ill fortune is always followed with contempt and hatred? To "change our camp would have the appearance of an ignominious flight, "and might alienate from us the minds of the army: The dutiful "ought not to know that we diſtruſt them; nor the diſaffected that we "fear them, becauſe our apprehenſions would only augment the pre-"ſumption of theone, and abate the zeal of the other. But if what is

"reported

" reported of the diſcontent of the army be true, which I am yet un- Y. R. 704.
" willing to believe, we ought, for that reaſon, rather to hide and diſ- Bef. Chr.
" ſemble our fears, than, by an unſeaſonable diſcovery of them, to add 48.
" ſtrength to the evil, and give courage to the enemy. It is propoſed 403 Conſ.
" to march away at midnight; this would only furniſh a fairer occaſion
" to the ill-affected to execute their purpoſe. For fear and ſhame are
" powerful reſtraints by day, but night entirely diveſts them of their
" force. In fine, I own, that I am not ſo daring as to attack a camp
" without hopes of ſucceſs; nor ſo blinded by fear as to be at a loſs
" what meaſures to purſue. It is my opinion that we ought to try every
" thing, rather than follow either of theſe ſchemes; and I doubt not
" but, by your counſel, to fall upon ſome ſafe and honourable expe-
" dient, that will be attended with ſucceſs."

Then, aſſembling the ſoldiers, he reminded them of the great obligations *Cæſar* had to them: " It was you that gave the example of " ſubmiſſion at *Corfinium*, and all the municipal towns followed it; it " was you that obliged *Pompey* to quit *Italy*, without being forced to it " by the loſs of a battle. Can you therefore make any doubt but that " he hates you, or that *Cæſar* ranks you among his beſt friends; parti- " cularly, when you ſee he has committed my ſafety to your care, and " entruſted you with the protection of *Sicily* and *Africa*, without which " he cannot hold *Italy*. You are now in the preſence of thoſe who ex- " hort you to abandon us: And indeed what can be more deſirable " to them, than at the ſame time to circumvent us, and fix upon you " the ſtain of an infamous crime? What worſe opinion could an enraged " enemy conceive of you, than to ſuppoſe you capable of betraying " thoſe who own themſelves indebted to you for all their ſucceſs; and " of throwing yourſelves into the power of a party, who conſider you " as the authors of all their misfortunes? Are you ſtrangers to *Cæſar*'s " exploits in *Spain*? He has defeated two armies, overcome two Gene- " rals, and brought two provinces under ſubjection: And all this with- " in forty days after he came in ſight of the enemy. Is it likely that " thoſe, who with forces unbroken could not ſtand their ground, will " be able to reſiſt, now that they have received ſuch conſiderable loſſes? " And will you, who followed *Cæſar* before fortune declared in his fa- " vour, now return to the vanquiſhed, and loſe the reward of your ſer- " vices? They charge you with having abandoned and betrayed them, " contrary to the faith of oaths: But did you deſert *Domitius*, or *Domi- " tius* his ſoldiers? Were you not ready to have endured the laſt extre- " mities, whilſt he privately endeavoured to eſcape? Were you not be- " trayed by him, and ſaved by *Cæſar*'s mercy? And how can the oath " any longer oblige you, when he to whom you ſwore, laying down the " enſigns of his office and authority, became a private perſon, and ſur- " rendered himſelf a captive to another? But perhaps, though you ap- " prove of *Cæſar*'s cauſe, you diſlike your General. I ſhall not inſiſt on

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" the obligations you have to me: They are much inferior to my own " deſire and your deſerts: But you are not ignorant that the rewards of " military ſervice come not till after the concluſion of the war, and, I " believe, you little doubt what will be the iſſue of the preſent one. " Yet why ſhould I decline taking notice of the diligence I have uſed, the " progreſs I have already made, and the good fortune that has hitherto " attended me? Have I not landed my army ſafe in *Africa* without the " loſs of a ſingle ſhip; diſperſed the enemy's fleet; worſted their ca- " valry; forced two hundred of their merchant-ſhips to quit the port of " *Utica* and join me; and reduced them to a ſituation where it is im- " poſſible for them to receive any ſupplies either by land or ſea? Can " you think of deſerting a cauſe headed by ſuch leaders and attended " with ſuch ſucceſs, to return to thoſe who ignominiouſly delivered up " *Corfinium*, fled from *Italy*, ſurrendered *Spain*, and have already ſuf- " fered ſuch loſſes in this *African* war? For my part, I deſired no greater " name than *Cæſar*'s ſoldier; you have thought fit to give me that of " *Imperator*; which I am ready this moment to reſign, if you repent of " having done me that honour. Give me again my former name, " that it may not be ſaid, that I was honoured, to be covered after- " wards with greater ignominy."

This ſpeech had its proper effect: The ſoldiers often interrupted him to expreſs their grief at his ſuſpecting their fidelity: And, when he retired, they all gathered round him, begging him to lead them to battle, and make a trial of their zeal and bravery. This behaviour of the troops entirely ſatisfied the officers, and, with the conſent of them all, *Curio* determined to take the firſt occaſion to engage the enemy. Accordingly, he drew out his men the next day, and *Attius Varus* did the ſame. The valley between the two armies, though not very large, was of difficult aſcent: And each army waited till the other ſhould venture to paſs it, that they might engage with the greater advantage. At length all the cavalry of *Varus*'s left wing, together with the light-armed foot, deſcended into it. Upon this, *Curio* immediately detached his horſe with two cohorts, to engage them: And the enemy, unable to ſuſtain the firſt onſet, returned with full ſpeed to their main body; leaving the light-armed foot behind, who were ſurrounded and cut to pieces in ſight of *Varus*'s whole army. In that inſtant *Caninius Rebilus*, (one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Gallic* war, and whom *Curio* had choſen for his Counſellor on account of his military capacity) cried out to his General: " Why do you delay ſeizing the favourable " moment? You ſee the enemy is ſtruck with terror." *Curio* made no anſwer; only he deſired his ſoldiers to remember what they had promiſed the day before: And, advancing himſelf before the reſt, commanded them to follow him. The aſcent on the other ſide of the valley was ſo ſteep, that the foremoſt could not get up but with the aſſiſtance of thoſe that came after. The enemy, however, were ſo frightened

ened with the rout and ſlaughter of their men, that they made no re- Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.
ſiſtance: And, before a dart was thrown, the whole army turned their backs, and fled to their camp, imagining themſelves already ſurrounded by the victorious cavalry. Of *Varus*'s army, about ſix hundred were killed; and a thouſand were wounded at the gates of the camp, where the throng was ſo great, that many were cruſhed to death. *Curio* loſt but one man, by name *Fabius Pelignus*, a Centurion of the loweſt rank in his army: As this man was purſuing the runaways, he called with a loud voice to *Varus*, who, hearing himſelf named ſeveral times, and taking him to be an officer of his own army, turned, and ſtood ſtill, demanding who he was, and what he wanted. *Fabius* then aimed a blow at his ſhoulder, which was uncovered, and would have certainly killed him, if he had not been immediately ſurrounded and put to death.

Varus, ſeeing his army under the greateſt conſternation, and that many of the men had deſerted the camp to take refuge in the town, brought all the reſt at midnight within the walls: And *Curio* the next day began a line of circumvallation, reſolving to lay ſiege to the place. *Utica* was filled with a great number of inhabitants, whom a long peace had rendered quite unfit for war, and, having formerly received many favours from *Cæſar*, ſtood well-affected to his cauſe. The Magiſtrates were ſo terrified with the bad ſucceſs they had met with, that they talked openly of ſurrendering; and begged of *Varus* not to ruin them with his obſtinacy. But meſſengers from King *Juba*, who came while this affair was in agitation, made them alter their reſolution. They brought the news that the King was himſelf coming to their aſſiſtance, at the head of a numerous army, and would ſoon appear. *Curio* received the ſame intelligence: But for ſome time, through too great a confidence in his good fortune, would give no credit to it. The news of *Cæſar*'s ſucceſs in *Spain* being now publicly known in *Africa*, he could not be perſuaded that *Juba* would dare to attempt any thing againſt him. But, being at laſt convinced by repeated accounts, that the King with all his forces was already arrived within twenty-five miles of *Utica*, he quitted his works, and retired to the *Cornelian* camp. It was conveniently placed near the ſea, was well fortified by art and nature, was plentifully ſtored with water and ſalt, and the country around was covered with trees, and abounded with corn: Here, therefore, he reſolved to wait the arrival of the forces which he had left in *Sicily*.

Curio, however, did not long abide by this prudent reſolution: Some deſerters bringing him an account that *Juba* had been obliged to return home to defend the borders of his kingdom, and compoſe the broils among the *Leptitani*, and had only ſent forward *Sabura* with a few troops; he too haſtily gave credit to this report: And, hurried away by his natural impetuoſity, determined to march towards the

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enemy. He ſent, in the beginning of the night, all his cavalry towards their camp, which was upon the river *Bagradas:* And he himſelf marched with the reſt of the forces about three in the morning, leaving only five cohorts to guard his baggage. After a march of ſix miles he was met by his cavalry, who, having travelled all the night, had ſurpriſed *Sabura*'s camp, killed a great number of his men, and made ſome priſoners. *Curio* aſked theſe, who commanded at *Bagradas?* They anſwered, *Sabura.* Upon this, without making any further enquiries, he turned to the ſoldiers next to him, and ſaid: "Do "you not ſee that the report of the priſoners correſponds exactly with "the intelligence given by the deſerters? *Juba* is not with the army. "It muſt conſiſt but of a few troops, ſince they were not able to "withſtand the charge of a ſmall body of horſe. Let us haſten then "to obtain victory, booty, and glory." The ardour of the army was equal to that of their General. On they marched precipitately, that they might come as ſoon as poſſible upon a frighted enemy. The horſe were ordered to follow, but, fatigued with their late march, they halted, ſome in one place and ſome in another. *Juba* was only ſix miles behind *Sabura*, and, having notice of the laſt night's engagement, he detached to his aſſiſtance two thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* horſe, of his ordinary guard, with that part of the infantry on which he chiefly relied. He followed leiſurely with the reſt of the troops, and about forty elephants; ſuſpecting that *Curio* had ſent his cavalry before, and was not far off with his army. *Sabura*, having drawn up his horſe and foot, ordered them to give ground upon the enemy's attack. *Curio*, deceived by this behaviour, and not doubting but the enemy were preparing to fly, drew his army down into the plain from the higher ground. At length, having advanced a conſiderable way, he halted to give his men breath, who had now marched upwards of ſixteen miles. That moment *Sabura* ſounded the charge, led on his men in order of battle, and went from rank to rank to animate them: But he ſuffered the cavalry only to come to blows, keeping the infantry at a ſmall diſtance, but in good order. *Curio* was not wanting on his part; he exhorted his men to place all their hopes in their valour: Nor did the foot, though wearied with their march, or the cavalry, though few in number, and exhauſted with the duty they had already done, betray any ſymptoms of fear. Of the latter there were only two hundred, the reſt having halted by the way; yet, wherever they charged, they obliged the enemy to give ground: But their horſes were ſo tired that they could not purſue them far. On the other ſide the *Numidian* cavalry began to ſurround the *Roman* army, and to gall them in the rear. Whenever the cohorts iſſued out to charge them, the *Numidians*, being freſh, avoided the attack by their nimbleneſs, and, immediately returning, got behind the *Romans*, and cut them off from the army. Thus it was equally dangerous for them to keep their ground, or to

advance to battle. *Sabura*'s forces increaſed continually by the reinforcements ſent by *Juba*: *Curio*'s, diſabled by fatigue, and ſurrounded on all ſides, had no place of ſafety to which they could retire or carry their wounded. Senſible of their extreme diſtreſs, they began to give themſelves up to deſpair. *Curio*, perceiving the ſoldiers were in ſo great a conſternation, as neither to give ear to his commands nor entreaties, gave orders, as the laſt reſource, that they ſhould endeavour to gain the neighbouring hills: But theſe were already poſſeſſed by *Sabura*'s cavalry. Some of the *Romans*, attempting to eſcape by flight, were killed by the enemy's horſe: Others, ſeeing it uſeleſs to make any efforts to ſave their lives, threw themſelves upon the ground. While affairs were in this deſperate condition, *Cn. Domitius*, Commander of the cavalry, having only a few of his followers left, adviſed *Curio* to ſave himſelf by retreating to the camp, and promiſed not to forſake him. But *Curio* could not think of ſurviving the loſs of his army; and continued fighting bravely till he was killed: A few of the cavalry eſcaped: And thoſe of them who had ſtaid behind to refreſh themſelves, perceiving at a diſtance the rout of the army, retired with precipitation to the camp. Every man of the infantry was cut to pieces. Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

When the total overthrow and deſtruction of the army was known in the camp, *M. Rufus*, the Quæſtor, who commanded there, intreated his men not to loſe their courage. They inſiſted, however, to be tranſported to *Sicily*: And he ordered the Maſters of the ſhips to have them in readineſs at night along the ſhore. But ſuch was the general conſternation, that ſome cried out that *Juba* was arrived with his troops: Others that *Varus* approached with his legions, the duſt of whoſe march they pretended to diſcern: And many declared that the enemy's fleet would be upon them in an inſtant. Confounded by their fears, they conſulted every man his own preſervation. Thoſe who had embarked hoiſted ſail immediately, and their flight drew the tranſports after them. A few only of the boats would obey *Rufus*'s orders: But the ſtrand was ſo crouded, and every one ſo eager to get on board before the reſt, that ſome of theſe veſſels were ſunk, and others were afraid to come nearer the ſhore. It thus happened that a ſmall number of ſoldiers only got ſafe to *Sicily*. Thoſe who remained, having ſent their Centurions that night as deputies to *Varus*, ſurrendered. Theſe *Juba* claimed as his property the next day, commanded the greateſt part to be put to the ſword, and ſent the reſt into *Numidia*. In vain did *Varus* intercede for them, and complain of this breach of faith: He durſt not make any reſiſtance. The haughty King made his entrance into the city attended by a great number of Senators: And, after regulating every thing according to his pleaſure, returned triumphant with all his forces into his own kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar *is created Dictator: He returns to* Rome, *where he holds the Aſſembly for the election of Magiſtrates, and ſettles the affairs of the city. He follows* Pompey *into* Greece. *The diſturbances raiſed by* Cœlius *and* Milo *are quieted. The famous campaign between* Cæſar *and* Pompey *before* Dyrrachium *and in* Theſſaly. *The battle of* Pharſalia. Pompey's *flight and death. The diſperſion of his followers.*

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M. Æmilius Lepidus, to whoſe care, as Prætor, *Cæſar* had committed the government of the city in his abſence, obtained, after the reduction of *Pompey*'s army in *Spain*, an ordinance of the people for creating a Dictator; and, purſuant to it, he named *Cæſar* to that office[1]. *Cæſar* received the news of his election on his arrival at *Marſeilles*, but did not immediately ſet out for *Rome*. He ſpent the remainder of the year in *Gaul* and in the North of *Italy*, to ſtrengthen his army, and give directions for the ſecurity of the provinces which he was about to leave. It was in this interval that the ninth legion mutinied at *Placentia*, and demanded its diſmiſſion. This was the firſt event of the kind that had ever befallen him. They ſaid that they were worn out by labour, and deſerved to have at laſt ſome reſt: But their diſcontent proceeded from *Cæſar*'s conduct ſince the commencement of the civil war, and particularly at the ſiege of *Marſeilles*, where, notwithſtanding the perfidious behaviour of the inhabitants, and the many provocations they had given him, he would not ſuffer them to be plundered. He brought this legion back to its duty, not by any mean compliance, but by his authority and reſolution. After reproaching them with their ingratitude and folly, he told them, "that he had "no occaſion for their ſervice, and that he ſhould never want ſoldiers "to ſhare his proſperity and triumphs: And that, before he diſbanded "them, he would puniſh their crime, and order them to be deci-"mated." Theſe words broke the ſpirit of the mutineers: They threw themſelves at his feet and begged for pardon: And all their officers interceded for them. *Cæſar* was for ſome time inexorable; but at laſt, abating of his ſeverity, he ordered them to deliver up to him an hundred and twenty of the moſt guilty; of theſe twenty were appointed by lot for execution; and the officers managed it ſo that the lots fell on the moſt inſolent. After this execution the ſoldiers were obliged to renew their intreaties for leave to continue in his ſervice.

Suet. in Cæſ. Dio.

[1] Some nations, as the *Syro-Macedonians*, reckoned from this epocha the years of the *Cæſars*, or Roman Emperors. See *Uſher's Annals, ad an.* 3956.

On

On his arrival at *Rome*, he held the Comitia for the election of Magiſtrates, and was himſelf appointed Conſul with *P. Servilius Iſauricus*. Of the Prætors, the moſt remarkable were *C. Trebonius*, whom *Cæſar* appointed Prætor of the city, and *M. Cælius*, who had the department of foreign affairs. It was the univerſal belief, and the wiſh of many in *Cæſar*'s party, that there would be a general abolition of all debts. In conſequence of this, the public credit was at a ſtand over all *Italy*, every one refuſing to pay what he owed. But *Cæſar* put an end to this uncertainty, by decreeing that arbiters ſhould be appointed to make an eſtimate of the poſſeſſions of all debtors, and to convey them in payment to their creditors, at the price they bore before the war. *Suetonius* adds, that he allowed the debtors to deduct from the principal what they had paid for intereſt. *Dio Caſſius* ſays, that the creditors loſt by this regulation a fourth of their due: And that, as many were ſuſpected of concealing great ſums of money, an ordinance was publiſhed, forbidding any body to keep above ſixty thouſand ſeſterces. 484 l. This extraordinary ordinance has no other voucher beſides *Dio*.

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Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. i. Dio. Suet. in Cæſ.

Many of thoſe who had been tried and condemned for bribery, while *Pompey* kept his legions in the city, reſorted to him in the beginning of the war; and, that he might not be charged with ingratitude towards theſe men, nor accuſed of invading the prerogatives of the people, he now cauſed them to be reſtored in a legal manner by a law propounded to the people by the Prætors and Tribunes. The pretext was, that they had been condemned at a time when *Pompey* had influenced the Judges. *Milo*, alone, ſeems to have been excepted from this general amneſty: He had made, perhaps, no advances to gain *Cæſar*'s favour; who might have, beſides, many other reaſons to be diſſatisfied with the enemy and murderer of his friend *Clodius:* He reſtored, at the ſame time, the ſons of the proſcribed to the rights of *Roman* citizens, from which they had been hitherto excluded by the cruelty of *Sylla*, and the injuſtice of the *ariſtocratic* faction. Having made theſe regulations, and celebrated the *Latin* feſtivals, he abdicated the Dictatorſhip, after holding it but *eleven days*, and immediately ſet out for *Brunduſium*, where he arrived before the end of *December:* And, on the *1ſt* of *January*,[1] he entered upon his office of Conſul in that city.

C. Julius Cæsar, II.
P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, } Conſuls.

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47.

Pompey, having had a whole year to make his preparations, undiſturbed by wars, and free from the interruption of an enemy, had gathered a mighty fleet from *Aſia*, the *Cyclades*, *Corcyra*, *Athens*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, and *Ægypt:* To all which places he had ſent orders for the building of ſhips upon the firſt breaking out

404 Conſ.

[1] The 11*th* of *October*, according to *Uſher*; but, really, the 25*th* of *November*.

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Con.

of the civil war; being perſuaded, that he who was maſter of the ſea would certainly be ſuperior alſo at land;[m] and he had exacted great ſums of money from the people of *Aſia* and *Syria*, from the Kings, Tetrarchs, Dynaſties, and free States of *Achaia*, and from all the corporations of the provinces ſubject to his command. He had got together *nine legions of Roman citizens*; five he had brought with him from *Italy*; one had been ſent him from *Sicily*, conſiſting wholly of veterans, and called *Gemella*, becauſe compoſed of two; another, partly from *Crete*, and partly from *Macedonia*, of veteran ſoldiers likewiſe; who, having been diſbanded by former Generals, had ſettled in thoſe parts; and two more from *Aſia*, levied there by *Lentulus*. Beſides all theſe, he had troops from *Theſſaly*, *Bœotia*, *Achaia*, and *Epirus*: Which, together with the ſoldiers of *C. Antonius*, who had been obliged to ſurrender in *Illyricum*, he diſtributed among the legions by way of recruits. He expected alſo two legions which *Scipio* commanded in *Syria*. He had three thouſand archers from *Crete*, *Lacedæmon*, *Pontus*, and other provinces; ſix cohorts of ſlingers, and two of mercenaries. His cavalry amounted to ſeven thouſand; ſix hundred of which came to him from *Galatia*, under *Dejotarus*; five hundred from *Cappadocia*, under *Ariobarzanes*; the like number from *Thrace*, ſent by *Cotus*, under the command of his ſon *Sadalis*; two hundred from *Macedonia*, under *Raſcipolis*, an Officer of diſtinction; five hundred from *Alexandria*, conſiſting of *Gauls* and *Germans*, left there by *Gabinius* to ſerve as a guard to King *Ptolemy*, and now brought over by young *Pompey* in his fleet, together with eight hundred of his own domeſtics: *Caſtor* and *Donilaus* furniſhed him with three hundred; the firſt of theſe came himſelf in perſon, the ſecond ſent his ſon; and two hundred, moſt of them archers, were ſent by *Antiochus Comagenus*, who lay under the greateſt obligations to *Pompey*. He had likewiſe a great number of *Dardanians* and *Beſſians*, with others from *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly*, and the adjoining States, who completed his cavalry, and were partly volunteers, and partly mercenaries. To ſubſiſt this mighty army, he had taken care to amaſs vaſt quantities of corn from *Theſſaly*, *Aſia*, *Ægypt*, *Crete*, *Cyrene*, and other countries; and he reſolved to quarter his troops during the winter at *Dyrrhacchium*, *Apollonia*, and the other maritime towns, to prevent *Cæſar*'s paſſing the ſea; for which reaſon, he ordered alſo his fleet to cruiſe perpetually along the coaſts. Young *Pompey* commanded the *Egyptian* ſquadron; *D. Lælius* and *C. Triarius*, the *Aſiatic*; *C. Caſſius*, the *Syrian*; *C. Marcellus* and *C. Coponius*, the *Rhodian*; and *Scribonius Libo* and *M. Octavius*, the *Liburnian* and *Achaian*: But the chief authority was given to *M. Bibulus*, who was High-admiral. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Pompey* had at firſt deſtined *Cato* to this impor-

Cæſ. de Civ. Com. lib. iii.

in Cat.

[m] Pompeii omne conſilium Themiſtocleum eſt. Exiſtimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum neceſſe rerum potiri. *Ad Att.* x. 8.

tant

tant command, and had even made him a promiſe of it: But that he afterwards changed his mind, leſt that rigid republican, veſted with ſo much power, ſhould become troubleſome to him after the defeat of *Cæſar*, and compel him to diſband his ſoldiers, in order to reſtore the liberty of the Commonwealth. Y. R. 705. Ant. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

Before the end of the year, while *Cæſar* was holding the Aſſemblies of the people in *Rome* for the election of Magiſtrates, the Conſuls aſſembled at *Theſſalonica* all the Senators who had followed *Pompey*, to the number of two hundred. There, after conſecrating a place with augural ceremonies, they declared themſelves the true *Roman* Senate; and enacted, that all thoſe who were then *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, and *Quæſtors*, ſhould retain their authority, and continue in the exerciſe of their ſeveral offices, under the names of *Proconſuls*, *Proprætors*, and *Proquæſtors*. *Pompey* they declared *Generaliſſimo* of the Republic: And honours and thanks were decreed to the Kings and nations who favoured their cauſe; and, in particular, young *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of his crown, in excluſion of his ſiſter, the famous *Cleopatra*, though ſhe had an undoubted title by the will of *Ptolemy Auletes*, their common father, who had left the ſucceſſion to his eldeſt ſon and eldeſt daughter jointly. Plut. in Pomp. Dio. Lucan. l. v.

Cæſar found at *Brunduſium* twelve legions, and all his cavalry: But his legions were far from being complete. They had been conſiderably weakened by the *Gallic* war, by their long march from *Spain*, and by a general ſickneſs, which had lately prevailed among them, during the autumn in the unhealthful climate of *Apulia*. Yet, the want of ſhips alone hindered him, he ſays, from putting a ſpeedy end to the war. For, notwithſtanding his orders to build and aſſemble as many ſhips as poſſible, he had ſcarcely a ſufficient number to embark twenty thouſand men; who, in the preſent ſtate of his army, formed ſeven legions and ſix hundred horſe. On his arrival at *Erunduſium*, he harangued his troops, and told them, "that, as they were now upon "the point of ſeeing an end of all their toils and dangers, they ſhould "make no difficulty to leave their ſervants and baggage in *Italy*, in "order that they might embark with leſs confuſion, and in greater "numbers; placing all their hopes in victory, and in the generoſity of "their General." The whole army having loudly teſtified their aſſent, he embarked with ſeven legions on the 4*th* of *January*, and arrived the next day at the *Ceraunian* mountains, on the coaſt of *Epirus*; where, having found a tolerable harbour, he landed his troops at a place called *Pharſalus*. *Lucretius Veſpillo* and *Minutius Rufus* were then at *Oricum*, with eighteen *Aſiatic* ſhips; and *Bibulus* had one hundred and ten at *Corcyra*: But the firſt durſt not hazard an engagement, though *Cæſar* had for his convoy no more than ten gallies, only four of which had decks; and *Bibulus* had not time to aſſemble his men and get his ſhips in order. For no account of *Cæſar*'s approach Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 C nſ.

proach had reached theſe parts, till his fleet was ſeen from the continent. *Cæſar* ſent the fleet back the ſame night to *Brunduſium* to bring over the reſt of his forces. *Fufius Calenus* had the charge of this expedition, with orders to uſe the utmoſt diſpatch; but, ſetting ſail too late, he loſt the benefit of the wind, and fell in with the enemy. For *Bibulus*, hearing at *Corcyra* of *Cæſar*'s arrival, forthwith put to ſea, in hopes of intercepting ſome of the tranſports: And, meeting the fleet as it returned empty, took about thirty ſhips, which he burnt, with all that were on board. He imagined, by this example, to deter the reſt of the troops from attempting the paſſage. [n] He then ſtationed his fleet along the coaſt from *Salona* to *Oricum*, and remained himſelf on board, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon; declining no fatigue nor danger, ſo that he might intercept *Cæſar*'s ſupplies.

Cæſar, following the plan he had at firſt adopted, ſent *Vibullius Rufus* (the ſame he had made priſoner at *Corfinium*, and afterwards in *Spain*) to *Pompey*, to treat of peace. He thought this man the propereſt perſon he could employ, as he had been twice indebted to him for his life, and was alſo much eſteemed by *Pompey*, whom he had ſerved with great zeal and fidelity in the quality of chief engineer. He was commiſſioned to repreſent to *Pompey*, "that it was now time to put an "end to their quarrel, and not obſtinately expoſe themſelves any more "to the precarious events of fortune: That the loſſes they had already "ſuſtained ought to fill them with juſt apprehenſions of the future: "That *Pompey* had been forced to abandon *Italy*, had loſt *Sicily* and "*Sardinia*, the two *Spains*, with about an hundred and thirty cohorts "of *Roman* citizens. That he himſelf had been a conſiderable ſufferer "by the death of *Curio*, the deſtruction of the *African* army, and the "ſurrender of his forces under *C. Antonius* at *Corcyra*. That it was "therefore incumbent on them to ſhew ſome regard to the ſinking "ſtate of the Commonwealth, and that the preſent moment was the "moſt favourable; becauſe, not having yet tried one another's "ſtrength, and conſidering themſelves as equals, there was the more "likelihood of their coming to an agreement, upon moderate terms: "Whereas, if one of them once got the leaſt advantage, he would "exact every thing from the other, and give up nothing himſelf. "That, as hitherto, they had been unable to ſettle the conditions of "peace, they ought to refer them to the Senate and people of *Rome*; "and, in the mean time, both ſwear to diſband their armies in three "days time. That a propoſition of this nature ſhould be equally

[n] *Plutarch in Pomp.* tells us, that in a Council of war, in which *Cato* preſided, a decree was paſſed, *that no Roman citizen ſhould be put to death but in battle, and that they ſhould not plunder any city which was ſubject to the Roman Empire:* And that ſuch moderation gained the affections of all people to *Pompey*'s cauſe. *Cæſar* followed this rule, notwithſtanding the greateſt provocations: But, on *Pompey*'s ſide, *Cato*'s decree was very little regarded, and I doubt whether it was ever made.

"agree-

" agreeable to all; ſince the two Commanders, diveſted of their " ſtrength, would find themſelves under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to " the decree of the Senate and people. In fine, that to give *Pom-* " *pey* a proof of his readineſs to perform theſe propoſals, he would " give immediate orders for the diſcharge of all his forces, both in " garriſon and in the field." *Vibullius*, having received theſe inſtructions, haſtened to *Pompey*'s camp with all diligence, frequently changing horſes, and poſting day and night; but he was more ſollicitous to give him early notice of *Cæſar*'s arrival, and the condition of his army, than to execute the commiſſion he was charged with. *Pompey* was in *Candavia*, on his way through *Macedonia*, to his winter quarters at *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhacchium*: And, ſurpriſed and diſturbed at news ſo unexpected, he haſtened his march, that he might prevent the loſs of the ſea coaſts. Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

Cæſar, the very day he landed, brought his troops before *Oricum*, where *L. Torquatus* attempted to defend himſelf with a garriſon of Greeks, called *Parthinians*: But they, refuſing to fight againſt the Conſul of *Rome*, and the inhabitants being entirely in the ſame ſentiments, he ſurrendered. Thence *Cæſar* marched to *Apollonia*, whoſe citizens being alſo well affected towards him, *L. Staberius*, who commanded for *Pompey*, privately left the place: And the inhabitants ſent their Deputies to him, and received him into the town. The *Bullidenſes*, *Amantiani*, with the neighbouring nations, and all *Epirus*, followed their example, and ſent ambaſſadors to *Cæſar* to receive his commands. This rapid progreſs made *Pompey* march day and night to reach *Dyrrhacchium*: And, when he drew near to that place, a falſe report, that *Cæſar* was not far off, threw the whole army into ſuch conſternation, that many abandoned their colours and arms, and the march in general was continued in ſo diſorderly a manner, that it had all the appearance of a precipitate flight. They had not even recovered their conſternation when they had reached *Dyrrhacchium*, andwere about to intrench themſelves under its walls: Which *Labienus* perceiving, he advanced, in the ſight of all the ſoldiers, and ſolemnly ſwore never to abandon his General, but to ſhare whatever fortune ſhould befal him. All the other officers, and the whole army, took the ſame oath. *Cæſar*, finding that he was prevented in his deſign upon *Dyrrhacchium*, purſued his march more leiſurely, and encamped on the river *Apſus*, in the territory of the *Apollonians*, that he might be able to protect the poſſeſſions of a State, which had declared warmly in his favour. Here he reſolved to wait the arrival of the reſt of his troops. *Pompey* did the like; and, having encamped on the other ſide of the ſame river, aſſembled there all his legions and auxiliaries. Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. iii.

Salona, a town in *Dalmatia*, where *Spalatro* now ſtands, ſuſtained a memorable ſiege about this time againſt *M. Octavius*, Admiral of the *Liburnian* and *Achaian* fleets under *Bibulus*. It was built upon a hill,

Y. R. 705. B. C. Chr. 47. 49 Cor. hill, and advantageouſly ſituated for defence; but, as the fortifications were very inconſiderable, the *Roman* citizens reſiding there immediately ſurrounded the place with wooden towers; and, finding themſelves too few to reſiſt the attacks of the enemy, after many of them had been killed or diſabled, they, in their laſt extremity, gave arms and liberty to their ſlaves, and the women gave their hair to make cords for the engines. *Octavius*, to conquer their obſtinacy, blocked up the town on all ſides with five different camps, reſolving to harraſs them with continual attacks. The brave *Salonians* dreaded nothing but the want of corn; and, on *Cæſar*'s arrival on the coaſt of *Epirus*, they ſent to him to beg a ſupply. The ſiege had continued for ſome time; and, the beſiegers not keeping a ſtrict watch, they all ſallied out at mid-day, leaving, for a ſhew, their wives and children on the walls, and attacked the neareſt quarters of *Octavius*. Having forced theſe, they ran to the next, and ſo ſucceſſively to all the five camps; and, driving the enemy with great ſlaughter from every poſt, they compelled them to take refuge in their ſhips. *Octavius*, as winter approached, and his loſs had been conſiderable, retired to *Dyrrhachium*, and joined *Pompey*.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Calenus was charged, as we have related above, to bring over to *Brundiſium* the reſt of the forces; and, having embarked according to his inſtructions, he put to ſea: But he had not ſailed very far, when he met with an advice-boat from *Cæſar*, informing him, that every part of the coaſt was guarded, and he returned back into the harbour. One ſhip, which was not under his command, continued its route, and fell in at *Oricum* with the fleet of *Bibulus*, who put all on board to death, not ſparing even the freedmen, children, or ſlaves. The troops under *Calenus*, had it not been for *Cæſar*'s diſpatches, would have met with the ſame fate. If *Bibulus* thus deprived *Cæſar* of all ſupplies by ſea, he was in like manner greatly incommoded by *Cæſar* at land: Who, having diſpoſed parties all along the coaſt, hindered him from getting either water or wood, or any thing elſe, except from the iſland of *Corcyra*; and, by this means, he was ſometimes reduced to great difficulties. Notwithſtanding therefore his high ſpirit, he condeſcended to let *Libo* enter upon parley with two of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, *M. Acilius* and *Statius Murcus*, who guarded *Oricum*, and the ſea-coaſts: And theſe, believing the propoſals made to them to be ſerious, did not ſcruple to grant a truce. *Cæſar* was then at *Buthrotum*, a town over againſt *Corcyra*, whither he had gone with one legion to reduce ſome of the more diſtant States, and to get a ſupply of corn. Upon the firſt information of this tranſaction, he haſtened back to *Oricum*, and invited *Libo* and *Bibulus* to a conference. *Libo* appeared, and made the following apology and declaration on the part of *Bibulus*; "that, "being naturally haſty, and bearing a perſonal grudge to *Cæſar*, con- "tracted during the time of his quæſtorſhip and edileſhip, he had de- "clined the interview, leſt his preſence might be an obſtacle to the ſuc-

" ſucceſs of ſo deſirable a deſign. That *Pompey* was, and ever had " been inclined to lay down his arms, and terminate their differences " by an accommodation; but, as yet, had not ſent him ſufficient " powers to treat; which, however, he doubted not ſoon to receive, as " the Council or Senate had intruſted him with the whole adminiſtra- " tion of the war. That if *Cæſar*, therefore, would make known his " demands, they would be ſent to *Pompey*, who would ſoon come to a " reſolution upon the matter: And, in the mean time, he deſired that " the truce might continue, and both parties abſtain from acts of hoſ- " tility, till an anſwer could be obtained." *Cæſar*, on his ſide, " de- " manded leave to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Pompey*, and required that " *Libo* and *Bibulus* would anſwer for their return, or undertake to con- " vey them in ſafety. With regard to the truce, he ſaid, that ſuch " were the preſent circumſtances of the war, that their fleet kept back " his ſupplies and tranſports, and his forces deprived them of all ac- " ceſs to the ſhore and other conveniencies. That, if they expected " any abatement on his part, they muſt likewiſe abate in their conſtant " guard at ſea along the coaſt; and that, while they perſiſted in their " vigilance, he would not remit his attention and watchfulneſs. He " added, however, that, though they could not agree on this point, the " treaty might ſtill proceed." *Libo* declined receiving *Cæſar*'s Am- baſſadors, or anſwering for their ſafe return, and choſe to refer the whole matter to *Pompey*: Yet inſiſted on the truce, which *Cæſar* con- ſtantly rejected; perceiving, that his only aim was to extricate the fleet from its preſent diſtreſs. *Bibulus* ſoon after died on ſhip-board: He had contracted a dangerous illneſs by cold and perpetual fatigue; and, as he could not have proper aſſiſtance at ſea, and would not be pre- vailed upon to quit his poſt, he ſunk under the violence of his diſtem- per. Nobody ſucceeded him as Admiral: Each ſquadron was go- verned independently of the reſt by its particular Commander, under the general direction of *Pompey*.

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Con.

Vibullius at laſt thought proper to deliver to *Pompey*, in the preſence of *Libo*, *L. Lucceius*, and *Theophanes*, his moſt intimate Counſellors, the commiſſion he had from *Cæſar*. But ſcarce had he begun to ſpeak, when *Pompey* interrupted him, and ordered him to proceed no farther: *What*, ſaid he, *is my life and country to me, if I ſhall ſeem to be beholden for them to Cæſar? And will it be believed that I am not indebted to him for them, if he by an accommodation reſtores me to Italy?* *Cæſar* affirms that this ſpeech of *Pompey* was reported to him after the concluſion of the war by thoſe that were preſent. He aſſures us alſo, that, notwithſtand- ing *Vibullius* brought him no anſwer back to his meſſage, and *Libo* re- fuſed to conduct his Ambaſſadors to *Pompey*, yet he tried every other method to obtain peace. As the two camps were ſeparated only by the river *Apſus*, the ſoldiers had frequent diſcourſe among themſelves, and committed no acts of hoſtility on theſe occaſions. *Cæſar* laid hold on

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

this circumſtance, and ordered *Vatinius* to addreſs himſelf to the officers and ſoldiers, and demand publicly and frequently, in the moſt ſerious and earneſt manner, "Whether it might not be permitted to citizens "to ſend Deputies to their fellow-citizens to treat about peace: That "this was never denied even to fugitives and robbers, and ought much "leſs to be oppoſed, when the deſign was to prevent a civil war, and the "effuſion of *Roman* blood." He was heard with great ſilence by both armies, and received this anſwer: "That *Varro* would next day appear "at an interview; whither *Cæſar*'s Deputies might come in perfect ſe-"curity, and make known their demands." The hour of meeting was likewiſe ſettled; and multitudes flocked to the place, elated with the higheſt expectations. *Labienus*, advancing from the croud, began in a low voice to confer with *Vatinius*, as if to adjuſt the articles of the treaty: But their diſcourſe was ſoon interrupted by a flight of darts which came pouring in upon all ſides. *Vatinius* eſcaped unhurt, by means of the ſoldiers, who ran to cover him with their ſhields: But *Cornelius Balbus*, *M. Photius*, *L. Tiburtus*, Centurions, and ſome private men, were wounded. The brutal *Labienus*, then raiſing his voice, cried out aloud: *Leave off prating any more of peace: For none you ſhall have, till you have brought us* CÆSAR's *head.* This declaration, ſo extraordinary, is of a piece with the whole behaviour of that deſerter, and correſponds alſo very well with the haughty and cruel conduct of the whole party.

Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. Com. l. iii.

While the two rival Generals lay during the winter on each ſide of the river *Apſus*, great commotions were raiſed in *Rome* and in ſome parts of *Italy* by *M. Cælius* and the famous *Milo*. The firſt, who was Prætor at *Rome* for foreign affairs, having met with ſome diſappointments; or diſobliged becauſe *Cæſar* had given the more important charge of the city to his collegue *C. Trebonius*; or not reliſhing the law *Cæſar* had made in regard to the debtors, which might not anſwer his views; he engaged in the moſt raſh and unjuſtifiable attempts. He had the boldneſs to undertake the cauſe of the debtors, and, on his entrance into office, ordered his tribunal to be fixed near that of *Trebonius*, declaring that he would receive the complaints of ſuch as ſhould appeal to him, in regard to the eſtimation of eſtates, and payments made in conſequence of *Cæſar*'s late regulation. But the law itſelf was ſo juſt, and *Trebonius*'s judgments ſo moderate, that no pretence of appeal could be found. This Magiſtrate admitted of every reaſonable plea, taking into conſideration the poverty of the debtors, their perſonal loſſes, the hardneſs of the times, and the difficulty of bringing their effects to ſale: And no one was ſo diveſted of honeſty and ſhame, as to own themſelves in debt, and yet pretend to keep their eſtates entire. Thus this firſt attempt of *Cælius* proved unſucceſsful. His whole ſeverity, therefore, was pointed now againſt thoſe to whom the inheritances of the debtors were adjudged: And, having once embarked in the affair, that he might not ſeem to have engaged himſelf to no purpoſe in an unjuſtifi-

able cauſe, he propoſed a law by which he allowed the debtors ſix years for the diſcharge of their debts, which they were to clear at equal payments without intereſt [o]. But the Conſul *Servilius* and the reſt of the Magiſtrates unanimouſly oppoſed the project; nor was it received by the people with the favour he expected: And he dropped the affair. This diſappointment only ſerved to render him more furious; and now, determined to keep no meaſures, he propoſed two other laws, which he foreſaw would more effectually inflame the people; the one "to exempt "all the tenants of *Rome* from paying rent;" the other, "for a gene-"ral abolition of debts." Theſe laws took with the multitude; and *Cælius* at their head attacked *Trebonius* in his tribunal, drôve him thence, and wounded ſome perſons about him. The Conſul *Servilius* complained to the Senate of his riotous behaviour, and *Cælius*, by a decree of the houſe, was interdicted the functions of his charge. In virtue of this decree the bills of his laws were torn down, admittance was refuſed him into the Senate, his chair of office was broke, and he himſelf was driven from his tribunal, whence he was going to harangue the people. It was doubtleſs in theſe circumſtances that he wrote the following letter to *Cicero*, which I inſert, becauſe it clearly indicates the character of the man.

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

M. Coelius to Cicero.

"WAS it for this that I followed *Cæſar* into *Spain?* Why was I "not rather at *Formiæ*, that I might have accompanied you to *Pom-*"*pey?* But I was infatuated: And it was my averſion to *Appius*, to-"gether with my friendſhip for *Curio*, that gradually drew me into this "curſed cauſe. Nor were you entirely unacceſſory to my error: For, "when I called upon you that night I ſet out for *Ariminum*, why did "you forget the friend, when you were glorioufly acting the patriot; "and not diſſuade me from the purpoſe of my journey, at the ſame "time that you commiſſioned me to urge *Cæſar* to pacific meaſures? "Not that I have the leaſt doubt of his ſucceſs: But, believe me, per-"dition itſelf were preferable to being a witneſs of the inſufferable "behaviour of theſe his partiſans. They have rendered themſelves ſo "generally odious, that we ſhould long ſince have been driven out of "*Rome*, were it not for the apprehenſion which people have conceived "of the cruelty of your party. There is not at this juncture any order "of citizens, or even a ſingle man in *Rome*, except a few raſcally uſu-"rers, who does not wiſh well to *Pompey*; and I have brought over to "your cauſe, not only thoſe among the plebeian families who were in

Ep. Fam. viii. 17. Melm. vii. 18.

[o] This place in *Cæſar* is corrupted, and the Commentators can make nothing of it. The ſenſe above is according to *Manutius*'s interpretation. Others ſay that *Cælius*'s law gave the debtors three years to acquit themſelves, in ſix payments, one every ſix months: Others, that it allowed but eighteen months, or one year and ſix months.

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"the intereſt of *Cæſar*, but the whole populace in general. But you "will aſk, perhaps, what can this avail us now? Wait the event, my "friend: I will render you victorious in ſpite of yourſelves.* For "ſurely a profound lethargy has locked up all the ſenſes of your party: "as they do not yet ſeem ſenſible how open we lie to an attack, and "how little capable we are of making any conſiderable oppoſition. It "is by no means from an intereſted motive that I offer my aſſiſtance, but "merely in reſentment of the unworthy uſage I have received; and re-"ſentment is a paſſion which uſually carries me, you know, the greateſt "lengths:——But what are you doing on the other ſide the water? "Are you imprudently waiting to give the enemy battle? What *Pom-"pey*'s forces may be, I know not: But *Cæſar*'s, I am ſure, are accuſ-"tomed to action, and enured to all the hardſhips of the moſt ſevere "campaigns. Farewell."

Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Cælius had privately written to his old friend *Milo*, to engage him to come into *Italy*, and join him with the remains of the gladiators, which he had bought for his public ſhews, and to make war on his enemy *Clodius*. *Milo*, exaſperated by the treatment he had met with from *Cæſar*, who had not reſtored him with the other exiles, inſtantly obeyed the ſummons, and began to gather troops all over *Italy*. For that purpoſe he diſpatched letters to all the colonies and free towns, intimating, that what he did was in conſequence of *Pompey*'s authority, who had ſent him his orders by *Bibulus*. He alſo endeavoured to draw to him the debtors, whoſe favour *Cælius* had gained by his project for a general abolition of debts. But he met with no ſucceſs, and all he could accompliſh was to ſet ſome ſlaves at liberty. With theſe, and his gladiators, he had the hardineſs to lay ſiege to *Coſa*, [p] in the territory of *Thurium*; where *Q. Pædius* commanded with a garriſon of one legion; and there he was killed by a ſtone from a machine on the walls. *Cælius*, when he underſtood that *Milo* was in the country of *Thurium*, ſet out from *Rome*, under the pretence of carrying his complaints to *Cæſar*, but with a view of putting himſelf at the head of a number of partiſans he had in the ſouth of *Italy*. At *Caſilinum*, he heard that his enſigns and arms were ſeized at *Capua*; that his partiſans were diſcovered at *Naples*; and that he was looked upon as a public enemy. Finding, therefore, that his project was defeated, and apprehenſive of his ſafety, he gave out, on leaving *Caſilinum*, that he was gone to *Cæſar*; but, turning from the high road, he went privately acroſs the country to *Thurium*: where, notwithſtanding the unhappy end of *Milo*, he endeavoured to

* Irritavi in me Catonem.

[p] *Velleius Paterculus* calls the place *Compſa*: —— *Compſam in Hirtinis oppugnans, ictuſque lapide, tum P. Clodio, tum patriæ, quam armis petebat pœnas dedit; vir inquies, et ultra ſortem temerarius.* *Lib.* ii. *c.* 68.

debauch

debauch the inhabitants, and corrupt, by promiſes of money, ſome *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* horſe, who had been left to garriſon the place. Theſe were deaf to his ſollicitations, and ſlew him.[q] Thus, ſays *Cæſar*, theſe dangerous beginnings, which, by reaſon of the multiplicity of affairs wherewith the Magiſtrates were diſtracted, and the tickliſh ſituation of the times, threatened great revolutions, and alarmed all *Italy*, were brought to a ſafe and ſpeedy iſſue. Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Corſ.

The armies of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* were ſtill in the ſame ſituation. The great object of the two Generals was the army left at *Brunduſium*: Which *Cæſar* now expected with great impatience; and whoſe paſſage *Pompey* was greatly intereſted to prevent. He ordered *Libo*, with the fleet under his command, conſiſting of fifty ſhips, to ſail to *Brunduſium*, and poſſeſs himſelf of an iſland that lay before the harbour, judging it of more importance to ſecure a poſt, by which the enemy's tranſports muſt neceſſarily paſs, than to guard all the havens and ports on the other ſide. As his arrival was unexpected, he ſurpriſed and burnt ſome tranſports, and carried off a veſſel laden with corn: And the conſternation was ſo great upon the coaſt, that, having landed ſome foot, with a party of archers in the night, he drove before him the cavalry that were upon guard. Elated with this, he ſent word to *Pompey*, that he might draw the reſt of the navy on ſhore, and order them to be careened: For that he alone, with his ſquadron, would undertake to cut off *Cæſar*'s ſupplies. But *Antony*, who commanded in *Brunduſium*, ſoon found means to diſlodge him. He ordered ſixty boats belonging to the fleet to be covered with hurdles and galleries; and, having filled them with choſen ſoldiers, diſpoſed them along the ſhore. To allure the enemy, he ſent two three-benched gallies to the mouth of the harbour, as if with no other view than to exerciſe the rowers; and *Libo*, ſeeing them advance boldly, and hoping he might be able to intercept them, detached five four-banked gallies for that purpoſe. At their approach, *Antony*'s gallies rowed back, and were inconſiderately purſued too far by the *Pompeians*: For now the boats, ſtationed along the coaſt, on a ſignal given, came pouring upon them from all parts; and, on the firſt charge, took one of the four-benched gallies, and forced the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight. *Antony*, alſo, by poſting the cavalry all along the coaſt, effectually prevented the enemy from watering; and thus *Libo* was put to the ſhameful neceſſity of quitting the blockade. Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. iii.

[q] The reader is perfectly acquainted with the characters of theſe two men, from what has been related of their behaviour: We have in *Seneca* this anecdote concerning the temper of *Cælius*: *Cælium oratorem fuiſſe iracundiſſimum conſtat; cum quo, ut aiunt, cœnabat in cubiculo lectæ patientiæ cliens: Sed difficile erat illi in copulam conjecto, rixam ejus cum quo hærebat, effugere. Optimum judicavit quicquid dixiſſet ſequi, et ſecundas agere. Non tulit Cælius aſſentientem, ſed exclamavit: Dic aliquid contra, ut duo ſimus.* *Velleius Paterculus*, ii. 68, gives him the preference to *Curio*, both in eloquence and courage: *M. Cælius vir eloquio animoque Curioni ſimilliimus, ſed in utroque perfectior*—.

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Several months had now paſt, and the winter was almoſt over; yet the paſſage of *Cæſar*'s troops was not effected, and was every day more hazardous. *Pompey* was continually reproaching his Admirals for their neglect in relation to *Cæſar*'s firſt paſſage, and exhorting them to make amends for it, by preventing the ſupplies from coming over. His ſea-officers exerted themſelves therefore, and were ever on the watch. *Cæſar*, on his ſide, could not but think that *Antony* and *Calenus* had loſt ſome opportunities, the wind having ſtood often fair for them: And he ſent them peremptory orders to ſail with the firſt wind that offered for the coaſt of *Apollonia*; which, having few havens, was not ſo cloſely beſet by the enemy.

All the hiſtorians, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Florus*, and *Dio*, tell us, that ſuch was *Cæſar*'s impatience at this time, that he reſolved to go and fetch his troops himſelf; and, in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, went on board a fiſherman's bark at the mouth of the river *Apſus*, with a deſign to croſs over to *Brunduſium*. The maſter of the boat rowed off, it is ſaid, with his men, but the wind riſing made the water ſo very rough, that it ſeemed impoſſible to him to get out to ſea, and he ordered his men to return back. Upon this, *Cæſar* diſcovered himſelf: *Fear nothing*, ſaid he, *thou carrieſt Cæſar and his fortune.* The mariners, encouraged and awed by his preſence, made freſh endeavours, and got out to ſea; but the waves ran ſo high, and the danger was ſo imminent, that he permitted them to return to land. *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers, informed of what had paſt, ran to meet him in great multitudes, and told him, with much tenderneſs and affection, *that he had greatly reflected upon their courage by going in queſt of new forces, when they were ſure to conquer alone, as long as they acted under his direction.*

Lucan. l. v.

The preſſing orders he had ſent for his ſoldiers, who were ſufficiently eager of themſelves to croſs the ſea, determined *Antony* and *Calenus* to ſail with a ſouth wind, which was not the moſt favourable for their paſſage. They made for the coaſt of *Apollonia*, but were driven before *Dyrrhacchium:* Whence, being deſcried by *Coponius*, he chaced them with ſixteen *Rhodian* gallies, and, the wind abating, the fleet had almoſt fallen into his hands. A briſk gale, however, ariſing, they made their way, and put into the port of *Nymphæum*, about three miles beyond *Liſſus*. There they would have been in the greateſt danger from the ſouth wind, which had continued two days without intermiſſion; but they were ſcarcely entered the port, when the wind changed to ſouth-weſt. To this favourable circumſtance they owed their ſafety. The fleet of *Coponius* was driven by the violence of the ſtorm againſt the ſhore, and daſhed to pieces. The greateſt part of the ſoldiers and mariners periſhed among the rocks; a few only were taken up by *Antony*'s ſoldiers; and theſe were afterwards ſent by *Cæſar* to their ſeveral homes. There were two, however, of the tranſports, which, unable to keep up with the reſt, were overtaken by the night, and, not knowing where

where the fleet had put in, caſt anchor over againſt *Liſſus*. *Otacilius* Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſt.
Craſſus, who commanded in that place, ſent out ſome boats and ſmall veſſels to attack them, and to promiſe them quarter, if they ſubmitted. One of theſe veſſels carried two hundred and twenty new-raiſed ſoldiers; the other leſs than two hundred veterans: And, on this occaſion, appeared, ſays *Cæſar*, what reſource there is in valour, in the moſt imminent dangers. The new levies, frighted at the number of their enemies, and fatigued with ſea-ſickneſs, ſurrendered on promiſe of their lives; but were cruelly ſlain, as ſoon as they came before *Otacilius*. The veterans, on the contrary, though they had both the ſtorm and a leaky veſſel to ſtruggle with, abated nothing of their wonted bravery; they ſpun out the time till night, under the pretence of treating, and then obliged their pilot to run the veſſel on ſhore; where they found an advantageous poſt. At day-break, *Otacilius* ſent againſt them about four hundred horſe; but they defended themſelves with great bravery; and, having ſlain ſome of the enemy, rejoined without loſs the reſt of the troops. The Roman citizens inhabiting *Liſſus*, to whom *Cæſar* had formerly made a grant of the town, after having fortified it with great care, were entirely in their patron's intereſt; and *Otacilius*, who well knew it, and dreaded the conſequences of a revolt, quitted the place at this time, and fled to *Pompey*. As ſoon as he was gone, the inhabitants opened their gates to *Antony*, and furniſhed him with every thing he ſtood in need of. *Antony*, after landing his troops, which conſiſted of three veteran legions, one new-raiſed, and eight hundred horſe, ſent the moſt of the tranſports back again to *Brunduſium*, to bring over the reſt of the foot and cavalry, and retained only a few of *Gallic* ſtructure, that, if *Pompey*, imagining *Italy* to be deſtitute of troops, ſhould attempt to return thither, as was commonly rumoured, *Cæſar* might be able, in ſome meaſure, to follow him.

On the firſt news of *Antony*'s landing, which the two Generals received about the ſame time, they both ſet out from their camps on the *Apſus*; *Cæſar* to join him as ſoon as poſſible; *Pompey* to hinder the junction, and, if poſſible, to draw *Antony* into an ambuſcade. *Cæſar*, who had the river to croſs, was obliged to fetch a compaſs, that he might reach a ford. But *Pompey*, having nothing to obſtruct his march, advanced by great journeys againſt *Antony*; and, underſtanding that he was not far off, he poſted his troops on an advantageous ground, ordering them to keep within their camp, and light no fires, that his approach might not be perceived. *Antony*, however, was appriſed of it by the people of the country, and kept cloſe for one day within his intrenchments; the next he was joined by *Cæſar*; and then *Pompey* retired to *Aſparagium*, a town belonging to the *Dyrrhachians*. *Cæſar* followed him, and, after a march of three days, during which he made himſelf maſter of the capital town of the *Parthinians*, he came in ſight of the enemy's camp, and pitched his own at a ſmall diſtance from it. The next day he drew out all his

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forces and offered *Pompey* battle. But *Pompey* ſtirred not, and from that moment *Cæſar* perceived that he muſt take other meaſures.

The day after *Cæſar* ſet out for *Dyrrhachium*, taking a long circuit, and through narrow and difficult ways, hoping thereby either to oblige *Pompey* to follow him thither, or to cut off his communication with the town, where he had laid up his proviſions and magazines of war. In this laſt deſign he ſucceeded. For *Pompey*, ſeeing him ſet out another way, imagined he had been obliged to remove for want of proviſions, and did not raiſe his camp till the next day, when he was informed by his ſcouts whither *Cæſar* directed his courſe. He, however, hoped to reach *Dyrrhachium* before him, by taking a nearer way: And though *Cæſar* gave his ſoldiers but little reſt, and made them march with the greateſt celerity, yet, when he arrived in the morning at *Dyrrhachium*, *Pompey*'s van began to appear at a diſtance. *Cæſar* intrenched himſelf without delay: And *Pompey* ſeized a hill called *Petra*, where there was a tolerable harbour, ſheltered from ſome winds. Here he ordered a part of his fleet to attend him and proviſions to be brought to him from *Aſia*, and the other provinces ſubject to his command. And *Cæſar*, apprehending, on his ſide, that the war would run into length ſent his officers into *Epirus* and all the adjoining countries, where proviſions could be picked up.

In this ſituation of the two armies, *Cæſar* formed a project, which the nature of the country ſuggeſted. All round *Pompey*'s camp, at a ſmall diſtance from each other, were high and ſteep hills. He took poſſeſſion of theſe, and built forts upon them; reſolving, as the nature of the ground would allow, to draw lines of communication from one fort to another, and thus incloſe *Pompey* within a circumvallation. By this means *Pompey*'s cavalry, which was very ſtrong, would no longer be troubleſome to his convoys; they themſelves would be diſtreſſed for forage; and *Pompey*'s reputation would greatly ſuffer, when it was reported every where, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be impriſoned by *Cæſar*'s works, and durſt not hazard a battle to ſet himſelf at liberty. *Pompey*, who was determined neither to quit *Dyrrhachium* and the ſea, nor to give battle, contented himſelf with obſtructing *Cæſar*'s works, and giving his men as much trouble as he poſſibly could. For this end he extended his army, taking in a great many hills, and a large circuit of country. He raiſed twenty-four forts, and, in imitation of *Cæſar*, drew lines between them, which took in a circumference of fifteen miles, in which were arable and paſture lands to feed his horſes and beaſts of burden: And his works were perfected before *Cæſar*'s, as he had more hands to employ, and a narrower circuit to incloſe. When *Cæſar* endeavoured to gain any place near his works, he failed not to detach parties of archers and ſlingers, who galled his men in ſuch a manner, that they were obliged to furniſh themſelves with tunics made of ſackcloth or wool, or thick leather. Both parties diſputed every poſt with the greateſt obſtinacy.

Cæſar's

Cæſar's purpoſe was to incloſe *Pompey* in as narrow a compaſs as poſſible: And *Pompey*'s buſineſs was to extend himſelf in order to weaken his enemy by dividing his forces. In one engagement *Cæſar*'s ninth legion was in ſuch imminent danger, that *Pompey* ventured to declare publicly, *that he conſented to be accounted no General, if Cæſar's men got off without conſiderable loſs.* This legion had taken poſſeſſion of a hill, which they began to fortify: And *Pompey* ſeized on that which was oppoſite to it, and from thence ſent his archers and ſlingers with a ſtrong detachment of light-armed troops to attack them. He played, at the ſame time, his engines upon them. *Cæſar* ſoon perceived it to be impoſſible to make any fortification there, while he was ſo briſkly attacked, and reſolved to draw off the legion; but, as he was to make his retreat by the ſteep part of the hill, it proved a buſineſs very nice and dangerous. For the *Pompeians*, as ſoon as they obſerved *Cæſar*'s men to retire, preſſed on the more fiercely, not doubting but their retreat was the effect of the terror they had impreſſed upon them. *Cæſar* therefore ordered his men to ſtand their ground, and he formed a paliſado with hurdles on the ridge of the hill, and dug a ditch behind it. Then he made the legionaries file off, while ſome light-armed troops, poſted on their flanks, protected them, and repulſed the enemy, with flights of darts and ſtones. But they had no ſooner got behind the ditch, than the *Pompeians*, coming up to the hurdles, threw them into the ditch in ſuch heaps, at convenient diſtances, as to make to themſelves ſo many bridges: And, with great outcries and fierce menaces, they went pouring down the hill upon their enemies. *Cæſar*, ſenſible both of the dangerous ſituation of his men, and of the diſhonour attending a retreat, which had all the appearance of a flight, ordered *Antony*, who commanded that legion, to encourage his men, and bravely fall upon the purſuers: Which they did in ſuch cloſe order and ſo briſkly, that, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the ground, they routed the *Pompeians*; who, while they endeavoured to eſcape, were not a little incommoded by the ditch and hurdles which had been deſigned to prevent their purſuit. *Cæſar*, ſeeing there was nothing now to fear from the enemy's return, having killed a great number of them, and loſt only five of his own men, retired leiſurely, and, after incloſing ſome other hills, completed his circumvallation. It was a very extraordinary attempt for a General with an inferior army, which wanted bread, and was obliged to make uſe of a root called *chara*, pounded and kneaded with milk, to undertake the ſurrounding of an army much ſuperior in number, and which abounded in every kind of proviſion and ammunition. Nothing certainly could ſhew ſo much the ſuperiority of both the General and the army, than that they could dare to form ſuch a plan, and had the induſtry and courage to go through with it. Such indeed was the ſpirit of this army, that, when their enemies reproached them with the famine they endured, they anſwered their inſults in no other manner than by throwing

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throwing among them their black loaves; glorying in their want, and declaring that they would eat the bark of trees ſooner than ſuffer them to eſcape; a behaviour which ſtruck *Pompey* with aſtoniſhment, and made him order the loaves of *chara* to be carefully picked up, and concealed as much as poſſible from his ſoldiery; ſaying, *he never thought to have had to do with wild beaſts.*

Plut. in Pomp.

This event had fully the effect which *Cæſar* had intended: It raiſed his credit all over the empire, and diminiſhed that of his rival. Nobody doubted but that *Pompey* would draw off his troops into his ſhips, and remove the war to ſome diſtant place: And, upon this, *Dolabella* wrote the following letter to *Cicero*, who was in *Pompey*'s camp.

DOLABELLA to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. ii. 9. Melm. vii. 19.

"I SHALL rejoice to hear you are well; as I have the ſatisfac-
" tion to inform you, that both *Tullia* and myſelf are perfectly ſo. *Te-*
" *rentia*, indeed, has been ſomewhat indiſpoſed; but is now, I am aſ-
" ſured, perfectly recovered. As to the reſt of the family, they are all
" of them in the ſtate you wiſh.

" It would be doing me great injuſtice to ſuſpect, that I have at any
" time adviſed you to join with me in the cauſe of *Cæſar*, or at leaſt to
" ſtand neuter, more with a view to the advantage of my own party
" than of your intereſt. But, now that fortune has declared on our
" ſide, it is impoſſible I ſhould be ſuppoſed to recommend this alterna-
" tive for any other reaſon, but becauſe the duty I owe you will not
" ſuffer me to be ſilent. Whether my advice, therefore, ſhall meet
" with your approbation, or not, you will at leaſt be ſo juſt as to be-
" lieve, that it proceeds, my dear *Cicero*, from an honeſt intention, and
" from an heart moſt ſincerely deſirous of your welfare.

" You ſee that neither the name of *Pompey the Great*, nor the cre-
" dit of his former illuſtrious actions, nor the advantages he ſo frequent-
" ly boaſted of having Kings and nations in the number of his clients,
" have any thing availed him. On the contrary, he has ſuffered a diſ-
" grace which never, perhaps, attended any other *Roman* General. For,
" after having been driven out of *Italy*, and having loſt both the *Spains*,
" together with a veteran army, he is now inveſted on all ſides in ſuch a
" manner, that he cannot execute what Generals of the loweſt capacity
" have often performed: He cannot even make an honourable retreat.
" You will conſider well, agreeably to your uſual prudence, what hopes
" can poſſibly remain either to him or to yourſelf: And the reſult will
" evidently point out the meaſures which are the moſt expedient for you
" to purſue. If *Pompey* extricates himſelf from this danger, in which
" he is involved, and takes refuge in his fleet, I intreat you to conſult
" your own intereſt in preference to that of any other man. You have
" fully ſatisfied your duty, your friendſhip, and your engagements to

" that

"that party, which you eſpouſed in the republic. What then remains Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.
"for us but to ſit down quietly under the Republic as it now ſubſiſts,
"rather than, by vainly contending for the old conſtitution, to be abſo-
"lutely deprived of both? If *Pompey*, therefore, ſhould be driven from
"his preſent poſt, and obliged to retreat ſtill farther; I conjure you,
"my dear *Cicero*, to withdraw to *Athens*, or to any other city uncon-
"cerned in the war. If you ſhould comply with this advice, I beg you
"would give me notice, that I may fly to embrace you, if by any
"means it ſhould be in my power. Such is our General's natural gene-
"roſity, that you will find it eaſy to obtain from him any honourable
"conditions you ſhall demand: And I am perſuaded that my ſollicita-
"tions will have no inconſiderable weight for this purpoſe[r]."

But the war ſoon after took a very different turn, and *Pompey*, inſtead of making his eſcape, forced *Cæſar*, by an unexpected defeat, to retire towards *Macedonia*. *Pompey*, incloſed as he was, began ſoon to ſuffer great inconveniencies from the want of water and forage. For *Cæſar* had not only turned the courſe of all the rivers and brooks which ran into the ſea, but he had alſo taken the precaution to turn the current of the waters which, after a ſtorm of rain, would fall from the mountains. This obliged the enemy to ſink wells in the low and marſhy grounds, which, lying at a conſiderable diſtance from ſome parts of the army, and being ſoon dried up by the heat, greatly increaſed the daily labour of the ſoldiers. As for forage, after conſuming what was within the lines, they could have none but by ſea, which not coming in ſufficient quantities, the horſes and cattle died in great numbers. It was therefore time for *Pompey* to make the moſt vigorous efforts to force *Cæſar*'s lines and ſet himſelf at liberty; and he made uſe of every ſtratagem to diſtreſs and fatigue his enemies. In the night he ſent his archers wherever it appeared, by the fires, that their guards were, who, after pouring a flight of arrows upon them, retired inſtantly to their lines; ſo that *Cæſar*'s men were obliged to have fires in one place, and keep guard in another. After ſeveral particular aſſaults, the two armies were engaged in ſix different actions at once; in three near *Dyrrhachium*, and in three about the lines. We have loſt the particulars of theſe ſeveral engagements, *Cæſar*'s commentaries being imperfect in this place. We gather from him, however, that the principal attack was at a fort garriſoned by a ſingle cohort, commanded by the brave *Scæva*, who kept his ground for ſe-

Cæſar de Bell. Civ. Com. iii.

[r] *Velleius Paterculus* informs us, that *Cæſar* ſtill continued to ſollicit the Chiefs of *Pompey*'s party, and that *Cornelius Balbus*, at the peril of his life, entered privately *Pompey*'s camp, ſeveral times, to gain the late Conſul *Lentulus*, his benefactor, who was wavering in his mind: *Tum Balbus Cornelius, excedente humanam fidem temeritate, ingreſſus caſtra hoſtium ſæpiuſque cum Lentulo collocutus, conſule dubitante quanti ſe venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam, quibus Hiſpanus in triumphum & pontificatum aſſurgeret, fieretque ex privato conſularis. L. ii. c. 51.*

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

veral hours againſt four legions, till *P. Sylla* brought to his aſſiſtance, by *Cæſar*'s orders, two legions from the camp. The *Pompeians* were then repulſed; but they found it no eaſy matter to make good their retreat. Having advanced to the ſummit of a hill, they had reaſon to fear *Cæſar*'s men would charge them in their deſcent; and *Pompey*, to ſuſtain them, immediately took poſſeſſion of an eminence out of the reach of the engines of the fort, where he threw up an intrenchment and brought more forces. But *Sylla*, who was intruſted with the care of the camp, ſatisfied to have diſengaged his own men, had no intention to hazard a general battle, which might have been attended with ill conſequences, and would have looked like arrogating the part of a General; and, checking the ardour of his ſoldiers, he brought them off from the purſuit. It was, however, generally believed, that, if he had purſued the enemy briſkly, that day might have put an end to the war. "But "his conduct, ſays *Cæſar*, cannot juſtly be cenſured: For there is a "wide difference between a Lieutenant and a General: The one is "bound to act according to inſtructions; the other, free from reſtraint, "is at liberty to lay hold of all advantages." In theſe ſix engagements *Cæſar* loſt no more than twenty men, whereas *Pompey* had above two thouſand of his legionaries killed, and ſeveral volunteers and Centurions. In the fort, however, not a ſoldier came off without a wound, and four Centurions loſt their eyes. It appeared that thirty thouſand arrows had been ſhot into it; and *Scæva* ſhewed two-and-thirty holes in his buckler. *Cæſar*, to reward ſuch heroiſm, preſented him with two hundred thouſand aſſes, and advanced him from the eighth rank of Captains to the firſt. He alſo diſtributed military rewards to the officers and ſoldiers of the whole cohort, and aſſigned them, beſides, double pay and a double allowance of corn. *Pompey* laboured all night at his fortifications, raiſed redoubts the following days, and, having carried his works fifteen feet high, covered all that part of his camp with mantelets. He ſtaid there five days, and, taking advantage of a very dark night, he walled up the gates of this new camp, rendered all the avenues impracticable, and, drawing out all his troops in great ſilence, at midnight, returned to his former works.

About 645 l.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com l. iii.

Cæſar, after this ſucceſs, drew up his army every day to inſult *Pompey*, offering him battle; and, to provoke him to accept it, he advanced ſo near to his camp, that his van was within engine-ſhot of the ramparts. *Pompey* alſo drew out his legions, but poſted them in ſuch a manner that his third line touched the rampart, and the whole army lay under cover of the weapons diſcharged from thence: And in this ſituation *Cæſar* did not think proper to attack him. *Pompey*, induced by the ſcarcity of forage, had ſent his horſe to *Dyrrhachium*; but there *Cæſar* ſoon laid them under the ſame conſtraint as in the camp: For, by drawing a line with forts round the town, he alſo effectually blocked it up. They therefore returned again by ſea to the camp, where, having no forage

but what was imported from *Corcyra* and *Acarnania*, the horſes were often fed with leaves of trees and the roots of green reeds bruiſed. At laſt, all expedients for their ſubſiſtence failing, *Pompey* reſolved to ſet himſelf at liberty, if poſſible: And, in the execution of his deſign, he was greatly aſſiſted by the counſels of two officers in *Cæſar*'s cavalry, named *Roſcillus* and *Ægus*, who, at this time, deſerted to him. They were *Allobrogians*, the ſons of *Abducillus*, who had long held the chief ſway in his ſtate, and, being men of ſingular bravery, who had done *Cæſar* eminent ſervice in the wars of *Gaul*, he had greatly diſtinguiſhed them, by raiſing them to the higheſt offices in their own country, and to a ſtate of great wealth. Theſe men, preſuming on *Cæſar*'s friendſhip, uſed their troopers ill, defrauded them of their pay, giving falſe muſters, and ſecreted all the plunder for their own uſe; a behaviour which alienated from them not only the minds of the *Gallic* cavalry, but of the whole army, with whom they had been in high eſteem: And a general complaint was made againſt them. *Cæſar*, not thinking it a proper time for animadverſion, and regarding them greatly on account of their valour, declined all public notice of the affair, and only reprimanded them in private; admoniſhing them to expect every thing from his friendſhip, and to ground their future hopes on the experience of what he had already done for them. This rebuke, however, diſguſted them greatly: And ſhame, a conſciouſneſs of guilt, and the fear, perhaps, of having entirely loſt *Cæſar*'s favour, made them reſolve to try their fortune elſewhere, and to look out for new friendſhips. Having imparted their deſign to a few of their clients, whom they judged to be fit inſtruments for the execution of it, they firſt attempted to murder *C. Voluſenus*, General of the cavalry, that, by ſo ſignal a piece of ſervice, they might the more effectually recommend themſelves to *Pompey*. But, finding that deſign attended with great hazard, and that no favourable opportunity offered for putting it in execution, they borrowed all the money they could, under pretence of reimburſing the troops and making reſtitution, and, having bought up a great number of horſes, went over to *Pompey*, with thoſe they had made privy to their counſels. As they were perſons of noble birth, liberally educated, came with a great train of horſes and ſervants, had been highly honoured by *Cæſar*, and were univerſally eſteemed on account of their bravery, *Pompey* received them with great diſtinction, and oſtentatiouſly carried them over all his camp, triumphing in this new and unexpected acquiſition. For till then neither trooper nor foot-ſoldier had deſerted to him, whereas ſcarce a day paſſed without ſome deſerting from his army, eſpecially among the levies in *Epirus* and *Greece*. The two brothers being well acquainted with the condition of *Cæſar*'s camp and fortifications, where the defects of the lines lay, the particular times for every ſervice, diſtances of places, ſtrength and vigilance of the guards, with the temper

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and character of the officers who commanded in every poſt, made an exact report of all to *Pompey*.

Upon this intelligence, having already formed the deſign of forcing *Cæſar*'s lines, he ordered the ſoldiers to make coverings of oſier for their helmets, and provide themſelves with faſcines for filling up the trenches. This done, he embarked by night in boats a great number of light-armed troops and archers, with the faſcines; and, having drawn together ſixty cohorts from the greater camp and the forts, he led them towards that part of the enemy's line which lay neareſt the ſea, and was the fartheſt diſtant from their head-quarters. The boats and all the gallies that lay at *Dyrrhachium*, filled with men and faſcines, were ordered to the ſame ſpot. The place, which *Pompey* deſigned to attack, was commanded by *Lentulus Marcellinus*, Quæſtor, whoſe health being infirm, *Fulvius Poſthumus* was to aſſiſt him; and it was defended by a ditch fifteen feet broad, with a rampart towards *Pompey*'s lines, ten feet high and of equal thickneſs. Behind this, at the diſtance of ſix hundred feet, was another rampart, ſomewhat lower than the former, and fronting the contrary way, deſigned as a defence againſt an attack from the ſea. But the line that was to join the two ramparts, and run along the ſea-ſhore, was not yet completed: And this, *Pompey* being informed of, it was of fatal conſequence to *Cæſar*. *Pompey*'s ſixty cohorts approached at break of day towards *Cæſar*'s line, and, by their ſudden appearance, greatly ſurpriſed the cohort of the ninth legion upon guard. They planted their ſcaling-ladders againſt the inward rampart, and, plying thoſe who defended it with darts and engines, ſpread a general terror over all that part of the works, which was ſtill increaſed by the multitude of archers that poured flights of arrows on all ſides. In this extremity, the only refuge of *Cæſar*'s men was to ply the enemy with ſtones; but theſe were prevented from doing much execution by the oſiers with which the *Pompeians* had bound their helmets. At the ſame time the troops that came by ſea aſſailed the exterior rampart, and, ſoon diſcovering the defect in the lines, landed their men between the two ramparts, where the line of communication towards the ſea remained unfiniſhed; and thus, attacking in the rear the ſoldiers that defended them, they obliged them to withdraw from both.

Marcellinus, appriſed of this diſorder, detached ſome cohorts to ſuſtain the flying troops: But, as the rout was become general, they could neither perſuade them to rally, nor were able themſelves to withſtand the enemy's charge. The more ſupplies he ſent, the greater confuſion was created, and the means of eſcape became more difficult. In this action the Eagle-bearer of the ninth legion, finding himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and that his ſtrength began to fail, called to ſome troopers who paſſed by, and ſaid: *I have carefully preſerved, to the laſt moment of my life, this Eagle, with which I have been intruſted; and,*

and, now that I am dying, I return it to CÆSAR *with the ſame fidelity: Carry it to him, I beſeech you, nor ſuffer his arms to experience, in loſing it, an ignominy with which they have been hitherto unacquainted.* Thus the Eagle was preſerved, but all the Centurions, except one, of the firſt cohort were killed. The *Pompeians*, now bearing down all before them, approached the quarters of *Marcellinus*, when *M. Antony*, who commanded in the neareſt forts, was ſeen deſcending, with twelve cohorts, from the higher grounds. His arrival put a ſtop to the enemy's progreſs: And ſoon after *Cæſar* came up in perſon with more troops, being informed of the attack by the ſmoke of the forts, the uſual ſignal on theſe occaſions. He perceived that *Pompey* had forced the lines, and had lodged himſelf on a ſpot from whence he could freely forage, and which allowed him a communication with the ſea, and, altering intirely the project he had formed of incloſing him, he encamped as near to him as he could. Y. R. 705 Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

An eagerneſs to repair this loſs was like to be the cauſe of his total ruin. No ſooner were the intrenchments of his new camp finiſhed, than he was informed by his ſcouts, that a certain number of the enemy's cohorts, which appeared to them to be a complete legion, were retired behind a wood, and ſeemed to be on their march to an old camp, which had been ſucceſſively occupied and abandoned by *Cæſar* and *Pompey*. This camp bordered upon a wood, and was about four hundred paces from the ſea: It had been formed by *Cæſar*'s ninth legion, when they were ſent to oppoſe a body of *Pompey*'s troops. Upon their removing to a greater diſtance, *Pompey* had taken poſſeſſion of it, and, intending to lodge in it ſeveral legions, ſurrounded it with more extenſive intrenchments, incloſing a ſmall camp within one of a larger circumference. He likewiſe carried an intrenchment from the left angle of his camp to the river through the ſpace of about four hundred ſpaces, which enabled him to water freely and without danger: But all theſe works he had thought proper to abandon. Hither the ſcouts reported they ſaw the ſtandard of a legion carried, which was alſo confirmed by thoſe who were ſtationed in the higher forts. The place was about five hundred paces from *Pompey*'s new camp, and *Cæſar* hoped, that, if he could get to the old camp, unperceived by *Pompey*, he would be able to ſurpriſe the legion and cut it off. He ſet out therefore as privately as poſſible with thirty-three cohorts, in which number was the ninth legion, that had lately loſt ſo many of its Centurions and ſoldiers: And, taking a circuit, arrived before *Pompey* had notice of his deſign. Though the intrenchments were ſtrong, yet, charging the enemy briſkly with his left wing, where he commanded in perſon, he quickly drove them from the rampart: But they continued ſome time to defend the gates, which were ſecured by a barricade; and here *T. Pulcio*, formerly an officer in *Cæſar*'s army, and who had betrayed *C. Antonius*, gave ſignal proofs of his valour. At length *Cæſar*'s men prevailed, cut down the Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. iii.

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the barricade, broke into the greater camp, and purſued the legion into the inward and leſſer one. But Fortune, ſays *Cæſar*, which often effects mighty changes from trifling cauſes, and whoſe influence is never greater than in war, ſhewed its power on this occaſion. For the cohorts of *Cæſar*'s right wing, unacquainted with the ſituation of the camp, and miſtaking the rampart which led to the river for one of its ſides, marched on that way in queſt of a gate; but, perceiving their error, they got over the rampart and were followed by all the cavalry. This delay ſaved the enemy: For *Pompey*, having notice of what paſſed, brought up a legion and a large body of horſe to ſuſtain his party; which, being ſeen advancing by both ſides, quickly changed the face of affairs. *Pompey*'s legion, encouraged by this ſuccour, bravely defended themſelves, and ſtood their ground: On the other hand *Cæſar*'s cavalry, who had entered by a narrow breach in the rampart, foreſeeing that a retreat would be extremely difficult, made off immediately. The right wing which had no communication with the left, obſerving the conſternation of the cavalry, and fearing they ſhould be overpowered within the camp, retired the ſame way they had entered; and many, to avoid being engaged in the narrow paſſes, threw themſelves into the ditch; where, the firſt ranks being trodden to death, their bodies afforded an eaſy paſſage for thoſe that followed. The left wing, who, from the rampart whence they had driven the enemy, ſaw *Pompey* advancing againſt them, and their own men flying, fearing to be entangled in the defiles, as they had the enemy upon them both within and without the camp, began alſo to retreat. Nothing was to be ſeen but conſternation and diſorder; and all *Cæſar*'s efforts to rally his men were fruitleſs. If he ſeized any of them, they ſtruggled till they got away: If he laid hold of their colours, they left them in his hands: Not a man could be prevailed upon to face about. In this calamity, what ſaved the army, ſays *Cæſar*, from entire deſtruction was, that *Pompey*, apprehending an ambuſcade (probably becauſe the ſucceſs was beyond his hopes, as a little before he had ſeen his men worſted and put to flight) durſt not for ſome time approach the intrenchments, and that his cavalry were retarded in the purſuit by the narrowneſs of the ways and the difficulty of paſſing the forts which *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers were maſters of. In theſe two actions *Cæſar* loſt nine hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, thirty officers, and ſeveral Knights of note: Moſt of whom died without wounds, being trodden to death in the ditch, or on the banks of the river. He loſt alſo thirty-three colours. The priſoners were delivered up to *Labienus*, at his requeſt; and this deſerter, brutal and cruel as uſual, diverted himſelf with inſulting them in their calamity; and, after aſking them ſarcaſtically, whether it was common for priſoners to run away, he cauſed them all to be put to death.

Pompey was ſaluted *Imperator* upon this occaſion; a title which he bore ever after: But, neither in his letters nor his conſular enſigns, did he

he think proper to aſſume the laurel. His party was ſo elated with this ſucceſs, that they thought the war at an end, and proclaimed every-where their victory with great exaggerations [s]. *Cæſar*, ſeeing all his projects diſconcerted, called his troops from the ſeveral forts into his camp, where, having aſſembled them, he ſaid, "that they ought not "to be anywiſe diſcouraged at what had happened, but ſhould put, in "the balance with their preſent loſs, their many ſucceſsful engage-"ments; and ſhould conſider how Fortune had hitherto befriended "them in the reduction of *Italy*, which they had effected without blood-"ſhed; in the conqueſt of the two *Spains*, though defended by war-"like troops under the conduct of ſkilful and experienced Leaders; "in the ſubjection of *Epirus* and the neighbouring provinces, whence "they had been ſupplied with proviſions; and in their paſſing ſafe over "the ſea when the enemy covered it with their fleets, and were poſſeſt "of all the havens and coaſts. If they were not ſucceſsful in every "thing, they muſt endeavour, he ſaid, by prudence, to overcome "the diſappointments of Fortune; and attribute their late diſaſter "to the caprice of that goddeſs, rather than to any fault on their "ſide: For that he had led them on ſucceſsfully, and had forced the "enemy's camp; and, if ſome ſudden conſternation, the miſtaking "their way, or any other miſhap, had ſnatched a certain victory out of "their hands, they ought to exert their utmoſt endeavours to repair "the diſgrace: Which would turn their misfortunes to a benefit, as it "had happened at *Gergovia*, where thoſe, who had been ſeized with a "dread of the enemy, ſoon after earneſtly urged him to lead them to bat-"tle." This artful ſpeech was followed by the diſgrace of ſome Standard-bearers, who were reduced to the rank of private ſoldiers: But there was little occaſion for ſeverity; for the whole army was ſo grieved at their loſs, and ſo deſirous of expunging the ſtain their glory had received, that it was ſcarcely requiſite for the officers to remind them of their duty. They begged with one voice to be led to the enemy, and ſome of the more conſiderable Commanders entreated *Cæſar* to venture

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[s] *Cicero* does not appear to have been in the ſame humour. We have a letter from him to *Atticus*, written at this time from *Dyrrhachium*, which is as follows: "You "complain of not hearing from me, but I "have nothing to ſend you that is worth "your notice: For I abſolutely diſapprove "of every thing that is done, and every "thing that happens here. I wiſh I had "rather conferred with you, at a certain "time, than correſponded by letters. I "defend you here with our party as well as "I am able, and ſo does *Celer*. I have hi-"therto declined all employment, and the "rather, becauſe I ſaw none in which I "could act conſiſtently with my character "and ſituation.

"You aſk me what news: You may "know from *Iſidorus* what has lately hap-"pened: What remains to be done doth not "ſeem more difficult.——My anxieties prey "upon me ſo much, that I am reduced to a "very low ſtate of health: When I am "ſomewhat recovered, I ſhall join our Ge-"neral, who is now very ſanguine in his "hopes. Our friend *Brutus* acts in this "cauſe with great ſpirit. This is all I can "ſay to you conſiſtently with prudence. "Adieu." *Ad Att.* xi. 4.

a battle;

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a battle; but he did not think it prudent to expoſe in the field, againſt an enemy elated with ſucceſs, troops that had been juſt worſted, and in whom deep impreſſions might remain of their late fright. He therefore reſolved to change his camp, and the whole plan of the war, and to give them time to recover themſelves. As ſoon as night approached, he ſent all the ſick and wounded, with the baggage to *Apollonia*, under the guard of one legion, ordering them not to ſtop till they had reached the place: And at three in the morning he made all his forces, except two legions, file out of the ſeveral gates of the camp, and follow the ſame route that the baggage had taken. Soon after, that his march might not have the appearance of a flight, and be known to the enemy as late as poſſible, he ordered the uſual ſignal of decamping to be given, and, ſetting out with the reſt of the troops, loſt ſight of the camp in a moment. *Pompey*, informed of his retreat, prepared to follow him without delay, and ſent his cavalry to harraſs and retard his rear-guard: But *Cæſar*, having no baggage, marched with ſuch expedition, that they did not come up with him till he had reached the river *Genuſus*. He ſent his horſe with ſome light-armed troops againſt them, who charged with ſuch vigour, that they turned their backs and returned to *Pompey*, leaving a conſiderable number of their men dead upon the field. *Cæſar*, having croſſed the *Genuſus* and made a day's march, took up his quarters in his old camp at *Aſparagium*; where he gave ſtrict orders to the ſoldiers not to ſtroll without the rampart, and charged the cavalry, which he ſent out, as it were to forage, to return without delay by the *Decuman* gate, which was the moſt remote from the enemy. *Pompey* alſo took up his quarters in the camp he had formerly made, where the works being entire, and the ſoldiers having nothing to do, ſome made long excurſions in queſt of wood and forage, and others, who had come almoſt without any baggage, having ſet out on a ſudden, enticed by the nearneſs of their former camp, laid down their arms in their tents, and went to fetch what they had left behind. This diſperſion rendered them unable to continue the purſuit, as *Cæſar* had foreſeen; and about noon he gave the ſignal for decamping, and, by doubling that day's march, gained eight miles upon *Pompey*. The following days he ſet out at three every morning, and *Pompey*, after attempting for three days to overtake him, gave over the purſuit on the fourth, and began to think of other meaſures.

Both Generals had at this time armies in *Macedonia*. *Cæſar*, when he was joined by *M. Antony* with the troops from *Italy*, received a deputation from *Theſſaly* and *Ætolia*, with aſſurances of ſubmiſſion from all the States in thoſe parts, on condition that he would ſend troops to defend them. He had accordingly diſpatched *L. Caſſius Longinus* into *Theſſaly* with a legion of new levies and two hundred horſe; and *C. Calviſius Sabinus* into *Ætolia* with five cohorts: Deſiring them, as theſe

provinces lay neareſt his camp, to provide him with corn. The latter was well received by the *Ætolians*, and, having driven out the enemy's garriſon from *Calydon* and *Neupactum*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole country. In *Theſſaly*, there were two factions: *Egereſetus*, a man of years and of eſtabliſhed credit, favoured *Pompey*: *Petreius*, a young Nobleman, exerted his whole influence in behalf of *Cæſar*. About the ſame time, *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* was ordered into *Macedonia*, with the eleventh and twelfth legions and five hundred horſe: Whither he had been alſo invited by *Menedemus*, a principal man of the country, who aſſured him of the general affection of the inhabitants. *Pompey*, on his ſide, ſent meſſengers to *Scipio* in *Syria*, to haſten his march, and come and join him with the legions under his command. *Cæſar* gives us a ſtrange account of this Proconſul's behaviour in his province, which correſponds, however, very well with the reſt of his life. He tells us, that, after receiving ſome affronts and checks from the barbarous people of mount *Amanus*, he aſſumed the title of *Imperator*; that he exacted great ſums of money from the neighbouring States and Princes; obliged the Farmers of the revenue to pay the two years taxes which lay in their hands, and advance a third by way of loan; and ſent orders to the whole province for levying cavalry. In his progreſs through *Aſia Minor*, he found the natives in the greateſt terror on account of the *Parthians*; and his ſoldiers declared, that, though they were ready to ſerve againſt a public enemy, they were not diſpoſed to act againſt the Conſul and their fellow-citizens. But, to ſtifle their diſcontents, he not only made them conſiderable preſents, but quartered them in *Pergamus*, and other rich towns, and gave up the whole country to their diſcretion. Heavy exactions, nevertheleſs, were made upon the province, and various new pretences deviſed to ſerve as a ground for them. Freedmen and ſlaves were ſubjected to a capitation tax: Impoſts were laid on pillars and doors of houſes: Corn, ſoldiers, mariners, arms, engines, carriages, in a word, every thing that had a name, furniſhed a ſufficient handle for extorting money: Governors were appointed not only over towns, but over villages and caſtles; and he that acted with the greateſt rigour and cruelty was accounted the worthieſt man, and the beſt citizen. The province ſwarmed with Lictors, Overſeers, and Collectors, who, beſides the ſums impoſed by public authority, exacted money likewiſe on their own account; colouring their iniquitous demands with a pretence that they had been expelled their country and native homes, and were in want of every thing. Add to all theſe calamities immoderate uſury, an evil inſeparable from ſuch exorbitant exactions; for, when ſums are called for beyond what a country is able to furniſh, they are obliged to apply for a delay, which, at any intereſt, is ſtill accounted a favour. Thus the debts of the province increaſed immenſely theſe two years. *Scipio* had given orders to ſeize all the treaſure of the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, with all the ſtatues of

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that goddeſs, when he received letters from *Pompey*, to lay aſide all other concerns, and advance to him. *Joſephus* relates, that, while he was in *Syria*, he beheaded *Alexander*, Prince of the *Jews*, under the frivolous pretext of his having formerly occaſioned ſome diſturbances in *Judæa*: but in truth, becauſe he favoured *Cæſar*'s cauſe, like his unfortunate father, *Ariſtobulus*, who had been poiſoned a little before by *Pompey*'s partiſans, for the ſame reaſon.

Joſ. Ant. xiv. 13 & 15.

On *Scipio*'s arrival in *Macedonia*, he found there *Domitius*, and advanced towards him by great marches; but, being come within twenty miles of him, he ſuddenly changed his route, and, leaving *M. Favonius* at the river *Haliacmon*, which ſeparates *Macedonia* from *Theſſaly*, with eight cohorts, to guard the baggage, and there to raiſe a fort, he turned off in queſt of *Caſſius Longinus*, and marched ſo expeditiouſly that he was actually arrived before *Caſſius* had notice of his approach. At the ſame time King *Cotus*'s cavalry came pouring upon *Caſſius*'s camp, who, knowing that *Scipio* was not far diſtant, believed the cavalry to be his, and retired, in a fright, to the mountains that begirt *Theſſaly*, and thence directed his courſe towards *Ambracia*. *Scipio*, when he was preparing to follow him, was called back by *Favonius*, who informed him that *Domitius* was marching towards him, and that it would be impoſſible for him to defend his poſt. Marching, therefore, day and night without intermiſſion, he arrived ſo opportunely, that his advanced guards and the duſt of *Domitius*'s army were deſcried at the ſame time. Thus *Domitius*'s care preſerved *Caſſius*, and *Scipio*'s diligence *Favonius*. Theſe two Generals kept one another in play, during the blockade of *Dyrrhachium*, without coming to any deciſive engagement. During which time, alſo, *Calenus*, taking the command of *Caſſius*'s and *Calviſius*'s troops, penetrated into *Achaia*, where *Delphos*, *Thebes*, and *Orchomenus* ſubmitted to him: But he was ſtopped in his conqueſt by a Lieutenant of *Pompey*, *Rutilius Lupus*, who kept him out of the *Peloponneſus*.

Cæſar, from *Apollonia*, where he ſtaid but to provide for his wounded, pay his army, and garriſon the towns in his intereſt, ſet out to join *Domitius Calvinus*. He perceived, that, if *Pompey* followed him, he muſt leave the ſea and the ammunition and proviſion he had treaſured up at *Dyrrhachium*, and be reduced to engage him on equal terms; and, if *Pompey* paſſed into *Italy*, he purpoſed to join *Domitius* and march to its defence, by the coaſt of *Illyricum*: In fine, if *Pompey* ſhould fall upon *Apollonia* and *Oricum*, and endeavour to exclude him from the ſea-coaſt, he intended to attack *Scipio* and thereby force *Pompey* to come to his aſſiſtance. *Cæſar*, therefore, had diſpatched couriers to *Calvinus* to acquaint him with his deſigns, and with orders how to act; and, having left four cohorts at *Apollonia*, one at *Liſſus*, and three at *Oricum*, marched through *Epirus* and *Acarnania*. *Pompey*, on his ſide, penetrating into *Cæſar*'s views, made what haſte he could to join *Scipio*, that,

that, if *Cæſar* ſhould march that way, he might prevent his being overpowered: But ſhould he ſtill keep near the ſea, becauſe of the legions and cavalry he expected from *Italy*, in that event he purpoſed to fall upon *Calvinus* with all his forces. Both Generals, therefore, marched with the greateſt expedition, as well to afford timely relief to their friends, as not to miſs the opportunity of diſtreſſing their enemies. *Cæſar*, however, had been forced to turn off to *Apollonia*, and *Pompey*, taking the direct way through *Candavia*, arrived firſt in *Macedonia*: And Fortune had almoſt thrown *Domitius* into his hands. For *Cæſar*'s late defeat, which the *Pompeians* greatly exaggerated in their letters, having induced ſeveral States to throw off their allegiance, his couriers to *Domitius* were intercepted; and this General, having conſumed all the proviſions near his camp, had quitted it at this time, and was upon his march to *Heraclea Sentica*, a town of the *Candavians*. What ſaved him was, that his ſcouts met accidentally with ſome *Allobrogians*, ſervants of *Ægus* and *Roſcillus*, who, either from ancient familiarity or from a motive of vain-glory, informed them of all that had paſſed, and of *Pompey*'s approach: Which news being immediately carried to *Calvinus*, who was not above four hours march from the enemy, he inſtantly turned off, and joined *Cæſar* at *Æginium*, a town on the borders of *Theſſaly*. Y.R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

From *Æginium* *Cæſar* marched with all his forces to *Gomphi*, the firſt town of *Theſſaly* on the ſide of *Epirus*. A few months before, the inhabitants of their own accord had ſent him a deputation, to petition for a garriſon, and make him an offer of what their country produced: But now *Androſthenes*, Prætor of *Theſſaly*, chuſing rather to be the companion of *Pompey*'s good fortune than a partner with *Cæſar* in his adverſity, ordered all the people, whether free or ſlaves, to aſſemble in the town, and, having ſhut the gates againſt *Cæſar*, ſent letters to *Scipio* and *Pompey* to come to his aſſiſtance, intimating, that the town was ſtrong enough to hold out if they uſed diſpatch, but was by no means in a condition to ſuſtain a long ſiege. *Scipio* was then at *Lariſſa*, and *Pompey* had not yet entered *Theſſaly*. *Cæſar*, after fortifying his camp and preparing every thing for a ſudden attack, called his ſoldiers together, and repreſented to them, "of what conſequence "it was to make themſelves maſters of an opulent city, abounding in "all ſorts of commodities, and, by the terror of whoſe puniſhment, "other States would be awed into ſubmiſſion: And this muſt be done "before any ſuccours could arrive." His ſoldiers having ſhewed an uncommon ardour, he led them on to the aſſault at three in the afternoon, and was maſter of it before ſun-ſet. After giving it up to be plundered by his ſoldiers, he marched on to *Metropolis*, where he arrived before the inhabitants were appriſed of the diſaſter of their neighbours. The *Metropolitans* propoſed at firſt to ſtand upon their defence, but, being made acquainted with the fate of *Gomphi*, they

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opened their gates, and *Cæſar* ſuffered no harm to be done them. The other States of *Theſſaly*, obſerving the different fates of theſe two cities, readily ſubmitted; except *Lariſſa*, which was awed by *Scipio*'s legions. *Cæſar* now reſolved to encamp, and wait for *Pompey*. For this purpoſe he pitched upon a convenient ſpot near a town called *Pharſalus:* And the adjacent country being good, and covered with corn, which was now almoſt ripe [t], he thought it a proper ſituation for the theatre of war, and for determining his quarrel with his rival.

Pompey came ſoon into *Theſſaly*, and, joining *Scipio*'s legions with his own in one camp, he firſt thanked his own men for their late important ſervices, and then exhorted *Scipio*'s troops to claim their ſhare of the booty to which his late victory had intitled them. He divided all the honours of command with *Scipio*, ordering a prætorian tent to be prepared for him, and the trumpets to attend him. This increaſe of ſtrength, by the union of two powerful armies, raiſed to ſuch a height the preſumption of his followers, and their aſſurance of victory, that now all delays were conſidered in no other light, than as an odious hindrance of their return into *Italy:* Inſomuch that, if *Pompey* on any occaſion acted with ſlowneſs and circumſpection, they complained, "that he induſtriouſly protracted the war, which could eaſily be "brought to a concluſion in one day, in the view of gratifying his am-"bition for command, and keeping in his dependence ſuch a number "of conſular and prætorian Senators." They began to contend with one another about the dignities and prieſthoods of the State, and diſpoſed of the conſulſhip for ſeveral years. They even ſued for the houſes and eſtates of thoſe who followed *Cæſar*'s party: And a warm debate aroſe in Council, whether *L. Hirrus*, whom *Pompey* had ſent Ambaſſador to the *Parthians*, ſhould be allowed, in the next election for Prætors, to ſtand a candidate for that office in his abſence. His friends implored *Pompey* to make good the promiſe he had made him at his departure, and not ſuffer him to be deceived by depending on his honour; while ſuch as aſpired to this office complained publicly that a promiſe ſhould be made to any one candidate, when all were embarked in the ſame cauſe, and ſhared the like dangers. Great was the competition,

[t] This circumſtance determines nearly the time of the *Julian* year when *Cæſar* ſat down in *Theſſaly*, and that of the battle of *Pharſalia*, which was about a month after: And, as we know the day of the *Roman* year when this ſaid battle was fought, it ſerves to determine the relation of the *Roman* with the *Julian* year. In a diſcourſe of M. *de la Nauze*, printed in the 26th vol. of the *Memoires de Litterature*, of the Royal Academy of *Paris*, we find the following note: "M. "l'Abbe *Belley* a depuis communiqué, à "l'auteur de ce memoire, l'extrait ſuivant "d'une lettre écrite à M. *Pellerin* par M. "*de Clairambault*, Conſul de France a *Sa-*"*lonique*, en date du 4 *Janvier*, 1755: *Sui-*"*vant les informations que j'ai demandées en* "THESSALIE, *& ſuivant ce que m'en on* "*rapporté ici les gens de ce pays-la, la moiſſon* "*s'y fait dans le mois de Juin*; *& du côté de* "LARISSA *& de* Tricala, *c'eſt dès les pri-*"*miers jours de Juin*; *& du côté de* Jannina "*& des environs, ce n'eſt que du* 15 *au* 20 "*du même mois.*"

and not without perſonal abuſe between *Lentulus Spinther*, *L. Domitius*, and *Scipio*, about the High-prieſthood, with which *Cæſar* was inveſted; the firſt pleading his age, the ſecond his dignity, and intereſt in the city, the third his alliance with *Pompey*. *Attius Rufus* impeached *Afranius* before his General, charging him with being the cauſe of the loſs of the army in *Spain*. *L. Domitius* moved in Council, that, after *Cæſar*'s deſtruction, a commiſſion of the Senators in *Pompey*'s camp ſhould be impowered to pronounce judgment upon thoſe who had either ſtaid in *Italy*, or, after removing to countries under *Pompey*'s command, had taken no ſhare in the war; and that three billets ſhould be given to theſe judges, one for acquittal, one for condemnation, and a third for a pecuniary fine. Thus every one's thoughts were employed on the honours and profit he was to ſhare, or the vengeance he hoped to inflict upon his enemies: But no one conſidered by what methods the victory was to be obtained, looking now upon *Cæſar* as a certain and eaſy conqueſt. This account of the behaviour of the *Pompeian* Chiefs is not only given by *Cæſar*, but by all the other hiſtorians; and well might *Cicero* conceive the greateſt diſguſt for the company he was engaged with [u]. There is one circumſtance ſuggeſted to us by *Cicero*

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[u] We have *Cicero*'s account of things in a letter to *M. Marius*, written in the year 707: "I reſolved to ſacrifice all conſidera- "tions of perſonal ſafety to the dictates of "my honour: And accordingly I joined "*Pompey* in *Greece*. But I no ſooner arrived "in his army, than I had occaſion to repent "of my reſolution; not ſo much from the "danger to which I was myſelf expoſed, as "from the many capital faults I diſcovered "among them: In the firſt place, *Pom-* "*pey*'s forces were neither very conſiderable "in point of numbers," [at the battle of *Pharſalia*, they were more than double of thoſe of *Cæſar*] "nor by any means com- "poſed of warlike troops; and, in the "next place, excepting *Pompey* himſelf, and "a few others of the principal Leaders, they "carried on the war with ſuch a ſpirit of ra- "paciouſneſs, and breathed ſuch principles "of cruelty in their converſation, that I "could not think even upon our ſucceſs "without horror. To this I muſt add, that "ſome of our moſt dignified men were "deeply involved in debt; and, in ſhort, "there was nothing good among them but "their cauſe. Thus, deſpairing of ſucceſs, "I adviſed (what indeed I had always re- "commended) that propoſals of accommo- "dation ſhould be offered to *Cæſar*; and, "when I found *Pompey* utterly averſe to all "meaſures of that kind, I endeavoured to per- "ſuade him at leaſt to avoid a general battle. "This laſt advice he ſeemed ſometimes in- "clined to follow; and, probably, would "have followed, if a certain engagement, "in which his troops behaved bravely, and "he gained the victory, had not given him "too great a confidence in them. From that "moment, all the ſkill and conduct of this "great man ſeem to have forſaken him: "And he acted ſo little like a General, "that, with a raw and unexperienced "army," [he had at *Pharſalia* 11 legions of *Roman* citizens, of which 8 were made up of veterans] "he imprudently gave battle "to the moſt brave and martial legions. "The conſequence was, that he ſuffered a "moſt ſhameful defeat; and, abandoning "his camp to *Cæſar*, he was obliged to run "away unaccompanied even with a ſingle "attendant." *Ad. Fam.* vii. 3. *Melm.* viii. 1. It is certain, therefore, that *Pompey* was not driven, as *Dr. Middleton* puts it, by a ſenſe of ſhame, and againſt his judgment, to the experiment of a deciſive action: *Pompeius, longe diverſa aliis ſuadentibus (quorum plerique hortabantur, ut in Italiam tranſmitteret: Alii, ut bellum traheret, quod dignatione partium in dies ipſis magis proſperum fieret) uſus impetu ſuo hoſtem ſecutus eſt. Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. 52.

which

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which had the greateſt influence in determining *Pompey*'s conduct at this time, his ſuperſtitious regard to *omens, and the admonitions of diviners*; to which *his nature was ſtrongly addicted.* The Haruſpices were all on his ſide, and flattered him with every thing that was proſperous; and, beſides thoſe in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at *Rome* were ſending him perpetual accounts of the fortunate and auſpicious ſignifications which they had obſerved in the entrails of their victims. [x]

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

The two armies were now in ſight of each other; and *Cæſar*, having provided for the ſubſiſtence of his troops, and given them ſome days reſt, thought it time to make a trial how *Pompey* ſtood affected to a general engagement. Accordingly, he drew out all his forces in order of battle, but firſt near his camp, and at a good diſtance from *Pompey*'s; and each day he drew nearer and nearer to him; inſpiring his men by this conduct with freſh courage, and a contempt of an army that dared not to leave the heights where they were incamped. His cavalry being much inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, he followed a method he had formerly put in practice with ſucceſs to ſtrengthen them. He ſingled out the ſtouteſt and nimbleſt of his foot ſoldiers, and accuſtomed them to fight within the ranks of the horſe; who were thereby ſo much emboldened, that, though but a thouſand in number, they would upon occaſion ſuſtain the charge of *Pompey*'s ſeven thouſand; and in one ſkirmiſh they had actually the advantage, and killed *Ægus*, one of the *Allobrogian* brothers.

Pompey, who was come to *Pharſalia* with a firm reſolution to give battle, drew up his army at the foot of the mountain, upon which his camp ſtood; preſuming, that ſuch was *Cæſar*'s eagerneſs and temerity, that he would venture to fight him in that diſadvantageous ſituation. This *Cæſar* would in no manner conſent to; and, deſpairing to draw his adverſary to battle on equal terms, he determined to move his camp, and to be always upon the march; in hopes, that, by frequently ſhifting his ground, he might the better be ſupplied with proviſions, harraſs his enemy leſs uſed to fatigue, and find an opportunity of forcing them to a general action. But, juſt as the order for marching was given, *Cæſar* perceived that *Pompey* had quitted his intrenchments, and advanced farther than uſual with his army in array, on a ſpot where he could engage them without diſadvantage: And, turning to his ſoldiers, "let us no longer, ſaid he, think of marching; now is the time "for fighting, ſo long wiſhed for; let us, therefore, arm ourſelves with "courage, and not miſs ſo favourable an opportunity." Upon this, he immediately drew out his forces. *Pompey*'s real deſign was to draw on a bat-

[x] Hoc civili bello, Dii immortales!—quæ nobis in Græciam Româ reſponſa Haruſpicum miſſa ſunt? quæ dicta Pompeio?—etenim ille admodum extis et oſtentis movebatur. *De Div.* ii 24.

a battle: He had taken his reſolution, and, in a Council of war held two days before, he had declared, "that *Cæſar*'s army would be defeated before the infantry came to engage." And when ſome expreſſed their ſurpriſe at this ſpeech: "I know, ſaid he, that what I promiſe appears almoſt incredible; but hear the reaſons on which I ground my confidence, that you may advance to battle with the greater aſſurance. I have engaged the cavalry to promiſe, that, as ſoon as the armies draw near, they ſhall fall upon *Cæſar*'s right wing; and, taking it in flank and rear, force it to recoil in confuſion upon the main body, and thus throw the whole army into diſorder before we have launched a dart. In this manner we ſhall obtain a complete victory without expoſing the legions to any peril; nor can there be any difficulty in the deſign, ſince we are ſo much ſuperior to them in cavalry." He warned them at the ſame time "to be in readineſs for battle; and that, ſince permiſſion to fight the enemy, which they had ſo often demanded, was now granted them, to anſwer by their valour the expectation every one had conceived of them." *Labienus* highly applauded this ſcheme; and, expreſſing the greateſt contempt for *Cæſar*'s army, which he aſſured them was almoſt intirely made up of new levies, raiſed in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and eſpecially in the colonies beyond the *Po*, he took an oath, which he proffered to all thoſe that were preſent, never to return again to their camp, unleſs victorious. After theſe ſolemn engagements, they ſeparated, full of joy and expectation, aſſuring themſelves of victory; and relying intirely on the ability of their General, who, in an affair of that importance, would promiſe nothing, they were confident, without a certainty of ſucceſs. Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

The two armies were drawn up in the following manner: *Pompey*, placed in his left wing, where he deſigned to command in perſon, the two legions taken from *Cæſar* in the beginning of the quarrel by a decree of the Senate. *Scipio* was in the center, with the legions he had brought out of *Syria*; and the *Cilician* legion, joined to the *Spaniſh* cohorts brought over by *Afranius*, formed the right wing. Theſe *Pompey* eſteemed his beſt troops. The reſt of his forces he diſtributed between the wings and the main body. He had in all forty-five thouſand men, beſides two cohorts of volunteers, who had ſerved under him in his former wars; and who, out of affection to their old General, though their legal time was expired, flocked to his ſtandard on this occaſion, and were diſperſed by him in different quarters of his army. His other ſeven cohorts were left to guard the camp and the adjoining forts. The *Enipeus* covered his right wing; and, on that account, he placed all the horſe with the archers and ſlingers in the left. *Cæſar*, obſerving his ancient cuſtom, placed the tenth legion in the right, and the ninth in the left wing; and, as this laſt was conſiderably weakened by the ſeveral actions at *Dyrrhachium*, he joined the eighth to it in ſuch a manner, that they formed as it were but one legion, and had orders mutually

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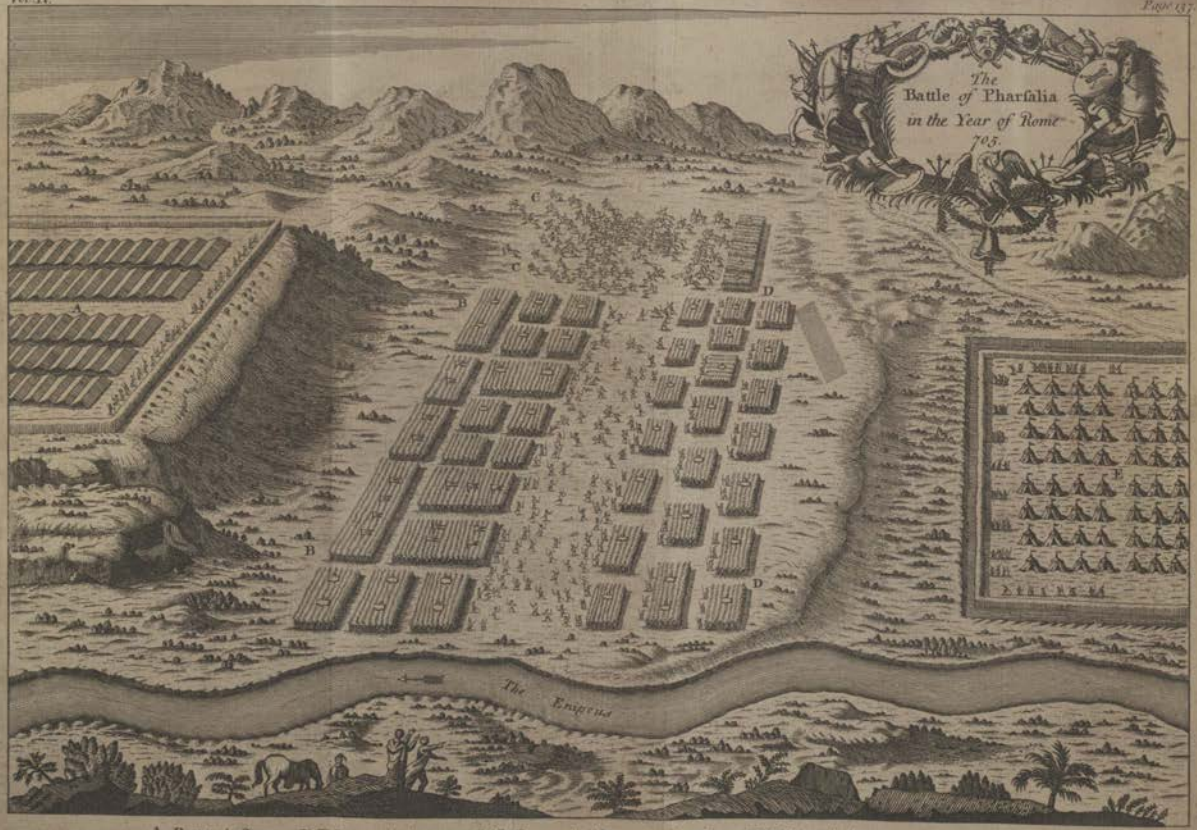
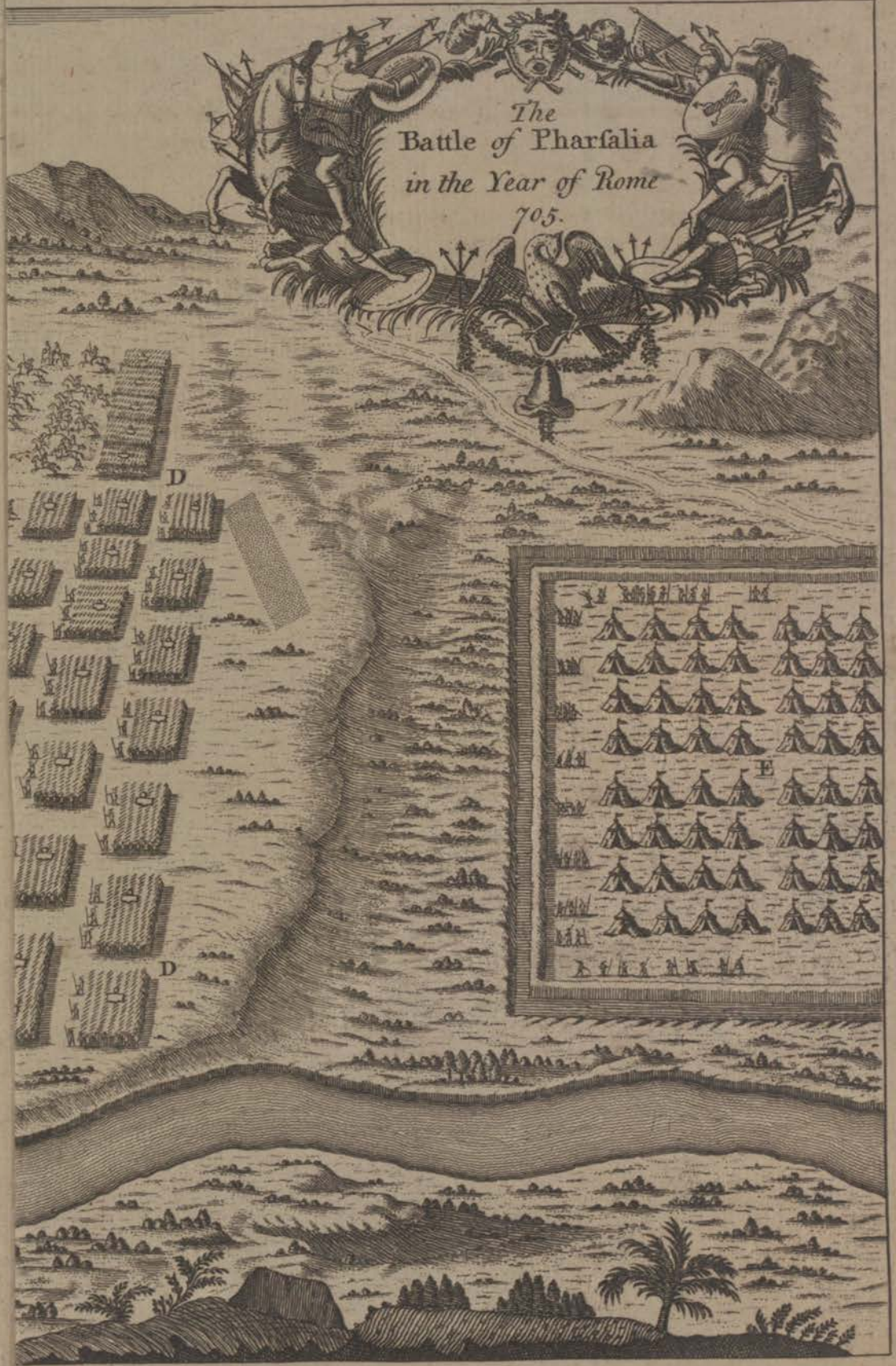
ally to ſuccour each other. His whole army amounted to fourſcore cohorts, making in all twenty-two thouſand men; beſides two cohorts left to guard the camp. *Domitius Calvinus* was in the center, *M. Antony* in the left wing, and *P. Sylla* in the right. *Cæſar* himſelf took his poſt oppoſite to *Pompey*, at the head of the tenth legion; and, as he had obſerved that the diſpoſition of the enemy was contrived to out-flank his right wing, to obviate that inconveniency, he made a draught of ſix cohorts from his rear line, formed them into a ſeparate body, and oppoſed them to *Pompey*'s horſe, inſtructing them in the part they were to act, and admoniſhing them, that the ſucceſs of that day would depend chiefly on their courage. At the ſame time he charged the whole army, and particularly the third line, not to advance to battle without orders; which, when he ſaw it proper, he would give by making the uſual ſignal. In his harangue to them before the battle, after reminding them of the many favours received at his hands, he chiefly inſiſted "on the injuſtice and obſtinacy of his enemies, who had forced him to "enter upon this war, and to proſecute it againſt his will. They "themſelves, he told them, had been witneſſes of his earneſt endea-"vours after peace, and that he had left nothing unattempted to avoid "waſting the blood of his ſoldiers, and to ſpare the Commonwealth the "loſs of her armies." After his ſpeech, obſerving the ardour of his ſoldiers for the fight, he ordered the trumpets to ſound the charge. Among the ſoldiers in *Cæſar*'s army was one *Creſtinus*, a man of diſtinguiſhed courage, who, the year before, had been firſt Centurion of the tenth legion. This brave officer, as ſoon as the ſignal was given, called out to thoſe next him, "Follow me, you that were formerly under my com-"mand, and acquit yourſelves of the duty you owe to your General. "This one battle will reſtore him to his proper dignity, and us to the "enjoyment of our freedom." At the ſame, turning to *Cæſar*, "Ge-"neral, ſays he, this day you ſhall be ſatisfied with my behaviour; and, "whether I live or die, I will deſerve your commendations." So ſaying, he marched up to the enemy, and began the attack with an hundred and twenty ſelect men, who followed him.

Between the two armies there was ſpace enough for them to move forwards upon one another, and form a ſhock, as is uſual: But *Pompey* had given his troops orders to keep their ground, that *Cæſar*'s troops might have all the way to make. In this, he is ſaid to have been directed by the advice of *Triarius*, that the enemy's ranks might be diſordered, and the ſoldiers put out of breath, by having ſo far to run. It was alſo thought, that the enemy's javelins would have leſs effect upon his troops at reſt, than if they ſprung forward to meet them. "But herein, ſays *Cæſar*, he ſeems to have acted contrary to reaſon; be-"cauſe there is a certain alacrity and ardour of mind naturally planted "in every man, which is inflamed by the deſire of fighting, and which "an able General, far from repreſſing, will, by all the methods he can de-

viſe,



A. *Pompey's Camp.* B.B. *Pompey's Army.* C.C. *Pompey's Horse in disorder.* D.D. *Cæsar's Army.* E. *Cæsar's Camp.*



disorder. D.D. *Cæsar's Army.* E. *Cæsar's Camp.*

"vise, foment and cherish: Nor was it a vain institution of our an- Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.
"ceſtors, that the trumpets ſhould ſound on every ſide; and that the
"whole army ſhould raiſe a ſhout, in order to animate the courage of
"their own men, and ſtrike a terror into the enemy." However, *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers entirely defeated *Pompey*'s hopes by their good diſcipline and experience: For, perceiving the enemy did not ſtir, they halted of their own accord, in the midſt of their career; and, having taken a moment's breath, put themſelves a ſecond time in motion, marched up in good order, flung their javelins, and then, as *Cæſar* had ordered, betook themſelves to their ſwords. Nor did *Pompey*'s men act with leſs preſence of mind; for they bravely ſuſtained their attack; and, having launched their javelins, immediately had alſo recourſe to their ſwords. At this inſtant, *Pompey*'s horſe, ſupported by the archers and flingers, attacked *Cæſar*'s; and, having compelled them to give ground, began to extend themſelves in order to flank the infantry. Whereupon *Cæſar* gave the ſignal to the ſix cohorts, who fell on *Pompey*'s cavalry with ſuch fury, that they not only drove them from the field of battle, but even forced them to take refuge in the mountains. It is reported by ſome hiſtorians, that *Cæſar* ordered his Florus, lib. iv. c. 2.
ſoldiers to aim at the faces of the enemy; and that this contrivance ſerved much to diſorder the nice and effeminate Knights, who could not bear the thoughts of being diſfigured. He himſelf, however, has not mentioned this ſtratagem. The archers and flingers, deprived of the protection of the horſe, were ſoon cut to pieces. The ſame cohorts, having thus driven the cavalry entirely out of the field, turned upon the enemy's left wing, and began to charge it in the rear. *Cæſar* at the ſame time brought up his third line, which had not been engaged. The left wing of the enemy, thus attacked in front by freſh troops, and in the rear by the victorious cohorts, made but a faint reſiſtance, and fled to their camp. *Pompey*, upon ſeeing that part of his army, on which he chiefly depended, put into diſorder, deſpaired of being able to reſtore the battle, had retired from the field to wait the event in his tent. *Cæſar*, tho' the battle laſted till noon, and the weather was exceſſively hot, yet, encouraging his ſoldiers, led them on, notwithſtanding their fatigue, to attack the intrenchments of the vanquiſhed. The camp was bravely defended by the cohorts left for its guard, and particularly by a body of *Thracians* and other barbarians. The ſoldiers who had fled from the battle were in too great a conſternation to think of any thing but of making their eſcape. Theſe freſh troops were overpowered however, driven from the rampart, and forced to fly to the neighbouring mountains.

Pompey, perceiving that all was loſt, and that his intrenchments were forced, quitting his military dreſs for a habit more ſuitable to his ill fortune, mounted his horſe, and, withdrawing by the Decuman gate, rode full ſpeed to *Lariſſa*. He would not enter the town, Dio.

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though invited by the citizens, that he might not expoſe them to the reſentment of *Cæſar*: But, having called for what he wanted, he adviſed them to ſubmit to the conqueror. Thence, continuing his flight day and night, without intermiſſion, he arrived on the ſea-ſide with thirty horſe, and went on board a ſhip of burden; often complaining "that "he had been ſo far deceived in his opinion of his followers, as to ſee "thoſe very men, from whom he expected victory, the firſt to fly, and "betray him to his enemies." His camp ſhewed how little he and his followers dreamed of the iſſue of that day. The tents of the Grandees were adorned with branches of myrtle, and ſhaded with ivy; the tables were found covered, the ſide-boards loaded with plate; and, in a word, every thing gave proofs of the higheſt luxury, and the greateſt aſſurance of victory.

Cæſar, not thinking his victory yet complete, earneſtly intreated his ſoldiers to form a line of circumvallation round the mountain, whither a part of the conquered army had retired. But the *Pompeians* quickly abandoned a poſt which for want of water was not tenable, and endeavoured to reach the city of *Lariſſa*: Whereupon *Cæſar*, dividing his army, left one part to guard *Pompey*'s camp, ſent back another to his own, and, with four legions, taking a nearer road than that by which the enemy paſſed, he found means to intercept them, and after ſix miles march drew up in order of battle. However, the vanquiſhed troops once more found protection from a mountain, at the foot of which ran a rivulet. Though *Cæſar*'s men were greatly fatigued by fighting the whole day, yet before night they flung up ſome works which were ſufficient to prevent the enemy from having any communication with the rivulet: Who, by this ſtep, being cut off from all hopes of relief, or of making good their retreat, ſent Deputies to treat of a ſurrendry. Affairs continued in this ſituation all that night, and ſome Senators took the occaſion to make their eſcape. At break of day they came down into the plain, and delivered up their arms; humbly imploring *Cæſar*'s goodneſs, and ſuing for mercy. He not only granted them readily their lives, but ſpoke to them with the greateſt humanity, and gave ſtrict orders that nothing ſhould be taken from them. He then ſent for the legions that had paſſed the night in the camp, to relieve thoſe he had employed in the purſuit: And, being determined to follow *Pompey*, he began his march, and arrived the ſame day at *Lariſſa*. Thus *Cæſar*, by his admirable ſkill, and the indefatigable induſtry of his ſoldiers, obtained the moſt complete and important victory. According to his own account, he loſt but two hundred men,[y] with thirty Centurions. To the body of *Craſtinus*, who had been killed in the beginning of the engagement, he ordered particular honours to be paid. On *Pompey*'s ſide there fell

[y] *Plutarch* and *Appian* ſay twelve hundred.

fifteen thouſand; of whom the greateſt number were ſervants, and thoſe who guarded the tents; only ſix thouſand ſoldiers were killed, ten Senators and forty Knights. Upwards of twenty-four thouſand were made priſoners; for the cohorts that garriſoned the forts ſurrendered to *Sylla*. One hundred and eighty colours and nine eagles were taken. *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, that mortal enemy to *Cæſar*, was overtaken in his flight, and put to death.[z] *Dio* relates, that *Cæſar* cauſed all thoſe to be ſlain, who, having been once pardoned, had a ſecond time carried arms againſt him. But this circumſtance may well be doubted, ſince all the hiſtorians are unanimous in extolling his clemency both in the battle, and after it.[a] As ſoon as he ſaw his enemies defeated, he cried to his ſoldiers *to ſpare the blood of their fellow-citizens.* Upon viewing the field of battle, he ſaid with a ſigh: *They have forced me to this ſad neceſſity. Cæſar muſt have ſought the aſſiſtance of his ſoldiers, or muſt have periſhed.* He generouſly pardoned all thoſe he had made priſoners: And *Pliny* and *Seneca* have obſerved that, having found in *Pompey*'s tent a great many letters from ſeveral great men, in which, undoubtedly, they had expreſſed in the warmeſt manner their zeal for his party, he inſtantly gave orders to burn them. "Although," ſays the laſt of theſe writers, "he was perfectly moderate in his anger, yet "he rather choſe to put it out of his power to reſent ſuch injuries, "and thought that the moſt obliging manner of pardoning was to be "ignorant of the nature of the offence." *Dio* himſelf tells us, that he pardoned all the Kings and States who had aſſiſted *Pompey*, and demanded nothing more of them than a ſum of money; and, conſidering, adds the hiſtorian, that he himſelf was little known to them, and that they were under many and great obligations to *Pompey*, he had more regard for thoſe who had appeared in arms, than for the others who had deſerted their benefactor. To the *Athenians*, who ſent Deputies to him to ſollicit their pardon, he granted it, with this reproach: "How long, having merited death by your degeneracy, will you owe "your ſafety to the glory of your anceſtors?"

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

Plut. in Pomp.

Suet. in Cæſ.

Pliny, l vii. c. 25 Sen. de Ira, ii. 23.

This famous battle was fought on the *9th of Auguſt*,[b] as appears by

T 2 an

[z] *Cicero, Philip.* ii. *c.* 29, accuſes *Antony* of having killed *Domitius*, and ſome others whom *Cæſar* probably would have ſpared: *Fueras in acie Pharſalica anteſignanus: L. Domitium, nobiliſſimum et clariſſimum virum, occideras: Multos, qui de prælio effugerant, quos Cæſar, ut nonnullos, fortaſſe ſervaſſet, crudeliſſime perſecutus trucidaras.* He commanded, probably, the forces ſent after the runaways.

[a] Illud notandum eſt: Ut primum *C. Cæſar* inclinatam vidit Pompeianorum aciem: Neque prius, neque antiquius quidquam habuit, quam omnes partes (militari et verbo et conſuetudine utar) dimitteret. Proh Dii immortales, quod hujus voluntatis erga Brutum ſuæ poſtea vir tam mitis pretium tulit! Nihil illa victoria mirabilius, magnificentius, clarius fuit; quando neminem, niſi acie conſumptum, civem patria deſideravit. *Vell. Pat.* l. ii. c. 52.

[b] The *9th of Auguſt* of the *Roman* year, according to Primate *Uſher*, correſponded with the *6th of June* of the *Julian*; but the bat-

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an inſcription produced by the learned *Muratori*; a circumſtance unknown in *Lucan*'s time.

The news of *Pompey*'s defeat was brought to *Dyrrhachium* by *Labienus*, who eſcaped thither with the *Gallic* and *German* horſe. *Cato* had been left Governor of the town with fifteen cohorts, and with him were *Cicero*, the learned *Varro*, and ſome other Senators. They all, immediately, in the greateſt conſternation, got on board the ſhips in the port with their troops, and repaired to the iſland of *Corcyra*, which was the general rendezvous of *Pompey*'s followers. *D. Lælius* brought there his fleet from before *Brunduſium*, where he was attempting to block up the port: *C. Caſſius*, who had juſt burned two of *Cæſar*'s fleets, one of thirty-five ſail at *Meſſana*, commanded by *M. Pomponius*, and another at *Vibo*, under the orders of *P. Sulpitius*, conſiſting of five gallies, arrived there with the *Syrian*, *Phœnician*, and *Cilician* ſquadrons from *Sicily*; and thither alſo *Octavius* brought the ſhips under his command. Young *Pompey* and *Coponius* had been deſerted by their forces, and arrived without them. Here a general Council was held, and we are told by *Plutarch*, that *Cato* offered the command of his cohorts to *Cicero*, as the ſuperior in dignity; and that, upon his refuſal and declaration, that he would join no longer in the war, young *Pompey* was ſo enraged, that he drew his ſword, and would have killed him, if *Cato* had not interpoſed [c]. There was no ſcheme agreed

Inſcrip. tom. i. p. 150 and 305.

Cæſar de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Plut. in Cat. et Cic.

battle, I ſhould think, was fought later in the year. *Cæſar* encamped in the plains of *Pharſalia*, when the corn was almoſt ripe, *quæ prope jam matura erat*: It was therefore in the end of *May*, or beginning of *June*, of the *Julian* year. *Pompey* followed him a few days after, *paucis poſt diebus*, but was in no haſte to give him battle. *Cæſar* had time to exerciſe his troops, to teach his light-armed ſoldiers to fight among the cavalry, and to raiſe the ſpirit and courage of his men, by ſending them daily to offer battle to the enemy, *continentibus diebus*. There were ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between parties detached from the two armies. *Appian* and *Lucan* both tell us, that, before the battle, *Cæſar*'s troops had been ſent out to gather corn: And, in fine, *Cæſar* deſpairing to draw *Pompey* to an engagement, was preparing to march to another place; and one of his reaſons was, the better to ſupply his army with proviſions. So that we cannot allow leſs than a month between *Cæſar*'s arrival in *Theſſaly* and the battle. Now, the harveſt in that country, as has been remarked above, does not come on before the beginning of *June* at *Lariſſa*, and the 15*th* or 20*th* at *Jannina*. The 9*th* of *Auguſt*, of the *Roman* year, muſt, therefore, have correſponded with the end, or 29*th* of *June* of the *Julian* year: And thus the battle was given a few days after the harveſt; which agrees with *Plutarch*, who tells us, that it was fought in the greateſt heat of ſummer; and with *Suetonius*, who ſays, that *Cæſar* beſieged *Pompey* four months at *Dyrrhachium*, which he did not begin to do till the end of winter, when *Antony* brought him the remainder of his army.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

[c] It appears, that *Cicero* had at this time great reaſon to complain of his party. "I cannot" ſays he to *Atticus*, "without the "deepeſt ſorrow, inform you what bitter, "what heavy, what extraordinary motives "have forced me to yield rather to a ſudden "impulſe of paſſion, than the counſel of "my reaſon: Theſe motives are ſuch, that "they have induced me to act as you ſee." *Ad Att.* x. 5. In a letter to *Terentia*, he makes the ſame complaint. *Ep. Fam.* xiv. 12. *Melm.* vii. 23. "May the joy you "expreſs at my ſafe arrival in *Italy* be never "interrupted! but my mind was ſo much "diſcompoſed by thoſe atrocious injuries I "had

agreed upon, and all diſperſed themſelves ſeverally, as their hopes and inclinations led them. *Cicero* went ſtraight to *Brunduſium*, committing himſelf to the mercy of the conqueror. Many retired into *Achaia*, to wait there the farther iſſue of things, and take ſuch methods as fortune offered. *M. Marcellus* went to *Mytilene*: *Cæcilius Baſſus*, a Roman Knight, who acted a conſiderable part after *Cæſar*'s death, and *Libo*, hid themſelves in *Tyre*. *Scipio*, *Labienus*, and many others, who had acted more violently againſt *Cæſar*, reſolved at all events to renew the war, and ſailed for *Africa*, to join *Varus* and King *Juba*. *Octavius* ſailed with the *Liburnian* fleet to *Illyricum*, where he made war, as ſhall be related hereafter, with various fortune. Young *Pompey* and *Cato* followed the unfortunate General. *C. Caſſius* ſailed to *Cilicia*, where he waited *Cæſar*'s arrival in a bay at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, and there delivered up his fleet. [d] *Plutarch* tells us, that *M. Brutus*, ſeeing *Pom-*

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" had received, that I have taken a ſtep, I " fear, which may be attended with great " difficulties."

[d] *Cicero*, *Philip.* ii. 11, tells us, that he lay there in wait for *Cæſar*, with a reſolution to deſtroy him; which he would have effected, if *Cæſar* had not landed on the oppoſite ſhore, where he was not expected, and had not determined to land. This, however, it is thought, is a weak apology for *Caſſius*; and the real motives of his conduct at this time are explained to us in a letter of *Cicero* to him, written in the year 706. *Ep. Fam.* xv. 15. *Melm.* vii. 36. " It was the hope, that peace would be re- " ſtored to our country, and the abhorrence " of ſpilling the blood of our fellow citi- " zens, that equally induced both you and " myſelf to decline an obſtinate perſeve- " rance in the civil war. But, though " theſe ſentiments were common to us both, " yet, as I am conſidered as having been " the firſt to inſpire you with them, it is " more my part, perhaps, to render you ſa- " tisfied with having adopted them, than it " is yours to perform the ſame friendly " office towards me. But, to ſay the truth, " (and it is a circumſtance upon which I " frequently reflect) *we mutually convinced* " *each other*, in the free converſations we " held upon this ſubject, that a ſingle bat- " tle, if it ſhould not wholly determine our " cauſe, ought to be the limits however of " our particular oppoſition. And theſe ſen- " timents have never ſeriouſly been con- " demned by any, but by thoſe alone who " think it more eligible that our conſtitu- " tion ſhould be totally deſtroyed, than in " any degree impaired. But my opinion " was far otherwiſe: For I had no views to " gratify by its extinction, and had much " to hope from its remains. As to the " conſequences which have ſince enſued, " they lay far beyond the reach of human " diſcernment; and the wonder is, not ſo " much how they eſcaped our penetration, " as how it was poſſible they ſhould have " happened. I muſt confeſs, my own opi- " nion always was, that the battle of *Phar-* " *ſalia* would be deciſive; and I imagined " that the victors would act with a regard " to the common preſervation of all, and " the vanquiſhed to their own. But both " the one and the other, I was well aware, " depended on the expedition with which " the conquerors would purſue their ſuc- " ceſs. And, had they purſued immediately, " thoſe who have ſince carried the war into " *Africa*, would have experienced (and ex- " perienced too, if I do not flatter myſelf, " by my interceſſion *) the ſame clemency " with which the reſt of our party have " been treated, who retired into *Aſia* and " *Achaia*. But the critical opportunity " (that ſeaſon ſo important in all tranſac- " tions, and eſpecially in a civil war) was " un-

* It appears, by this flow of ſpirits, that this letter was written after *Cicero* had been comforted by *Cæſar*, and his terrors diſpelled by the aſſurance of his pardon, in the kindeſt terms: And what follows ſhews it to have been penned before *Cæſar*'s return into *Italy*.

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Pompey's camp forced, ſtole out of one of the gates, and hid himſelf in a moraſs covered with reeds; from whence, having got ſafe in the night to *Lariſſa*, he wrote immediately to *Cæſar*, who not only forgave him, but treated him with the greateſt affection. Even before the battle *Cæſar* had given particular orders, not to kill him on any account; and to make him priſoner, in caſe he was willing to ſurrender: but, if he refuſed, to let him go.

Cæſar de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Pompey ſailed firſt to *Amphipolis*, where he iſſued a proclamation, enjoining all the youth of the province, whether *Greeks* or *Romans*, to join him in arms: This he did, either with a deſign to keep footing in *Macedonia*, or to conceal his real intention of retreating much further. He lay one night at anchor, ſending to his friends in the town, and raiſing all the money he poſſibly could: But, being informed of *Cæſar*'s approach, he departed, and ſailed for *Mitylene*, where he had left his wife *Cornelia* [e]. Here he was detained two days by the badneſs of

" unhappily loſt: And, a whole year inter-
" vening, it raiſed the ſpirits of ſome of our
" party to hope they might recover the vic-
" tory; and rendered others ſo deſperate
" as not to dread the reverſe. Fortune,
" however, muſt be anſwerable for the
" whole train of evils which this delay has
" produced. For who could have ima-
" gined, either that the *Alexandrine* war
" could have been drawn out to ſo great a
" length, or that the paltry *Pharnaces*
" could have ſtruck ſuch a terror through-
" out *Aſia*. But, though we both acted by
" the ſame meaſures, our preſent ſituations,
" however, are extremely different. *The*
" *ſcheme which you thought proper to execute*
" *has given you admiſſion into* Cæſar's *coun-*
" *cils*, and opened a proſpect to you of his
" future purpoſes:" [this ſcheme muſt be the deſertion of the *Pompeian* party, and the ſurrendry of the fleet to *Cæſar*] " an advan-
" tage, moſt certainly, that muſt ſpare you
" all the uneaſineſs which attends a ſtate of
" doubt and ſuſpence. Whereas, for my-
" ſelf, as I imagined that *Cæſar* would, im-
" mediately after the battle of *Pharſalia*,
" have returned into *Italy*, I haſtened thi-
" ther, in order to encourage and improve
" that pacific diſpoſition which he had diſ-
" covered, by his generoſity to ſo many of
" his illuſtrious enemies: By which means,
" I have ever ſince been ſeparated from
" him by an immenſe diſtance. Here, in
" truth, I ſit, the ſad witneſs of thoſe com-
" plaints that are poured forth in *Rome*,
" and throughout all *Italy*: Complaints
" which both you and I, according to our
" reſpective powers, might contribute ſome-
" what to remove, if *Cæſar* were preſent to
" ſupport us. I intreat you, then, to com-
" municate to me, agreeably to your won-
" ted friendſhip, all you obſerve and think
" concerning the preſent ſtate of affairs: In
" a word, that you would inform me what
" we are to expect, and how you would ad-
" viſe me to act. Be aſſured I ſhall lay
" great ſtreſs upon your ſentiments: And,
" had I wiſely followed thoſe you gave me
" in your firſt letter from *Luceria*, I might,
" without difficulty, have ſtill preſerved my
" dignities."

[e] *Plutarch in Pomp.* is very diffuſe in deſcribing this Lady's diſappointment and inexpreſſible grief: She bitterly complained of her ill deſtiny, which allied her to *Craſſus* firſt, and afterwards to *Pompey*, only to cauſe the ruin of two illuſtrious families. The ſame writer tells us, that the Stoic philoſopher *Cratippus* came to pay his compliments in *Mitylene* to *Pompey*, and that *Pompey* could not refrain from complaining to him of the diſpenſations of Providence. The philoſopher declined, through politeneſs and humanity, to enter upon the ſubject: But he might have anſwered, ſays *Plutarch*, " that the diſturbed ſtate of *Rome*
" required now an abſolute monarchy, as a
" neceſſary remedy to the public diſorders."
And he might have added, " By what proof
" may we be induced to believe, that, if the
" victory had been yours, you would have
" made a better uſe of it than *Cæſar*?"

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the weather, and, having increaſed his fleet with a few gallies, he ſailed to *Cilicia* [f], and thence to *Cyprus*. In this iſland he had intelligence that the people of *Antioch* and the *Roman* citizens, who traded there, had, with joint conſent, ſeized the caſtle, and ſent Deputies to ſuch of his followers as had taken refuge in the neighbouring places, not to approach that town. *L. Lentulus*, the late Conſul, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, and ſome of the other principal men of his party, had been refuſed admittance into the iſland of *Rhodes*, and had been ordered to withdraw immediately. Theſe accounts made him lay aſide his deſign of going into *Syria*; and the money in the public bank, and borrowing as much more as he could of his friends; providing great quantities of braſs for military uſes, and raiſing two thouſand ſoldiers; he ſet ſail for *Peluſium*, to implore the aſſiſtance of *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*. This Prince, yet in his minority, was there at the head of a conſiderable army, making war againſt his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, whom he had expelled the throne, to which by her father's will ſhe had an equal right with him. *Pompey* ſent to demand his protection, and a ſafe retreat in *Alexandria*, in conſideration of the friendſhip that had ſubſiſted between him and his father. The meſſengers, after diſcharging their commiſſion, began to converſe freely with the King's troops, many of whom had ſerved formerly under *Pompey*, and had been left in *Egypt* by *Gabinius*; and they exhorted them not to deſpiſe their old General in his adverſe fortune. The King's Miniſters, who, during his minority, had the adminiſtration in their hands, either out of fear, as they afterwards pretended, that *Pompey* ſhould debauch the army, and thereby make himſelf maſter of *Alexandria* and all *Egypt*, or deſpiſing his low condition, gave a favourable reception to the Deputies in public, and invited *Pompey* to court: But diſpatched, at the ſame time *Achillas*, Captain of the King's guards, and *Septimius*, a military Tribune, with ſecret orders to murder him before he came into the King's preſence [g]. They put off from the ſhore in a ſmall bark, with a few guards, and made towards *Pompey*'s ſhip. When on board, they accoſted him with an air of frankneſs, and invited him into the boat. *Pompey*, after taking leave of *Cornelia*, ordered two Centurions,

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Plut. in Pomp. Appian. Dio.

[f] *Plutarch in Pomp.* ſays, that it was deliberated among his followers, ſince no province of the empire could afford them protection, to what foreign power it was moſt expedient to repair: That *Pompey* was ſtrongly inclined to take refuge in *Parthia*; that others adviſed him to put himſelf under the protection of *Juba*; but that *Theophanes* determined him to go to *Egypt*. See *Lucan*, l. viii.

[g] *Plutarch in Pomp.* tells us, that one *Theodotus*, Preceptor to the King, ſeeing the Council divided in their opinions concerning the reception it was proper to give *Pompey*, ſome adviſing to receive him with honour, others to order him away immediately, he maintained, "that both propoſals "were equally dangerous: That to admit "*Pompey* was making him their maſter, and "drawing upon themſelves the reſentment "of *Cæſar*: And, by not receiving him, "they offended the one without obliging "the other. That therefore the only ex- "pedient left was to let him land, and then "kill him, which would be doing *Cæſar* a "good ſervice, and ridding themſelves of "all apprehenſions on *Pompey*'s account; "*becauſe*, ſaid he, *dead dogs do not bite*."

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one of his freedmen named *Philip*, and a ſlave, to enter the boat with him; and, as *Achillas* gave him his hand to aſſiſt him in coming out of the ſhip, he turned to his wife, and repeated two verſes of *Sophocles*, ſignifying, *that whoever goes to the Court of a King becomes a ſlave from that moment.* During the paſſage from the ſhip to land, nobody ſpoke to him a ſingle word, or ſhewed the leaſt mark of friendſhip or reſpect; *Pompey* broke the ſilence, and, looking *Septimius* in the face, "methinks, "ſaid he, I remember you to have formerly ſerved under me." *Septimius* gave only a nod with his head, without uttering a word, or denoting the leaſt civility. Whereupon *Pompey* took out a ſpeech which he had prepared in *Greek* for the *Egyptian* King, and began to read it. In this manner they came near the land; and, when *Pompey* roſe to go out, *Septimius* ſtabbed him in the back, and was immediately ſeconded by *Achillas*. *Pompey*, without making any reſiſtance, or ſaying a word, covered his head with his robe, and reſigned to fate. At this ſad ſight, *Cornelia* and her attendants weighed anchor and made off to ſea. His murderers cut off his head, leaving the body on the ſhore. His freedman *Philip* ſtayed by it, and, while he was gathering up ſome pieces of a broken boat for a pile, he was thus accoſted by an old ſoldier, who had ſerved under *Pompey: Who art thou, that art making theſe ſad preparations for the funeral of Pompey the Great? Philip* anſwered him, *one of his freedmen. Thou ſhalt not*, replied he, *have all this honour to thyſelf: Let me partake in an action ſo juſt and ſacred. It will pleaſe me, amidſt the miſeries of my exile, to have touched the body, and aſſiſted at the funeral of the greateſt and nobleſt ſoldier* ROME *ever produced.* In this manner were the laſt rites performed to *Pompey* [h]. His aſhes, according to *Plutarch*, were carefully collected, and carried to *Cornelia*, who depoſited them in a vault in his *Alban* villa [i]. The *Egyptians*, however, afterwards raiſed a monu-

[h] This is *Plutarch*'s ſtory; who does not tell us what became of the two Centurions and the ſlave *Pompey* took into the boat with him. *Lucan* relates that the body was flung over-board into the ſea, and dragged out from thence in the night, and burnt by one *Cordus*, who had been *Pompey*'s Quæſtor in *Cyprus*. *Aurelius Victor de Vir Illuſtr.* calls him *Servius Codrus*.

"Now 'gan the glitt'ring ſtars to fade away,
"Before the roſy promiſe of the day,
"When the pale youth th' unfiniſh'd rites
"forſook,
"And to the covert of his cave betook.
"Ah! why thus raſhly would thy fears diſ-
"claim
"That only deed which muſt record thy
"name." *Lucan*, b. viii. v. 1065.

Aurelius Victor and *Lucan* ſay, that upon his tomb was inſcribed: *Hic ſitus eſt Magnus Pompeius.* And *Appian* has given us a *Greek* inſcription to this purpoſe: *How poor a tomb covers the man who had ſo many temples erected to his honour!*

[i] Every circumſtance relating to the end of this great man is uncertain, except what we have in *Cæſar*'s brief account. *Lucan* ſuppoſes that *Pompey*'s aſhes remained in *Egypt*:

"And thou, oh *Rome!* by whoſe forgetful
"hand
"Altars and temples rear'd to tyrants ſtand,
"Canſt thou neglect to call thy hero home,
"And leave his ghoſt in baniſhment to roam?
"What tho' the victor's frown, and thy baſe
"fear
"Bad thee, at firſt, the pious taſk forbear;
"Yet

a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of braſs, which, having been defaced by time, and buried almoſt in ſand and rubbiſh, was ſought out and reſtored by the Emperor *Adrian*. Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conf.

Such was the end of *Pompey the Great*, on the 28*th* of *April*, in the 58th year of his age. It did not ſurpriſe *Cicero*, as we find by the ſhort reflection that he makes upon it. "As to *Pompey*'s end, ſays he, I never had "any doubt about it: For the loſt and deſperate ſtate of his affairs had "ſo poſſeſſed the minds of all the Kings and States abroad, that, whi- "therſoever he went, I took it for granted that this would be his "fate [k]." How happy had it been for him to have died in that ſickneſs, Middl. p. 132. Ad Att. xi. 6.

"Yet now, at leaſt, oh! let him now re-
"turn,
"And reſt with honour in a *Roman* urn.
"Nor let miſtaken ſuperſtition dread,
"On ſuch occaſions, to diſturb the dead:
"Oh! would commanding *Rome* my hand
"employ,
"This impious taſk ſhould be perform'd with
"joy.
"How would I fly to tear him from that
"tomb,
"And bear his aſhes in my boſom home!"
B. viii. l. 114.

[k] *Cicero* adds: *I cannot, however, help grieving at it; for I knew him to be an honeſt, grave, and worthy man: Hominem enim integrum, et caſtum, et gravem cognovi.* "This, ſays Dr *Middleton*, was the ſhort "and true character of the man from one "who perfectly knew him; not heightened "as we ſometimes find it by the ſhining "colours of his eloquence, nor depreſſed "by the darker ſtrokes of his reſentment." Yet the ſame ingenious writer has thought proper to draw more at large the character of a man who was *Cicero*'s God upon earth, and indeed the above *ſhort* and *true* character is but a ſcanty panegyric for one in *Pompey*'s high ſtation: And, as this hiſtory includes a ſort of critical examination of the life of *Cicero*, we will not ſcruple to preſent the reader with it, together with ſome ſhort obſervations:

"*Pompey* had early acquired the ſurname "of *Great*, by that ſort of merit, which, "from the conſtitution of the Republic, ne- "ceſſarily made him *great*; a fame and ſuc- "ceſs in war ſuperior to what *Rome* had ever "known in the moſt celebrated of her Ge- "nerals." [The ſurname of *Great*, according to *Plutarch*, was a compliment of *Sylla*, after the good ſervices *Pompey* had done him in *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*. Tho' young *Pompey* had been bred to war in the camp of his father, a man of great military capacity, and had ſhewn his talents in the ſupport of *Sylla*'s party, he had not yet properly *acquired* or merited that ſurname by a ſucceſs in war, *ſuperior to what Rome had ever known*. *Livy*, or his abbreviator, ſays, that this ſurname was given him after his victories in *Aſia*.] "He had triumphed at "three ſeveral times over the three different "parts of the known world, *Europe*, *Aſia*, "*Africa*; and, by his victories, had almoſt "doubled the extent, as well as the reve- "nues of the *Roman* dominion; for, as he "declared to the people, on his return from "the *Mithridatic* war, *he had found* the leſſer "*Aſia the boundary, but left it the middle of "their empire.*" [If *Pompey* made this declaration, he was guilty of an unpardonable gaſconade, for he added to the *Roman* empire only *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Syria*: But, if he did not double the revenues of the Commonwealth, he greatly multiplied his own; for he received every month from *Ariobarzanes*, King of *Cappadocia*, alone, above 6393 l. which was almoſt all that poor King could raiſe. See *Ad Att.* vi. 1] "He "was ſix years older than *Cæſar*; and, "while *Cæſar*, immerſed in pleaſures, op- "preſſed with debts, and ſuſpected by all "honeſt men, was hardly able to ſhew his "head, *Pompey* was flouriſhing in the height "of power and glory, and by the conſent "of all parties placed at the head of the "Republic." [This is not a fair repreſentation of the fortunes of theſe two men: *Pompey* was raiſed to all his power and wealth *againſt the will of the Senate*; who was ever envious and jealous of him: And *Cæſar* not only dared to ſhew his head, but was ever ſo much the darling of the city, that

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neſs, when all *Italy* was putting up vows and prayers for his ſafety? Or, if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of *Pharſalia*, in the

that he carried every thing he ſtood for, by almoſt the unanimous votes of the people, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the ſame Senate.] "This was the poſt that his ambi-"tion ſeemed to aim at, to be the firſt man "in *Rome*; the Leader, not the *tyrant of his* "*country*: For he more than once had it in "his power to have made himſelf the maſ-"ter of it without any riſk, if his virtue, "or his phlegm, at leaſt, had not reſtrained "him." [This is a groundleſs aſſertion. *Pompey*, after the *Sertorian* war, kept his army in *Italy*; and ſo did *Craſſus* to check him; till they both diſbanded their troops by agreement: Neither of them dared *then* to act the tyrant. After the *Mithridatic* war, the oppoſition *Cæſar* and *Metellus*, who openly courted *Pompey*, met with, plainly ſhewed how jealous the city was of *Pompey*'s power: And that ſame jealouſy prevailed after his arrival, notwithſtanding all the favour and credit his victories had procured him. He could not depend upon his army in an enterpriſe againſt his country, when he had no motive of revenge to ſtimulate them with, nor indeed any other that he could avow with common decency. *Cæſar* and *Craſſus* were willing to aſſociate with him againſt the *ariſtocracy*, but not to become his ſervants.] "But he lived in a "perpetual expectation of receiving, from "the gift of the people, what he did not "care to ſeize by force; and, by foment-"ing the diſorders of the city, hoped to "drive them to the neceſſity of creating "him Dictator. It is an obſervation of all "the hiſtorians, that, while *Cæſar* made "no difference of power, *whether it was* "*conferred or uſurped*; *whether over thoſe* "*who loved, or thoſe who feared him*; *Pom-*"*pey* ſeemed to value none but what was "*offered*; *nor to have any deſire to govern,* "*but with the good-will of the governed.*" [*Velleius*, ii 29, ſays indeed of *Pompey*, *Potentiæ quæ honoris cauſa ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidiſſimus:* But I do not ſee any difference between *Pompey* and *Cæſar* in this reſpect. As long as power was offered to *Pompey*, he did not undertake to ſeize it by an armed force; neither did *Cæſar*; but no ſooner did *Pompey* foreſee that *Cæſar* would become his equal, than he armed, illegally, the whole empire, to preſerve his own ſuperior power: And this is allowed by the ſame hiſtorian: *Civis in toga, niſi uti vereretur, ne quem haberet parem, modeſtiſſimus.* A power, maintained all along by the moſt open and ſcandalous bribery, cannot be deemed a power offered by the good-will of the governed: And a man who employs ſuch means, in defiance of the laws, cannot, with any propriety, be called a man of integrity, *Virum integrum cognovi.*] "What leiſure he found from his "wars he employed in the ſtudy of polite "letters, and eſpecially of eloquence, *in* "*which he would have acquired great fame,* "*if his genius had not drawn him to the more* "*dazzling glory of arms.* Yet he pleaded "ſeveral cauſes with applauſe, in the defence "of his friends and clients; and ſome of "them in conjunction with *Cicero.* His lan-"guage was copious and elevated; his ſen-"timents juſt; his voice ſweet; his action "noble and full of dignity. But his talents "were better formed for arms than the "gown; for though in both he obſerved "the ſame diſcipline; a perpetual modeſty, "temperance, and gravity of outward be-"haviour; yet, in the licence of camps, the "example was more rare and ſtriking. His "perſon was extremely graceful, and im-"printing reſpect; yet with an air of re-"ſerve and haughtineſs, which became the "General better than the citizen. His "parts were plauſible rather than great; "ſpecious rather than penetrating; and his "views of politics but narrow; for his chief "inſtrument of governing was *diſſimula-*"*tion*; yet he had not always the art to "conceal his real ſentiments. As he was a "better ſoldier than a ſtateſman, ſo what he "gained in the camp he uſually loſt in the "city; and, though adored when abroad, "was often affronted and mortified at "home; till the imprudent oppoſition of "the Senate drove him to that alliance with "*Craſſus* and *Cæſar*, which proved fatal "both to himſelf and to the Republic. He "took in theſe two not as the *partners*, but "the *miniſters* rather of his power;" [They had more intereſt in the city than he, and he could not compaſs his ends without their aſſiſtance: They were therefore neceſſary allies,

the defence of his country's liberty, he had died ſtill glorious, though unfortunate; but, as if he had been reſerved for an example of the inſtability of human greatneſs, he, who a few days before commanded Kings and Conſuls, and all the nobleſt of *Rome*, was ſentenced to die by a Council of ſlaves; murdered by a baſe deſerter; caſt out naked and headleſs on the *Egyptian* ſtrand; and, when *the whole earth*, as *Velleius* ſays, *had ſcarce been ſufficient for his victories, could not find a ſpot upon it for a grave* [1]. Y.R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

U 2 *Lentulus*,

allies, not miniſters of his power.] "That, "by giving them ſome ſhare with him, he "might make his own authority uncon- "troulable: He had no reaſon to appre- "hend that they could ever prove his ri- "vals; ſince neither of them had any cre- "dit or character of that kind, which alone "could raiſe them above the laws; a ſupe- "rior fame and experience in war, *with the* "*militia of the empire at their devotion:* All "this was purely his own; till, by cheriſh- "ing *Cæſar*, and throwing into his hands "the only things which he wanted, *arms* "*and military command*, he made him at "laſt too ſtrong for himſelf, and never be- "gan to fear him till it was too late:" [That *Pompey* helped *Cæſar*, during the triumvirate, will be eaſily granted, but that he owed all to *Pompey* is not true: And *Pompey* was at leaſt as much indebted to *Cæſar*, as *Cæſar* to him. Would *Pompey* have condeſcended to marry the daughter of the man whom he ſuſpected to have debauched his wife *Mucia*, the mother of *Cnæus* and *Sextus Pompey*, and whom for this reaſon, during the civil war, he uſed to call *Ægiſthus*, if his alliance had not been deemed abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport his credit: And indeed he could never have ſupported himſelf in that long reign of his during the *Gallic* war without *Cæſar*'s intereſt. This is evident from the whole hiſtory of the times.] "*Ci-* "*cero* warmly diſſuaded both his union and "his breach with *Cæſar*; [So *Cicero* ſays in his ſecond *Philippic*; but his letters ſhew that he greatly approved of the breach between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, till the proſpect was darkened, and the civil war was ready to break out with great advantage on *Cæſar*'s ſide. If *Cicero* did not approve of their union at firſt, he cemented it afterwards, and was very ſubſervient to the confederate Chiefs. See his apologetic letter, cited Vol. iii. p. 509.] "And, after the rupture, as "warmly ſtill, the thought of giving him "battle: If any of theſe counſels had been "followed, *Pompey* had preſerved his life "and honour, and the Republic its liberty." [*Pace opus eſt: Ex victoria cum multa mala, tum certè tyrannus exiſtet. Ad Att.* vii. 5. *Depugna, inquis, potius, quam ſervias: Ut quid? Si victus eris, proſcribare? Si viceris, tamen ſervias? Ad Att.* vii. 7. *Hoc Cnæus noſter cum antea nunquam, tum in hac cauſa minimè cogitavit; beata et honeſta civitas ut eſſet. Dominatio quæſita ab utroque eſt.*—— *Genus illud Sullani regni jampridem appetitur, [a Pompeio] multis, qui unà ſunt, cupientibus. Ad Att.* viii. 11. It appears then that *Cicero* was not of Dr. *Middleton*'s opinion. He thought alſo that *Pompey*'s victory would have been a very cruel one: *Tanta erat in illis crudelitas, ut non nominatim, ſed generatim proſcriptio eſſet informata; ut jam omnium judicio conſtitutum eſſet, omnium veſtrum bona prædam eſſe illius victoriæ; veſtrum planè dico: Nunquam enim de te ipſo, niſi crudeliſſimè, cogitatum eſt. Ad Att.* xi. 6.] "But he was "urged to his fate by a natural ſuperſtition, "and attention to thoſe vain auguries with "which he was flattered by all the Haruſ- "pices: He had ſeen the ſame temper in "*Marius* and *Sylla*, and obſerved the hap- "py effects of it: But they aſſumed it only "out of policy, he out of principle. They "uſed to animate their ſoldiers, when they "had found a probable opportunity of fight- "ing; but he, againſt all prudence and "probability, was encouraged by it to fight "to his own ruin." [I ſhould think that *Pompey* was not altogether ſo credulous as Dr. *Middleton* makes him. *Cicero*, in his Letters, and *Cæſar*, in his Commentaries, aſſign other reaſons for *Pompey*'s confidence, as we have ſeen above: And theſe reaſons influenced not only *Pompey*, but *Labienus* and all the Generals in his army, whom we cannot ſuppoſe to have been all addicted, in a great degree, to ſuperſtition.

[1] Qui ſi ante biennium quam ad arma itum eſt, perfectis muneribus theatri et aliorum operum quæ ei circumdedit graviſſima tentatus

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

Lentulus, the late Conſul, landed in *Egypt* a few days after his General, and was immediately ſeized and put to death. *Plutarch*, or the author whom he copied, to make his ſtory more intereſting, ſuppoſes that *Lentulus* landed juſt upon the ſpot where the body of *Pompey* had been burned the day before; and, ſeeing a little pile which yet ſmoked, broke out into theſe words, "Who is the wretch to "whom are paid theſe laſt offices? Perhaps, alas! it is you, great "*Pompey!*" *Lentulus Spinther* is ſaid to have found in *Egypt* the ſame fate.

Cato, conjecturing that *Pompey* had retired to *Egypt* or *Lybia*, took that way. He firſt ſailed from *Corcyra* to *Patræ*, where he picked up *Fauſtus Sylla*, *Petreius*, and ſome other fugitives. Then, doubling the cape of *Malea*, and coaſting the iſle of *Crete*, he came to *Palinurus*, a promontory of the *Cyrenaïca:* Whence he marched to *Cyrene*, which opened its gates to him. Here he was met by *Cornelia* and *Sextus Pompeius*, *Pompey*'s youngeſt ſon: Who had firſt fled to *Cyprus*, but, finding themſelves too near *Egypt*, and fearing leſt they ſhould meet with *Cæſar*, ſteered towards the Weſt, and put in at the ſame place to which *Cato* had brought the fleet. The news of *Pompey*'s death occaſioned a freſh diviſion among his fugitive friends: Many who were attached perſonally to him, and had held out in hopes of ſeeing him again at their head, determined to have recourſe to the Conqueror's clemency. *Cornelia* returned to *Italy*, well knowing that ſhe had nothing to apprehend from *Cæſar*. *Cato*, with *Pompey*'s two ſons, remained in *Africa* and marched by land to join *Varus* and *Juba:* And we ſhall ſee immediately how they renewed the war, and expoſed the Conqueror to new tigues and dangers.

Dio. l. xlii.

Liv. 112.

tentatus valetudine deceſſiſſet in *Campania* (quo quidem tempore univerſa Italia vota pro ſalute ejus, primo omnium civium ſuſcepit) defuiſſet fortunæ deſtruendi ejus locus; et quam apud ſuperos habuerat magnitudinem, illibatam detuliſſet ad inferos. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 48. Princeps Romani nominis, imperio arbitrioque Ægyptii mancipii, jugulatus eſt. Hic poſt tres conſulatus et totidem triumphos, domitumque terrarum orbem, ſanctiſſimi ac præſtantiſſimi viri, in id evecti ſuper quod adſcendi non poteſt, duodeſexageſimum annum agentis, pridiè natalem ipſius, vitæ fuit exitus: In tantum in illo viro à ſe diſcordante fortuna, ut cui modo ad victoriam terra defuerat, deeſſet ad ſepulturam. *Id.* ii. 53.

CHAP.

ÆGYPTUS
ANTIQUA.
LIBYA
PONTUS EUXINUS
THRACIA PARS
ARMENIA MAJOR
MESOPOTAMIA
ASIA PROVINCIA
CRETA
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
MARMARICA
BELLORUM
ALEXANDRINI
ET PONTICI
CONSPECTUS
LIBYAE
NOMUS
AEGYP-
TIUM
MARE, quod
et PAR-
THENI-
UM, item
PHARI-
UM
Myris
quod et
Moeris
stagnum
LIBYCA PARS
THEBAIDIS REGIO
HEPTANOMIA Quae postea
dicta ARCADIA
Quae et AEGYPTUS SUPERIOR
ARABICA PARS
ARABES GNERAEI
ARABES ADEI
ARABES AZAREI
TIJEBARICA REGIO
ARABAEGYPTI ICHTHYOPHAGI
AETHIOPIAE SUB AEGYPTO PARS
ARABICI SINUS PARS Hebraei MARE
SUPH nominant BRACHIA etiam dicitur Stephano
ARABIAE PETRAEAE PARS
AUGUSTAMNICA
CASIOTIS REGIO

CHAP. VII.

Cæſar *follows* Pompey *into* Egypt. *The* Alexandrian *war. The war againſt* Pharnaces. Illyricum *ſaved by* Vatinius. Cæſar *returns to* Italy. Cicero's *diſquietudes at* Brundusium *during* Cæſar's *abſence.* Cæſar *puts an end to the diſturbances raiſed by* Dolabella *in the city: He quells a mutiny in his army, and ſets out for* Africa.

CÆSAR, ſenſible that all the hopes of the vanquiſhed party were lodged in the perſon of *Pompey*, purſued him with the utmoſt diligence at the head of his cavalry, having firſt given orders to one of his legions to follow. He heard at *Amphipolis*, that *Pompey* had left *Greece*: But, having no ſhips, he was under the neceſſity of marching by land to the ſtreights of the *Helleſpont*, that he might only have that ſhort paſſage by ſea into *Aſia*. Here, while he was croſſing in a ſmall veſſel after his troops, he fell in with a ſquadron of the *Pompeian* fleet, commanded by *Caſſius*, conſiſting, according to *Suetonius*, of ten ſhips of war[m], and which was ſailing to the *Boſphorus*. *Cæſar*, making up to him, ordered him to ſurrender; he obeyed; and, coming on board the little boat, threw himſelf at *Cæſar*'s feet. *Cæſar*, with theſe ſhips, and thoſe he found on the coaſt of *Aſia*, continued his route by ſea. At *Epheſus*, he ſaved a ſecond time the treaſure of *Diana*'s temple, which *J. Ampius* was going to plunder for *Pompey*. After a ſhort ſtay in *Aſia*, hearing that *Pompey* had been at *Cyprus*, and thence conjecturing that he had gone for *Egypt*, on account of the intereſt he had in that kingdom, and the advantage it could afford him; he ſailed firſt to *Rhodes*, where, having joined to his fleet the *Rhodian* gallies, he ſet out for *Egypt* with two legions, one of which he had ordered to follow him from *Theſſaly*; the other he had detached from *Fuſius Calenus* in *Achaia*. Theſe two legions did not make up above three thouſand two hundred foot, and eight hundred horſe: But *Cæſar* depended on the reputation of his exploits, and the terror of his name.

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

Suet. in Cæſ. 63. Dio, l. xlii. App. 482.

Cæſar, on his arrival at *Alexandria*, was informed of *Pompey*'s death: And, according to ſome authors was preſented by the King's order with the head and ring of his rival[n]. Theſe ſad remains of ſo great a

Livy, 112. Plut. in Cæſ. Dio, l. xlii.

[m] *Appian* ſays 70. It may be obſerved, that authors have diſtinguiſhed this *Caſſius* from the *Caſca* who was one of the conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*.

[n] *Plutarch in Pomp.* tells us, that *Theodotus*, a Greek rhetorician, one of the King's Counſellors, who had determined the Council to kill *Pompey*, was charged to carry *Cæſar* this preſent, and to compliment him on the ſucceſs of his arms; and that *Brutus*, after *Cæſar*'s death, cauſed him to be executed for it with the moſt cruel torments. *Aurelius Victor, de Vir Illuſtr. c.* 77, ſays it was preſented by *Achillas*. *Lucan* ſays,

Dira fatelles
Colla gerit Magni, Phario velamine tecta.
l. ix.

man,

Y. R. 704. Bef. Chr. 48. 403 Conſ.

man, with whom he had lived ſo long in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, as the huſband of his beloved *Julia*, and his partner in power, very naturally drew tears from him [o]. He cauſed the head to be burned with the moſt coſtly perfumes, and placed the aſhes in a ſmall temple, which he dedicated to *Nemeſis*, the avenging power of cruel and inhuman deeds. He took up his quarters in the royal palace, where he kept a ſtrict guard: For upon his landing he had been received in a clamorous manner by the garriſon, and he obſerved that the mob appeared diſſatisfied to ſee the faſces carried before him, which they interpreted as a degradation of the royal authority. During ſeveral days diſturbances and tumults happened, and many *Roman* ſoldiers were murdered in different parts of the city. The *Eteſian* winds, which blew at that time, were contrary to any paſſage by ſea from *Alexandria* [p]: And *Cæſar* thinking it belonged to him, as chief of the *Roman* Empire, to take cogniſance of the quarrel between *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter *Cleopatra*, which had broken out into an open war; he began to interfere in this diſpute, not foreſeeing the many difficulties and hazards in which this conduct was to involve him.

Appian, 448.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. iii.

Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year 702, left four children: Two ſons, who were both called *Ptolemy*; and two daughters, the famous *Cleopatra* and *Arſinoë*. According to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom in the *Ptolemean* family, he had ordered that his eldeſt ſon ſhould marry his eldeſt daughter, and reign with her. For the more certain execution of this his will, he implored the protection of the *Roman* people; and ſent a copy of it by ambaſſadors to *Rome* to be depoſited in the public treaſury; which, however, in the confuſion of the times, had been left with *Pompey*. The original was kept at *Alexandria*. The brother and ſiſter did not live long in harmony: *Cleopatra* was ſeventeen years old, and her brother only thirteen; and ſhe claimed a right to govern her young conſort. On the other hand, the guardians of the young Prince, the chief of whom was the eunuch *Pothinus*, were ambitious to govern under his name and authority. This diviſion had not yet produced an open rupture, when *Pompey*'s eldeſt ſon came to *Alexandria* to demand ſuccours for his father. *Cleopatra* even then is ſaid to have proſtituted her perſon to this young *Roman* to gain *Pompey*'s intereſt: But *Pothinus* ſucceeded better, and obtained at the Senate held at *Theſſalonica* a determination in favour of *Ptolemy*. *Cleopatra* was baniſhed *Egypt*, and forced to retire with her ſiſter *Arſinoë* into *Syria*, where ſhe aſſembled an army, and advanced as far as *Peluſium*. *Ptolemy* marched with his troops to oppoſe her, and the two armies were in ſight of each other near mount *Caſius*, on the borders of *Egypt*, when *Pompey* came there to meet his unhappy fate. Things remained in the ſame ſituation till *Cæſar*'s arrival; and he admoniſhed the contending parties, that it was their duty to remit their reſpective pretenſions to his de-

Plut. in Ant.

[o] *Dio* is poſitive, that theſe tears were counterfeit; and *Lucan* takes occaſion from them to rail bitterly at *Cæſar*. See the end of the ninth book.

[p] The *Eteſian* winds are *northerly winds*, which begin to blow about the ſummer *ſolſtice*, and do not ceaſe till about the end of *Auguſt*.

ter-

termination. They both immediately repaired to him; and *Cleopatra* Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conf. ſeems to have diſmiſſed her army, for we hear no more mention made of it. We are told by ſome hiſtorians, that, in order to get into *Alexandria*, which was in the poſſeſſion of her enemies, ſhe went on board a ſmall veſſel, and, landing in the evening near the palace, was wrapt up in a bundle of cloaths, and thus carried by one of her attendants into *Cæſar*'s bed-chamber. The day after, *Cæſar* ſent for the King, who, being ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee his ſiſter with the Conſul of *Rome*, fled from the palace to the market-place, crying out that he was betrayed; and, in the exceſs of his grief and paſſion, tore the diadem from his head. He was ſeized by the *Roman* ſoldiers, and brought back; but this occaſioned a great alarm in the city, and, the people having aſſembled tumultuouſly about the palace, *Cæſar* ſignified to them that his intention was no other than to execute the late King's will, and to declare the brother and ſiſter King and Queen of *Egypt*. *Dio* adds, that he promiſed alſo to give the iſle of *Cyprus*, an ancient appendage of the kingdom of *Egypt*, to the younger *Ptolemy* and *Arſinoë*, his ſiſter: But this circumſtance is very improbable: And the authority of this hiſtorian is not much to be depended on, when unſupported by other teſtimonies.

Plut. in Cæſ. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Lucan b. x. Dio l. xlii.

Pothinus, Governor and chief Miniſter to the King, *Cleopatra*'s declared enemy, complained bitterly to his friends, that the King ſhould be treated in this manner; and, finding them diſpoſed to ſupport him, he privately ſent for the army at *Peluſium*, and gave the command of it to *Achillas*, the ſame who murdered *Pompey*, and was then Captain of the King's guards. This army was numerous and formidable, and *Cæſar*'s forces were inſufficient to keep the field againſt it. The only courſe therefore left for him was to ſecure the moſt convenient ports of the town, till he was informed of the deſigns of the *Egyptian* General. He admoniſhed the King to ſend ſome perſons of weight to forbid his approach. *Dioſcorides* and *Serapion*, accordingly, who had both been ambaſſadors at *Rome*, and in great credit with *Ptolemy* the father, were deputed to him: But no ſooner did they come into his preſence, than, without giving them a hearing, or inquiring after their meſſage, he ordered them to be ſeized and put to death. One was killed upon the ſpot, and the other, having received a dangerous wound, was carried off for dead by his attendants. Such an enormous behaviour was a warning to *Cæſar*. He took care to ſecure the King's perſon, whoſe name would authoriſe his proceedings, and make *Achillas* and his aſſociates paſs among the people for rebels to their Prince.

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Achillas's army conſiſted of eighteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, all brave and experienced ſoldiers. Many of them were *Romans*, who had been brought into the country by *Gabinius*, when he came to ſettle *Auletes* on the throne; and who, having married and ſettled

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. l. iii.

Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 404 Conſ.

ſettled at *Alexandria*, were devoted to the *Ptolemean* intereſt: The others were mercenary troops from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and fugitive ſlaves, who found protection in *Egypt* by entering into the ſervice. Theſe troops were accuſtomed to give the law to their Sovereign: *Cæſar* tells us, that they had often taken upon them to put to death the King's Miniſters, plunder the rich, inveſt the royal palace, baniſh ſome and ſend for others home, with other liberties of the like nature. This deſcription of the *Alexandrian* militia accounts for the continual changes remarkable in the government of that city. Such will always be the fate of Princes, who chuſe to rely upon a mercenary ſoldiery rather than the affections of their ſubjects. *Achillas*, truſting to the valour of this army, and deſpiſing the handful of men *Cæſar* had brought with him, quickly made himſelf maſter of *Alexandria*, the palace only excepted, where *Cæſar* had fortified himſelf, and which the *Egyptian* General attacked briſkly, though without ſucceſs. The greateſt efforts were made on the ſide of the harbour: Had *Achillas* got poſſeſſion of it and the ſhipping, he might have cut *Cæſar* off from all communication with the ſea, and conſequently from all hopes of receiving ſupplies either of victuals or forces. This made both the *Egyptians* and the *Romans* exert themſelves with incredible vigour. At length *Cæſar* carried his point, and not only burnt all the veſſels in the harbour, which amounted to fifty-five gallies, with twenty-two guard-ſhips, but alſo thoſe that were in the arſenals: In all one hundred and ten. The flames unfortunately extended themſelves to the *Alexandrian* library: And that valuable monument of the magnificence of the *Ptolemy's*, and of their taſte for learning, was almoſt wholly conſumed [q].

Cæſ. de Bell. Civ. Com. lib. iii.

Cæſar, during the action, tranſported a body of troops into the iſle of *Pharos*, ſo called from a tower of prodigious height and wonderful workmanſhip, built by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This iſland lay over-againſt *Alexandria*, and both formed and commanded the port, the entrance on each ſide of it being very narrow. A mole or cauſey, nine hundred paces long, ran through the middle of the port: At the two ends of this mole were two bridges, through the arches of which veſſels could paſs from one ſide of the port to the other. Many *Egyptian* ſea-faring men had built houſes in the *Pharos*, and lived chiefly by pillaging the ſhips that were thrown in upon their coaſt. By getting poſſeſſion of this place, *Cæſar* ſecured the reception of the ſupplies he had ſent for from all ſides. In other quarters of the town the fight was maintained till night with equal advantage, and little loſs, neither party loſing ground. *Cæſar*'s next care was to make fortifications round the King's palace and the theatre adjoining to it, of which he made a kind of citadel: And he thus put it out of the power of the

[q] According to *Livy*, cited by *Seneca de tranq. anim. c.* 9. there were in this library four hundred thouſand volumes. According to *Aulus Gellius*, vi. 17, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xxiv. 17, ſeven hundred thouſand.

Alexandrians

Alexandrians to force him to a battle againſt his will. He then employed himſelf in incloſing the narroweſt part of the town, which lay between the port and a lake towards the South: By which means he could have proviſion of water and forage. On the other ſide the *Alexandrians* were extremely active and induſtrious in making all ſorts of preparations proper for their own defence, and for forcing *Cæſar*'s quarters. Y. R. 705. Bef. Chr. 47. 405 Conſ.

While theſe works were carrying on, *Cæſar* ordered *Pothinus* to be put to death, having diſcovered a ſecret correſpondence between him and *Achillas*, whom he encouraged to a vigorous proſecution of his enterpriſe. According to *Plutarch*, he had formed a deſign of killing *Cæſar* at table; and the conſpiracy was diſcovered by a ſlave, whoſe exceeding timidity prompting him to be continually upon the watch, and to liſten at every door, he had overheard *Pothinus* and his aſſociates. About the ſame time *Arſinoë*, the youngeſt ſiſter, found means to eſcape from the palace to *Achillas*'s camp, under the conduct of *Ganymed*, her Governor; hoping, in ſuch confuſion, to get into the throne herſelf, in the place of *Cleopatra*. But ſhe ſoon diſagreed with *Achillas*, and they endeavoured to ſupplant one another, and to gain, by bribes and promiſes, the affection of the mercenary ſoldiers. At length *Arſinoë* prevailed, and cauſed *Achillas* to be ſlain: And *Ganymed*, under the name and authority of *Arſinoë*, was veſted with the ſupreme power, and proved not leſs bold and enterpriſing than his predeceſſor. Cæſ. de Bel. Civ. Com. l. iii.

Alexandria was ſupplied with water from the *Nile:* But, this water being generally muddy and unwholeſome, every houſe was provided with a ciſtern, where it remained till it became fit to be drunk. *Ganymed*, being maſter of that part of the town where the river lay, and conſequently of all the conduits, he undertook to taint all the ciſterns in *Cæſar*'s quarter, by pouring into the aqueducts a great quantity of ſea-water, raiſed by the help of machines: And, at the ſame time, to preſerve his own untainted, the aqueducts on his ſide were ſtopped up. The ciſterns in the neareſt houſes ſoon began to taſte ſalter than uſual, while no change could be obſerved in thoſe that were more remote. However, the ſaltneſs ſoon became general, and the water was everywhere unfit for uſe. The *Roman* army, greatly diſcouraged at this unexpected event, began to complain againſt *Cæſar* for not abandoning the place; but he ſoon found means to remove the inconveniency that ſo much alarmed them, by ſinking a great number of wells; and, with little difficulty, obſtructed the laborious attempts of the *Alexandrians*.

C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator II.
M. Antonius, Mag. Eq. Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

During theſe tranſactions the thirty-ſeventh legion, compoſed of *Pompey*'s veterans, who had ſurrendered to *Cæſar* after the battle of *Pharſalia*, Hirtius de Bell. Alex.

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

Pharſalia, were driven upon the coaſt of *Africa*, a little above *Alexandria:* where, being detained for ſeveral days by an eaſterly wind, and being preſſed for want of water, they ſent to inform him of their arrival and ſituation. *Cæſar*, upon this intelligence, immediately went on board one of the ſhips in the harbour, and ordered the whole fleet to follow, leaving the land-forces to defend the works. Being arrived at a port of the coaſt called *Cherſoneſus*, he ſent ſome mariners on ſhore to fetch water. Theſe venturing too far into the country, for the ſake of plunder, were intercepted by the enemy's horſe, and from them the *Egyptians* heard that *Cæſar* himſelf was on board without any ſoldiers. Upon this information, they thought that Fortune had thrown a fair opportunity in their way of attempting ſomething with ſucceſs. They got together all the ſhips that were in a condition to ſail, and met *Cæſar* on his return, at four in the afternoon. The *Roman* General was very deſirous to avoid an engagement ſo late in the day, which probably would be continued in the dark, when the *Alexandrians* would have the advantage by the knowledge they had of the coaſt; and he would not be able to encourage his men, and be witneſs of their behaviour, a circumſtance upon which he always greatly relied. He therefore drew all his ſhips as near the ſhore as poſſible, where he imagined the enemy would not venture to follow him. But, contrary to his inclination, he was engaged to fight by the temerity of a *Rhodian* galley of the right wing, which ſtood out at a conſiderable diſtance from the reſt, and was immediately attacked by four gallies and ſeveral open barks. *Cæſar*, not to ſuffer the diſgrace of ſeeing her ſunk before his eyes, was obliged to advance to her relief. The *Rhodians*, diſtinguiſhed at all times by their valour and experience in naval engagements, exerted themſelves on this occaſion to the utmoſt, and gained a complete victory. One four-benched galley was taken, another was ſunk, a third was diſabled, and the whole fleet would have been deſtroyed, if night had not put a ſtop to the chace. *Cæſar*, after giving this defeat to the enemy, took his tranſports in tow, and returned to *Alexandria*.

Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

The *Alexandrians* were much diſheartened at this bad ſucceſs, and at finding themſelves ſo much outdone by the *Rhodian* mariners. But *Ganymed* raiſed their dejected ſpirits by the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his being able to fit out, in a very ſhort time, a fleet much ſuperior to that which had been lately defeated. Having gathered all the ſhips ſtationed at the mouth of the *Nile*, for receiving the cuſtoms, he oppoſed again to the *Romans twenty-two four-benched gallies* and *five quinqueremes*, with a great number of open barks. *Cæſar*'s fleet conſiſted in all of nine *Rhodian* gallies, (for, of the ten he had brought with him, one had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of *Egypt*) eight from *Pontus*, five from *Lycia*, and twelve from *Aſia*. Of theſe, however, only ten were *quadriremes*, and five *quinqueremes:* The reſt were of an inferior bulk, and for the moſt part without decks. *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding this inferiority of his

his fleet in number and ſtrength, reſolved to give the enemy battle; and, ſailing round the *Pharos* into that part of the port which the *Alexandrians* were maſters of, he drew up his ſhips in the following order. His nine *Rhodian* gallies he placed in his right wing: The eight of *Pontus* in the left; leaving between them a ſpace of four hundred paces to ſerve for the extending and working the veſſels: And the reſt of the fleet he deſtined as a reſerve, and diſpoſed them behind the two wings in ſuch a manner that every ſhip followed that to which ſhe was appointed to give ſuccour. The *Alexandrians*, who came forth with great confidence, had placed their twenty-two *quadriremes* in front: Their other ſhips were arranged behind in a ſecond line: And they had a number of ſmaller veſſels which carried fire and burning weapons, by which they meant to ſtrike a terror into the *Romans*. This regular diſpoſition did not hold long. Between the two fleets, there were certain flats; and each ſide heſitated which ſhould firſt paſs them: Becauſe, in caſe of any misfortune, they would be a great obſtruction to a retreat; and it was difficult to draw up in order of battle beyond them in the preſence of an enemy. *Euphranor*, the *Rhodian* Admiral, a man of diſtinguiſhed courage and experience, perceiving *Cæſar*'s perplexity, addreſſed him to this effect: "Great Ge- "neral! it appears you are apprehenſive leſt by paſſing theſe ſhal- "lows firſt, you ſhould be forced to engage, before your whole fleet "is drawn up: We beg of you to put your confidence in us, and "we promiſe to maintain the fight till the whole fleet gets clear of "the ſhallows. It is greatly diſhonourable and afflicting, that the "enemy ſhould ſo long continue in our ſight with that air of triumph." *Cæſar*, encouraging him in his deſign [r], gave the ſignal of battle: And four *Rhodian* ſhips, having paſſed the flats, were immediately aſſailed on all ſides by the *Alexandrians*; but the *Rhodians* worked their veſſels with ſo much ſkill, and diſengaged themſelves with ſo much addreſs, that they never ſuffered any of the enemy's ſhips either to ſtrike their flanks with their beaks, or to run along-ſide of them in order to ſweep away or break their oars: They always found means to oppoſe beak to beak. Thus they maintained the fight till the reſt of the fleet came up: And, art now becoming uſeleſs, the whole ſucceſs depended upon valour. Both ſides fought in ſight of their friends at land; who, laying aſide their work, and all thoughts of attack or defence, gave their whole attention to what was going forward at ſea. The *Romans* riſked more than the *Alexandrians* by this battle: A defeat would have deprived them of all reſource either by ſea or land, and victory would not

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

[r] This brave Admiral was ſoon after ſent out to cruiſe off *Canopus*; an expedition in which he periſhed. He had begun an engagement with ſome *Alexandrian* ſhips, and had ſunk the firſt he attacked; but, purſuing another too far, and, not being ſuſtained by the reſt of the fleet, his galley was ſurrounded and ſhattered to pieces. *Hirt. de Bell. Alex.*

Y. R. 706 Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conf.

much better their condition: The *Alexandrians*, on the contrary, if ſucceſs attended them, gained every thing, and though defeated, could ſtill maintain the war. On the ſide of the *Romans*, every thing depended on the bravery of a few: This *Cæſar* had often before the battle repreſented to his officers and ſoldiers, and they now repeated it to one another. They were animated by the difficulty and importance of their ſituation, and fought with ſuch determined reſolution, that neither the art nor efforts of the *Alexandrians*, nor the multitude of their ſhips and boats, could any ways avail them. In this action the *Romans* ſuſtained not the loſs of one veſſel: But two *Alexandrian* gallies, one of five benches of oars, and another of two, with all the ſoldiers and mariners on board, were taken, and three others were ſunk. The reſt fled towards the town, and took ſhelter under the mole and forts, whither the *Romans* could not purſue them.

Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

Cæſar, to deprive the enemy of this reſource, reſolved to make himſelf maſter once more of the *mole* and the *iſland*, which had been retaken by the *Egyptians*, while he was employed in the more neceſſary works within the town. For the execution of this deſign, he put into boats and ſmall veſſels ten cohorts, a ſelect body of light-armed infantry, and ſuch of the *Gallic* cavalry as he thought moſt proper for his purpoſe, and ſent them againſt the iſland. He himſelf, at the ſame time, to cauſe a diverſion, attacked it on the other ſide with his fleet. The attack was briſk, and the *Pharians* defended themſelves at firſt with vigour. They annoyed the *Romans* from the tops of their houſes, and gallantly maintained their ground along the ſhore; which was in moſt parts ſteep and craggy, and which, in the places of eaſier acceſs, was ſkilfully defended by ſmall boats properly ſtationed for the purpoſe. But when, after examining the approaches and ſhallows, a few of the *Romans* had found means to land, they were followed with ſo much expedition by others, that the *Pharians*, abandoning their ſhips and coaſt, fled into the town. There they might eaſily have defended themſelves; for the buildings were very high, and joined together ſo as to form a ſtrong wall, and the *Romans* had neither ladders, nor any other inſtruments for aſſault: But ſuch was their conſternation, that they dared not to engage from a height of thirty feet; and, throwing themſelves from the mole into the ſea, they endeavoured to gain *Alexandria*, though above eight hundred paces diſtant. Many were ſlain, and ſix hundred were made priſoners in this fight. *Cæſar* gave the plunder of the place to the ſoldiers, and demoliſhed all the houſes. The caſtle, however, at the end of the bridge next the iſland, he fortified and placed a garriſon in it. The other caſtle, which was next the town, was much the ſtrongeſt, and was ſtill held by the *Alexandrians*. This he attacked the next day; becauſe, by getting poſſeſſion of both forts, he would be entirely maſter of the port, and would be able to prevent any ſudden incurſions. By means of the arrows and darts launched from his engines, he quickly forced the

the garriſon to abandon the place and retire into the town; and, having landed upon the mole three cohorts, which was all that the ſpot could well contain, he diſpoſed the reſt of his troops in his ſhips to ſuſtain them. Things being in this forwardneſs, he ordered the arch of the bridge that joined the mole to the town, and through which the *Alexandrians* uſed to ſend their fire-boats againſt his veſſels, to be entirely ſtopped up; and, at the ſame time, he began to raiſe a fortification upon the bridge. The *Alexandrians*, however, brought all the troops they could out of the town before this fortification could be finiſhed, and poſted them in an open area before it; and, having placed alſo a number of tranſports all along the mole, they began to attack the *Romans* by launching their javelins. While *Cæſar*, attentive to what paſſed, was exhorting and directing his troops, a number of rowers and mariners of his fleet, quitting their ſhips, threw themſelves upon the mole, partly out of curioſity, and partly to have ſome ſhare in the action. At firſt, with their ſlings, they forced the enemy's ſhips from the mole, and ſeemed to do great ſervice; but, ſoon after, when a few of the *Alexandrians*, having ventured out upon the mole, attacked them in flank, they fled with precipitation. The *Alexandrians*, encouraged by this ſucceſs, landed in greater numbers, and vigorouſly puſhed the *Romans*, who were now in great confuſion. Thoſe that were in the gallies, perceiving this, removed the ladders, and put off from the mole to prevent the enemy's boarding them. The three cohorts, who were fortifying and defending the bridge at the head of the mole, where they had much buſineſs upon their hands, hearing a clamour behind them, and ſeeing the general rout of their friends, immediately interrupted their work; and, fearing to be ſurrounded, and precluded from a retreat, ran with all ſpeed towards the gallies. Some, getting on board the neareſt veſſels, overloaded and ſunk them; others, making head againſt the enemy, and, uncertain what courſe to take, were cut to pieces: A few, throwing their bucklers over their ſhoulders, ſwam to the ſhips which were at the ſmalleſt diſtance from them. *Cæſar* endeavoured to ſtop his men, and bring them back to the defence of the works; but, finding them giving ground univerſally, he retreated to his own galley; whither ſuch a multitude followed and crouded after him, that it was impoſſible to work her. Foreſeeing, therefore, what muſt happen, he flung himſelf into the ſea, and ſwam to a ſhip that lay at ſome diſtance [s]. Hence, diſpatching boats to ſuccour his men, he

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

[s] Some ancient writers have finely embelliſhed this ſtory, and *M. Crevier* has extracted from them what is moſt curious in their ſeveral tales: "It is remarkable, "that, having ſtripped off his *coat of mail*, "(his General's cloke) which would have "been an incumbrance to him in ſwimming, "*he drew it after him with his teeth*, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands; "and, as he had *ſome papers in his left hand*, "he *conſtantly held it above water*, at the "ſame time ſwimming with the right, by which.

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

he preſerved a few. His own galley periſhed, with all that was on board; and he loſt in this action four hundred legionary ſoldiers, and ſomewhat above that number of rowers and ſailors. The *Alexandrians* ſecured the fort by ſtrong works, and a great number of engines; and, having cleared away the ſtones with which *Cæſar* had filled up the arch of the bridge, they had, thereby, a free paſſage into that part of the port where *Cæſar*'s fleet lay.

This misfortune, far from diſcouraging the *Romans*, ſerved only the more to exaſperate them; and they made their enemies ſenſible of the ſpirit and fury that tranſported them, by puſhing on their attacks with greater vigour; inſomuch that their General was more employed in reſtraining their ardour, than in inciting them to action.

The *Alexandrians* who now began to think it would be of great ſervice to them to have their King at their head, ſent Deputies to *Cæſar*, beſeeching him to reſtore him to them, and repreſenting it as the only means to bring about an accommodation. *Cæſar*, perfectly well acquainted with the falſe and perfidious character of the *Alexandrians*, was not to be impoſed upon by this plauſible pretext. He determined, however, to comply with their demands, being ſenſible that the whole hazard was to them and their King; for, as to what concerned himſelf, if, at firſt, he thought it might be of ſervice to him to detain the young Prince, in order to prevent a rebellion; now that it was not only broken out, but had been obſtinately maintained for ſeveral months, ſuch a priſoner created him more trouble than real advantage; and he perceived, that it would be more for his honour to make war with the King himſelf, than with *Arſinoë*, and her eunuch *Ganymed*. He therefore, having exhorted *Ptolemy* to put an end to the misfortunes of his country, and to ſave from total ruin its metropolis, took him by the hand to conduct him out of the palace. The young Prince, who was already an adept in the art of diſſimulation, entreated *Cæſar* with tears not to ſend him back; for that he took more pleaſure in his company than in the poſſeſſion of his Crown. *Cæſar* told him, that, if ſuch were his real ſentiments, they ſhould quickly ſee one another again. *Ptolemy* took his leave, and had no ſooner regained his liberty, than he carried on the war with ſo much fierceneſs, that the tears he ſhed at parting appeared to be tears of joy. *Cæſar*'s officers and ſoldiers were highly diverted with the

" which means *the papers were not wetted.* " However, his *coat of armour* got from " him, which proved of ſervice to him: " For, being purple, and diſtinguiſhable by " the brightneſs of its colour, it ſuſtained " all the fury of the enemy's ſhot, at the " ſame time that *Cæſar* ſaved himſelf with- " out being obſerved or known. The *Alex-* " *andrians* took it, and made it the princi- " pal ornament in the trophy they erected " on the place of the engagement." The authorities for theſe particulars are *Suetonius*, *Florus*, *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio*. But no authorities can make one believe, that *Cæſar* carried his papers upon the mole of *Alexandria*, or in plunging into the ſea did not wet them. The other circumſtances are equally abſurd.

the event; imagining, that, through his eaſineſs of temper, he had let himſelf be duped by a boy. Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46.

Cæſar, in the beginning of this *Alexandrian* war, had ſent *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*[t], to raiſe troops in *Syria* and *Cilicia*. This General, having acquitted himſelf of the commiſſion with great fidelity and expedition, was now upon the borders of *Egypt* with a numerous army; in which were three thouſand *Jews*, commanded by *Antipater*, father of *Herod*, and Miniſter of *Hircan*, King of *Judea*. *Mithridates* took *Peluſium* by ſtorm the day he arrived before it, notwithſtanding *Achillas* had placed a ſtrong garriſon in it, as it was the key of *Egypt* on the *Syrian* ſide. The ſhorteſt way from *Peluſium* to *Alexandria* was to keep a parallel line with the ſea; but all the country is ſo traverſed by the *Nile* and its canals, that *Mithridates* found the march equally fatiguing and hazardous. This obliged him to march up the river as far as the head or point of the *Delta*, a province of *Egypt*, ſo called from its ſimilitude to the *Greek* letter of that name. There the *Nile* divides itſelf into two great branches. The young King, underſtanding that *Mithridates* approached this place, and knowing he muſt paſs the river, ſent a conſiderable body of troops againſt him to cruſh him, if poſſible, before his junction with *Cæſar*, at leaſt to oppoſe his march. Part of this detachment, which formed the van, made what haſte they could to engage him, that they alone might have all the honour of the victory: But *Mithridates* had intrenched himſelf with great care; and, after keeping ſome time upon the defenſive, he ſallied out upon them from all parts, put a great number of them to the ſword, and diſperſed the reſt. *Cæſar* and the King of *Egypt* had both information of this event, and ſet out at the ſame time to the aſſiſtance of their friends: The King, having a ſhorter cut, and the advantage of the river, got there firſt, but was not able to attempt any thing before *Cæſar*'s arrival, who found no difficulty in joining *Mithridates*. The *Roman* General, ſeeing himſelf now at the head of a powerful army, reſolved to put an end to the war by an aſſault upon the enemy's camp. 405 Conſ. Hiſt. de Bell. Alex.

The King had intrenched himſelf in a place well fortified by nature: It was a riſing ground, ſurrounded by a plain; and *three* of its ſides were ſecured by different fences; one adjoined to the *Nile*, the other was ſteep, and of very difficult acceſs, and the third was defended by a moraſs. About ſeven miles from it ran a narrow river, but with very high banks, which diſcharged itſelf into the *Nile*: And, as it lay between the two armies, *Ptolemy* ſent all his cavalry and a ſelect body of light-armed troops to prevent *Cæſar* from paſſing it. The legionary troops, however, found means to get over by throwing acroſs from bank. Ibid.

[t] This *Mithridates* was probably the ſon of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*. His mother, though married, was one of the miſtreſſes of that Monarch. The King of *Pontus* ſhewed a ſingular affection for him, gave him a royal education, and for many years kept him at his Court, and in his army.

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bank to bank a number of large trees, and ſome *German* cavalry ventured to paſs it by ſwimming where the banks were loweſt. Theſe attacked the detachment from *Ptolemy*'s camp, and with ſuch fury, that very few eſcaped to the King with the news of his enemy's approach. *Cæſar*, willing to ſtrike a terror into the *Alexandrians*, encamped as near to them as poſſible; and the next day he attacked a fort which lay at a ſmall diſtance, and which *Ptolemy* had joined to his camp by a line of communication. He employed his whole army in this attack, with a deſign of falling immediately upon the camp itſelf, during the conſternation and diſorder which the loſs of the fort would occaſion. The *Romans* accordingly purſued the garriſon of the fort to the works of the camp; and theſe they attempted to force by the two only approaches by which it ſeemed poſſible to attack them; the one by the plain, the other by a narrow paſs between the camp and the *Nile:* But the former was bravely defended by a numerous body of their beſt troops; and the latter was not only protected from the rampart, but from the river, where a great number of archers and ſlingers made a continual diſcharge from the ſhips ſtationed there. *Cæſar*, obſerving that, though his troops fought with the greateſt ardour, yet they made no progreſs, he ordered a few cohorts, under the command of *Carſulenus*, a brave officer, to wheel round the camp, and to climb up the ſteepeſt ſide of it, which he perceived to be unguarded; the whole army having crouded to the attacks, or giving their whole attention to them. *Carſulenus*, having executed his General's orders, ſoon put an end to the fight, by falling down upon the rear of the enemy. The *Alexandrians* fled on all ſides in the greateſt conſternation, and, endeavouring to eſcape to the ſhips on the *Nile*, threw themſelves over the rampart on that ſide. The King, during the confuſion, got on ſhipboard, but the veſſel was overloaded and ſunk by the multitudes which followed him. Such was the end of this perfidious Prince. His body was afterwards found, covered with mud, and known by the golden cuiraſs, which it was cuſtomary for the *Ptolemy's* to wear in battle.

Flor. iv. 2. Oroſ. vi. 16.

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Cæſar marched immediately to *Alexandria*, at the head of his cavalry, by the ſhorteſt way, confident that the inhabitants and troops, left in the town, would not dare to make any reſiſtance. On his approach the whole city came out to meet him in the habit of ſuppliants, preceded by all their Prieſts with the ſacred ſymbols of their religion. The victorious General received their ſubmiſſion with his wonted humanity, and rode triumphant through the enemy's works into his own quarters[u]. Thus *Cæſar*, in a few months, extricated himſelf from a

[u] It appears by an old marble calendar, cited by *Gruterus*, Inſcript. t. i. p. 133, that *Cæſar* entered *Alexandria*, vi cal. *Ap.* or *27th of March*; which, according to *Uſher*, was the *14th of January* of the *Julian* year; but rather about the middle of *February*; *Suetonius* in Cæſ. 35. ſays the war was carried on in winter, *hyeme anni.*

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war, in which all manner of difficulties ſeem to have been combined to put his prudence, courage, vigilance and activity to the teſt. In the midſt of winter, and abſolutely unprepared and in want of every thing, he maintained himſelf at land and ſea, within the very walls and port of an artful enemy, ſupplied with every commodity, and who brought againſt him a diſciplined and warlike army, four times as numerous as that with which he had been forced to begin the war. Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

He now baniſhed *Arſinoë* the kingdom, and ſettled the crown, in conformity to *Auletes*'s will, upon the only ſurviving ſon and *Cleopatra*: And he left with them the greateſt part of his troops, to ſupport their authority over ſubjects, who, upon his account, were greatly diſaffected to them. It ſeemed alſo for the honour and intereſt of the people of *Rome*, that the *Roman* forces ſhould remain there to protect them, while they continued faithful; and to check them, if they ſhould fall off from their allegiance. *Suetonius* tells us, that what deterred *Cæſar* from reducing *Egypt*, at this time, into a province of the empire, was, that he was apprehenſive, leſt an ambitious Governor, maſter of a country ſo opulent, and of ſuch difficult acceſs, ſhould be tempted to revolt. Others aſcribe it to his love for *Cleopatra*, who, not long after his departure, was delivered of a ſon to him, whom ſhe named *Cæſario*, and whom *Cæſar* is ſaid to have owned [x]. But, whatever paſſion he may be ſuppoſed to have had for *Cleopatra*, it certainly engaged him in no act of injuſtice, and never drew his attention from concerns of greater importance. As ſoon as affairs were ſettled in *Egypt*, and the ſeaſon was open for military operations, he ſet out by land for *Syria*, with the ſixth legion, in his way to *Pontus*, where *Pharnaces*, King of the *Boſphorus*, during the *Alexandrian* war, had made a great progreſs, and was likely to give him much uneaſineſs [y].

This Prince, at the breaking out of the Civil War, thought he had a fair opportunity, while all was in ſuch confuſion, and the *Romans* employed in their mutual deſtruction, to reconquer the dominions of Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

[x] So *Antony* gave out after *Cæſar*'s death: though *Oppius*, it may be obſerved, thought it worth his while to write a book to confute his teſtimony, and to prove that *Cæſario* was not *Cæſar*'s child.

[y] "*Cleopatra*'s charms, ſays M. *Crevier*, "muſt have been very bewitching, ſince "they had the power to retard *Cæſar*'s activity. After having confined himſelf nine "months in *Alexandria* during which time "the whole buſineſs of *Rome* and *Italy* was "*at a ſtand*, and *whereby* the vanquiſhed "party found means to get ſtrength, and "become formidable in *Africa*, *Cæſar*, inſtead of quitting *Egypt*, with all expedition, to go where honour and the affairs "of ſtate required his preſence, abandoned "himſelf to pleaſure, and paſſed whole "nights in feaſts and other debaucheries "with *Cleopatra*: And at laſt ſet out with "her to make a tour round the country. "They went on board a ſhip richly ornamented, and took their courſe up the *Nile*, "attended by *four hundred* veſſels. *Cæſar*'s "deſign was to have gone to *Ethiopia*, but "he was prevented by his army, who began to diſlike his proceedings." *Suetonius*, *Appian*, and *Dio* are cited to confirm theſe particulars; but one has occaſion for a very ſmall ſhare of penetration to perceive their improbability.

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his anceſtors. He began by taking *Phanegoria*, which *Pompey* had declared free: He next ſubdued *Colchis*; then, entering *Pontus*, he made himſelf maſter of *Sinope*, the ancient reſidence of its Kings. Elated by this ſucceſs, he had ſeized upon the *leſſer Armenia*, which belonged to *Dejotarus*, and carried his arms into *Cappadocia*, the kingdom of *Ariobarzanes*. *Dejotarus* found affairs in this ſituation, on his return from *Pharſalia*; and had recourſe to *Domitius Calvinus*, whom *Cæſar* had appointed Commander in thoſe parts. *Domitius* was very ſenſible that the Republic was not leſs intereſted in this war than *Dejotarus* and *Ariobarzanes*, and that it was diſhonourable to the *Roman* people, to *Cæſar*, and to himſelf, to ſuffer the dominions of their friends and allies to be invaded by a foreign Prince: He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to *Pharnaces*, and required of him, "to withdraw immediately out of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and no longer to inſult the "majeſty of the *Roman* Republic." At the ſame time, to give more weight to his embaſſy, he aſſembled what troops he could, and ordered them to rendezvous at *Comana*. Of the three legions which *Cæſar* had left with him, he had ſent two to *Egypt*, one by ſea, the other with *Mithridates:* The thirty-ſixth alone remained with him. He received, however, two legions from *Dejotarus*, and one had been lately raiſed in *Pontus*. Theſe four legions, with ſome *Cilician* recruits, and two hundred horſe, made up his whole army. *Pharnaces* made anſwer, "that he had quitted *Cappadocia*, and that the *leſſer Armenia* was "his own by the right of inheritance; but that he would ſubmit to the "deciſion of *Cæſar*." *Domitius*, who underſtood that he had left *Cappadocia* for no other reaſon than becauſe, *Armenia* lying contiguous to his kingdom, he could more eaſily defend it, ſent him word, that he had no better right to *Armenia* than to *Cappadocia*, and that he muſt renounce acquiſitions to which his ſword alone had intitled him. *Pharnaces* endeavoured in vain to amuſe him with a negociation, and by ſending Deputies after Deputies with preſents. The *Roman* General advanced to *Nicopolis*, and a battle enſued. In this battle *Dejotarus*'s two legions gave ground on the firſt onſet, the legion raiſed in *Pontus* was cut to pieces, and the legion alone of *Pompey*'s veterans, after ſuſtaining the whole ſhock of the action, retreated in good order with the loſs of only two hundred and fifty men. *Domitius*, aſſembling his ſcattered ſoldiers as well as he could, retired as far as *Aſia*; while the King entered *Pontus* as Conqueror, and committed all kinds of enormities. Affairs were in this ſituation, when *Cæſar* left *Egypt*.

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On his arrival in *Syria*, he received advice from all hands, that every thing was in confuſion at *Rome*; that the conteſts of the Tribunes produced daily ſeditions; that the officers kept up no diſcipline among the ſoldiers; and that his preſence was neceſſary to give the laws their proper authority. However, he thought it neceſſary firſt to regulate the affairs of the Eaſtern provinces, and take vengeance on *Pharnaces*.

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The Kings and petty Princes in and about *Syria* came from every ſide to wait on him, and were graciouſly received. He confirmed *Hircan* in the high-prieſthood of the *Jews*, notwithſtanding the ſollicitations of *Antigonus*, ſon to *Ariſtobulus*; and gave him leave to build the walls of *Jeruſalem*, which *Pompey* had ordered to be pulled down: He likewiſe ſupported *Antipater* in the command he had for a long time exerciſed in *Judæa*, under *Hircan*'s name; which greatly ſtrengthened the authority of that Prince. From *Syria* where he left the command in the hands of *Sextus Cæſar*, a young relation, he ſailed for *Cilicia*: And, having convened the States of that province in *Tarſus*, and ſettled its affairs, he ſet out with the greateſt expedition towards *Pontus*. At *Comana* he conferred the prieſthood of *Bellona* on *Lycomedes* of *Bithynia*, who claimed it in right of his anceſtors, and, according to *Appian*, diſpoſſeſſed *Archelaus*, the ſon of him whom *Pompey* had inveſted with that dignity. On his approaching the frontiers of *Gallogræcia*, he was met by *Dejotarus*, who had not only diveſted himſelf of all marks of royalty, but had taken that of a ſuppliant "to beg forgiveneſs for having aſſiſted *Pompey*, at a time when *Cæſar* could give "him no protection: Urging that it was his buſineſs to obey the Governors who were preſent, without pretending to judge of the diſputes "of the *Roman* people." *Cæſar*, who was well acquainted with what zeal and ſpirit he had ſerved againſt him, after ſome reproaches, and refuting his excuſes, reſtored him his royal habit, and commanded him to join him with all his cavalry and troops. Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46, 405 Conſ.

Pharnaces obſerved the ſame conduct with *Cæſar* as with *Domitius*: He pretended to ſue for peace, but was fully reſolved to puſh the war. *Cæſar* ſaw through his deſign: And, though his army was very inconſiderable, both as to the number and the quality of his troops, conſiſting only of the ſixth legion (now reduced to one thouſand men) and the remains of *Domitius*'s army, he reſolved to give battle. He advanced therefore within five miles of the enemy. The country where the King was encamped was filled with hills, ſeparated from each other by deep vallies: And, oppoſite to that eminence where *Pharnaces* had intrenched himſelf, was another at the diſtance only of one mile, and there *Cæſar* intended to pitch his camp. With this deſign, having ordered his men to prepare every thing neceſſary for throwing up a rampart, he ſet out in the night to take poſſeſſion of it. *Pharnaces* was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee him there, at ſun-riſing, employed in making his fortifications, and immediately took the reſolution to attack him. The approach was ſo very difficult and dangerous, that *Cæſar* concluded the King's intention was no other than to retard his works by keeping a great number of his men under arms: And, ſhewing therefore his firſt line in order of battle, he commanded the reſt of the army to go on with the works. But the King, encouraged by favourable omens, and by reflecting that in this very place *Triarius* had been overcome by his father *Mithridates*,

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and having conceived an utter contempt for ſo ſmall an army, made up, for the moſt part, of troops he had already defeated in the field, had determined upon a battle, and to that end began to croſs the valley. *Cæſar* laughed at his fooliſh attempt in crouding his army into ſo narrow a place, where no General in his right ſenſes would have entered; and did not think of calling his ſoldiers from their work. But, ſeeing him puſh on and aſcend the hill, he found himſelf obliged, to his great aſtoniſhment, to poſt his army in order to receive him. An attack ſo ſudden and unexpected cauſed ſome diſorder at firſt, which was increaſed by the chariots armed with ſcythes, which, ſent before the enemy's firſt line, fell in with *Cæſar*'s ranks before they were quite formed: But the multitude of darts, which were launched againſt them, ſoon put a ſtop to their career. The army, which followed them cloſe, began the battle by a ſhout; and the engagement was ſharp and long. At laſt the *Romans*, by the advantage of their ſituation, repulſed the aſſailants: The victory began in the right wing, where the veterans of the ſixth legion were poſted; and, the troops in the center and in the left wing gaining ſoon a like ſuperiority, the whole army of *Pharnaces* was driven precipitately down the hill. In the flight great numbers were ſlain and cruſhed by their own troops, and thoſe who eſcaped were obliged to throw away their arms, ſo that, having croſſed the valley and got to the oppoſite aſcent, they could not face about, nor derive any benefit from the advantage of the ground. The *Romans* purſued them, and, without allowing them to rally, attacked and took their camp. It was during this attack that *Pharnaces* made his eſcape. Almoſt his whole army was deſtroyed or made priſoners. It is reported by *Appian*, that *Cæſar*, aſtoniſhed at the eaſe with which he gained this victory, cried out: *Happy Pompey! ſuch then are the enemies by whoſe defeat you acquired the ſurname of Great:* And in a letter to one of his friends at *Rome*, giving an account of this action, he deſcribed the rapidity of his conqueſt in theſe three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; *I came, I ſaw, I conquered* [z]. And, when he triumphed afterwards on this occaſion, he cauſed a tablet to be carried in the proceſſion, with theſe very words inſcribed in capitals. *Hirtius* tells us, that no victory ever gave him more joy, as he, at one blow, in ſo critical a conjuncture, put an end to a dangerous war, which he was afraid would detain him a long time from *Rome*, where his preſence was neceſſary. *Pharnaces*, having retired to *Sinope*, was purſued thi-

[z] Rex Pharnaces magis diſcordiæ noſtræ fiducia, quam virtutis ſuæ, infeſto in Cappadociam agmine ruebat: Sed hunc *Cæſar* aggreſſus, uno, et, ut ſic dixerim, non toto prælio, obtrivit; more fulminis, quod uno eodemque momento venit, percuſſit, abſceſſit. Nec vana de ſe prædicatio eſt Cæſaris, ante victum hoſtem eſſe, quam viſum. *Flor. l.* iv. *c.* 2.

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ther by *Domitius*, who forced him to leave the country. In the *Bosphorus*, *Aſander*, whom he had left Regent of his kingdom, had revolted and ſet up for himſelf, during the expedition into *Pontus*; ſo that, when the fugitive King returned home, he found a Rebel in a condition to diſpute with him the poſſeſſion. A battle enſued, in which *Pharnaces* loſt his life. Such was the end of this parricide ſon of the great *Mithridates*. Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

During the war in *Egypt* and in *Pontus*, *Greece* and *Illyricum* had been pacified by *Calenus* and *Vatinius*. The firſt made himſelf maſter of all *Peloponneſus* without much difficulty. In *Illyricum* the ſtruggle was greater. *Cæſar*, upon his expedition againſt *Pompey*, had left *Q. Cornificius* to command in that province with two legions, and this Lieutenant had kept the Barbarians in ſubjection. After the battle of *Pharſalia*, *Cæſar*, being informed that many of the vanquiſhed party had fled that way, and that *Octavius* had brought the fleet which he commanded upon the coaſt, he ſent orders to *Gabinius*, who was then in *Italy*, to march with the new-raiſed legions to the ſuccour of *Cornificius*. *Gabinius*, imagining that the province was better ſtocked with proviſions than it really was, and depending on the terror impreſſed upon the inhabitants by *Cæſar*'s late victory, marched into *Illyricum* in the middle of winter, and, not finding ſufficient ſubſiſtence in a province already exhauſted, and partly ill-affected, he was obliged to make war upon the inhabitants for proviſions, and to beſiege them in their ſtrong-holds; and, receiving, on theſe occaſions, many checks, he was brought into ſuch contempt, that the people of the country ventured to attack him upon his march to *Salona*, and killed two thouſand of his ſoldiers, thirty-eight Centurions, and four Tribunes. He eſcaped with the remainder to *Salona*, and died there of a diſorder, which the toil of a winter campaign and grief had occaſioned. *Octavius* entered immediately into an alliance with the Barbarians, and would ſoon have reduced the whole country, if *Vatinius* had not flown to its aſſiſtance with the ſame ſpirit he had fought *Cæſar*'s battles in *Rome* at the head of the mob. Neither the ſickneſs he then laboured under, nor the hardſhips of the ſeaſon, ſtopped him. He ſent to *Calenus* for a ſquadron of gallies, but, theſe not coming with that diſpatch the affairs of *Illyricum* required, he faſtened beaks to all the veſſels he found in the port of *Brunduſium*, and, putting on board the veterans whom *Cæſar* had left ſick in thoſe parts, and who had ſince recovered, he ſailed with this ſtout fleet in queſt of *Octavius*. He found him before *Epidaurus*, which he was beſieging both by ſea and land. *Octavius* immediately raiſed the ſiege and retired to *Tauris*, whither *Vatinius*, having joined to his army the garriſon of the place, followed him. The *Pompeian* Admiral, informed of the condition of the enemy's fleet, reſolved to give battle, and, upon their approach, ſailed out of the harbour. *Vatinius*, though part of his ſhips had been diſperſed by a tempeſt, Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

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a tempeſt, and the enemy was ſuperior both in number and ſtrength of veſſels, gave the ſignal for battle, and began it himſelf by driving his quinquereme upon *Octavius*'s four-benched galley, which it ſhocked with ſuch violence, that it loſt its beak. The battle raged with great fury among the reſt of the ſhips, but chiefly round the two Admirals. As the ſhips on each ſide advanced to ſuſtain thoſe that had engaged, a cloſe conflict enſued in a very narrow ſea. Nothing could have happened more favourably for *Vatinius*; for his veterans leaped into the enemy's veſſels, and, forcing them to an equal combat, ſoon maſtered them by their ſuperior valour. *Octavius*'s galley was ſunk; and many others had the ſame fate, or were taken. *Octavius* himſelf got into a boat, which ſinking under the multitude that crouded after him, he ſwam to a neighbouring ſhip; where, being taken up, and night coming on, he ſpread all his ſails and fled towards *Greece*. He thence continued his route for *Africa*, followed by a few that eſcaped out of the battle. *Vatinius* entered the town, whence *Octavius* had failed to fight him, without the loſs of one veſſel, and, having refitted both his own ſhips and thoſe taken from the enemy, he failed to the iſland of *Iſſa*; whither, he was informed, *Octavius* had retired. Here he was certified of *Octavius*'s motions, and thus, having reſtored peace to *Illyricum*, he returned triumphant with his army and fleet to *Brunduſium*.

Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

Cæſar, after his victory over *Pharnaces*, was at liberty to return to *Rome*: And, the day after he had obtained it, he ſet out with a guard of light horſe, having ſent home *Dejotarus*'s troops, and ordered the ſixth legion to follow him into *Italy*, there to receive the recompence due to their ſervices. He took his way through *Gallo-græcia* and *Bithynia* into *Aſia*, giving judgments, as he paſſed, in all controverſies of moment, and ſettling the limits and juriſdictions of the ſeveral Kings, Tetrarchs, and States. *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* was appointed to ſucceed *Pharnaces* in the kingdom of the *Boſphorus*, and the tetrarchate of *Gallo-græcia* was added to it, claimed now by *Mithridates*, in right of inheritance, though it had been poſſeſſed for ſome years by *Dejotarus*. *Cicero* tells us, that *Cæſar* had a particular hatred to this Prince, that he alſo exacted large ſums of money from him, and deprived him of *Armenia*, beſtowing it on *Ariobarzanes*. Nor is it difficult to account for his ſeverity to *Dejotarus*. This Prince had been remarkable for his zeal for *Pompey*, and by this means had obtained ſeveral unjuſt grants from the Senate. *Cæſar* ſtaid no where longer than the neceſſity of his affairs required, and, making the greateſt diſpatch, arrived in *Italy* in the month of *September*, much ſooner than was expected.

Cicero, who had been, in a manner, a priſoner at *Brunduſium*, ever ſince the battle of *Pharſalia*, and lived there in perpetual uneaſineſs [a], upon

Middl. p. 127.

[a] "*Cicero* no ſooner returned to *Italy*, than he began to reflect, that he had been too haſty in coming home before the war was determined, and without any invitation

upon the firſt notice of his landing at *Tarentum*, ſet out on foot to meet him. *Cæſar* no ſooner ſaw him, than he alighted, ran to embrace him, and Y.R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conf.

" tion from the conqueror; and, in a time " of that general licenſe, had reaſon to ap- " prehend ſome inſult from the ſoldiers, if " he ventured to appear in public with his " *faſces* and *laurel*; and yet to drop them " would be a diminution of that honour " which he had received from the *Roman* " people, and the acknowledgment of a " power ſuperior to the laws: *He condemned* " *himſelf, therefore, for not continuing abroad,* " *in ſome convenient place of retirement, till he* " *had been ſent for*, or things were better " ſettled. (*Ad Att.* xi. 6. *and* 9.) What gave " him the greater reaſon to repent of this " ſtep, was *a meſſage that he received from* " *Antony*, who governed all in *Cæſar*'s ab- " ſence, and with the ſame churliſh ſpirit, " with which he would have held him before " in *Italy* againſt his will, ſeemed now diſ- " poſed *to drive him out of it*; for he ſent " him *the copy of a letter from Cæſar*, in " which *Cæſar* ſignified, *that he had heard* " *that Cato and Metellus were at Rome, and* " *appeared openly there, which might occaſion* " *ſome diſturbance*; *wherefore he ſtrictly in-* " *joined, that none ſhould be ſuffered to come to* " *Italy without a ſpecial licenſe from himſelf.* " *Antony*, therefore, deſired *Cicero* to excuſe " him, ſince he could not help obeying " *Cæſar*'s commands: But *Cicero* ſent *L. La-* " *mia* to aſſure him, that *Cæſar* had ordered " *Dolabella* to write to him to come to *Italy* " as ſoon as he pleaſed; and that he came " upon the authority of *Dolabella*'s letter. " So that *Antony*, in the edict which he " publiſhed *to exclude the Pompeians from* " *Italy, excepted Cicero by name:* Which " added ſtill to his mortification; ſince all " his deſire was to be connived at only, " or tacitly permitted, without being perſo- " nally diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of his " party." (*Ad Att.* xi. 7.)

" He had ſeveral other grievances of a " domeſtic kind, which concurred alſo to " make him unhappy: His brother *Quin-* " *tus*, with his ſon, after their eſcape from " *Pharſalia*, followed *Cæſar* into *Aſia*, to " obtain their pardon from him in perſon: " And *Quintus*, in order to make his own " peace the more eaſily, reſolved to throw " all the blame upon his brother; and, for " that purpoſe, made it the ſubject of all " his letters and ſpeeches to *Cæſar*'s friends, " to rail at him in a manner the moſt inhu- " man. *Cicero* was informed of this from " all quarters, and that young *Quintus*, who " was ſent before towards *Cæſar*, had read " an oration to his friends, which he had " prepared to ſpeak to him againſt his un- " cle." (*Ad Att.* xi. 8, 9, 10.) *Middl. p.* 128

" But what gave him the greateſt uneaſi- Middl. p. " neſs was to be held ſtill in ſuſpence, in 137. " what touched him the moſt nearly, the " caſe of his own ſafety, and of *Cæſar*'s diſ- " poſition towards him; for, though all " *Cæſar*'s friends aſſured him, *not only of* " *pardon, but of all kind of favour*; yet he " had received no intimation of kindneſs " from *Cæſar* himſelf. To eaſe his mind Ibid. p. " in this reſpect, ſome of his friends at 142. " *Rome* contrived to ſend him a letter in " *Cæſar*'s name, dated *the 9th of February*, " from *Alexandria*, encouraging him *to lay* " *aſide all gloomy apprehenſions, and expect* " *every thing that was kind and friendly* " *from him:* But it gave him little ſatisfac- " tion, as he ſuſpected what he afterwards " found to be true, that it was forged by " *Balbus* and *Oppius*, on purpoſe to raiſe his " ſpirits, and adminiſter ſome little comfort " to him. All his accounts, however, con- " firmed to him the report of *Cæſar*'s cle- " mency and moderation, and his granting " pardon without exception to all who aſked " it; and, with regard to himſelf, *Cæſar* " *ſent Quintus's virulent letters to Balbus,* " *with orders to ſhew them to him*, as a proof " of his kindneſs and diſlike of *Quintus*'s per- " fidy But *Cicero*'s preſent deſpondency, " which interpreted every thing by his fears, " *made him ſuſpect Cæſar the more, for re-* " *fuſing grace to none*; as if ſuch a clemency " muſt needs be affected, *and his revenge de-* " *ferred only to a ſeaſon more convenient*; and, " as to his brother's letters, he fancied that " *Cæſar* did not ſend them to *Italy*, becauſe " he condemned them, but to make his pre- " ſent miſery and abject condition the more " notorious and deſpicable to every body." (*Ad Att.* xi. 16, 17, 20, 22.)

" He had fears alſo from another quar- Middl. p. " ter: 140.

Y.R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conf. Dio, l. xlii. and walked with him alone, converſing very familiarly for ſeveral furlongs.

On his arrival at *Rome*, he found the city in the greateſt ferment. He had been created Dictator, after the battle of *Pharſalia*, for the following year; and *Antony*, as his Maſter of Horſe, had governed in his abſence. *Dolabella* had got into the tribunate, which he was no ſooner inveſted with, than he revived the laws propoſed the year before by *Calius*, for an abolition of debts, and to exempt tenants from paying, in the preſent confuſion, any rent to their landlords. We are told, that at firſt he was favoured by *Antony*, who found this project very ſuitable to his own circumſtances; but, having diſcovered an intrigue between his wife *Antonia* and the young Tribune, he put her away, and from that moment ſided with the Senate and two of the Tribunes in oppoſing *Dolabella*. The multitude favoured the ſcheme; the Tribune was obſtinate in the purſuit of it; and, in the abſence of *Antony*, who was obliged to make a tour to appeaſe the mutiny of the veteran legions, the diſorder became extreme. The creditors on one ſide, and the debtors on the other, formed two camps in the city, and alternately attacked each other with fire and ſword. We are told that the *Veſtals*, not thinking themſelves ſafe in their temple, removed from thence with the ſacred relics. *Antony* upon his return was charged by the Senate *to take care the Republic received no detriment.* *Dolabella* grew deſperate; and, having fixed a day for the paſſing of his laws, he barricaded the avenues to the Forum, erected wooden turrets to prevent the approach of any perſon againſt his will, and made ſuch diſpoſitions as are uſual, where a ſiege is to be maintained. *Antony*, on his ſide, brought a number of troops to the Capitol, forced the barriers, broke to pieces the tables on which the laws were inſcribed, and, having taken ſome of the ringleaders of this ſedition, he threw them down the *Tarpeian* rock.

" ter: *Cæſar*'s enemies had greatly ſtrengthened themſelves in *Africa*, and it was reported, that they would bring into *Italy* a powerful army before *Cæſar* could return from *Alexandria*. *Cicero*, in this caſe, was ſure to be treated as a deſerter; for while *Cæſar* looked upon all men as friends, who did not act againſt him, and pardoned even enemies, who ſubmitted to his power; it was a declared law, on the other ſide, to conſider all as enemies who were not actually in their camp: So that *Cicero* had nothing now to wiſh, either for himſelf, or the Republic, but, in the firſt place, a peace, of which he had ſtill ſome hopes; or elſe that *Cæſar* might conquer; whoſe victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two." *Ad Att.* xi. 6. 12. 19.)

" After a long ſeries of perpetual mortifications, he was refreſhed at laſt by a very obliging letter from *Cæſar*, who confirmed to him *the full enjoyment of his ſtate and dignity, and bad him reſume his faſces and ſtyle of Emperor as before.* *Cæſar*'s mind, adds *Dr. Middleton*, was too great to liſten to the tales of the brother and nephew," [which, however, contained a great deal of truth] " and, inſtead of approving their treachery, ſeems to have granted them their pardon on *Cicero*'s account, rather than their own: So that *Quintus*, upon the trial of *Cæſar*'s inclination, began preſently to change his note, and to congratulate with his brother on *Cæſar*'s affection and eſteem for him." (*Ep. Fam.* xiv. 23. *Pro Ligar.* iii. *Ad Att.* xi. 23.) *Middl. p.* 142.

5 Not-

Notwithſtanding this exertion of Dictatorial and deſpotic power, the troubles continued till *Cæſar*'s arrival. He did not think fit to take notice of any thing done in his abſence by his friends; but, being deſirous to gain the affection of the ſeveral parties, regulated affairs as much as poſſible to every one's ſatisfaction. He refuſed to liſten to the clamours of the people, who demanded the abolition propoſed by their Tribune, telling them, that he was as much incumbered with debts as any one, yet had no deſign of defrauding his creditors. However, beſides the mitigation already granted by him, he farther indulged the debtors *by a diſcharge of all arrears ſince the commencement of the civil war:* And, with regard to the *tenants*, he eaſed the poor citizens by an order, importing, that all, not renting above two thouſand ſeſterces annually in *Rome*, ſhould be exempted from payment of a year's rent, and of a quarter's only in the other parts of *Italy*.

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

Suet. in Cæſ. 42.

Dio, l. xlii.

about 161 l.

Q. Fufius Calenus, } Conſuls for the three laſt
P. Vatinius, } Months of the Year.

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

Having thus ſettled the affairs of the city, and made *Vatinius* and *Fufius Calenus* Conſuls for the remaining months of the year, he cauſed himſelf to be created Conſul, and continued in the Dictatorſhip for the year following; taking, for his collegue in the Conſulſhip, and his Maſter of the Horſe, *M. Lepidus*; and he applied himſelf to raiſe the money neceſſary for the expedition to *Africa*, where the progreſs of the *Pompeians* called for his preſence. *Dio* tells us, that, as it had been cuſtomary to preſent crowns of gold and erect ſtatues to victorious Generals, *Cæſar* received under this pretence great ſums from the corporations in *Italy*, and at the ſame time borrowed of them ſtill greater. But the ſale of the eſtates of the contrary faction was probably his chief reſource. *Pompey*'s eſtate, houſes and goods, were ſold at this time, and purchaſed by *Antony:* And it was undoubtedly one way of recompenſing a great number of his followers to make over to them the effects of the vanquiſhed at an under rate. *P. Sylla*, as well as *Antony*, was one of the moſt forward and eager purchaſers.

l. xii.

When every thing for his expedition to *Africa* was ready, a violent ſedition broke out among his old legions. They had been very mutinous ever ſince their return to *Italy*, being diſappointed in not receiving immediately the rewards that had been promiſed them, and which they had ſo highly merited; and, when they perceived that *Cæſar* meant to employ them again in a dangerous war, they grew furious. Before *Cæſar*'s return, the twelfth legion had treated their officers with contempt, and pelted with ſtones ſuch of them as had dared to remind them of their duty: And now the tenth, ſo favoured by their General, and ſo much attached hitherto to his perſon, gave the ſignal of revolt, and was followed by the others in *Campania*. *Cæſar* ſent to them *Salluſt*, whom he had lately appointed Prætor, and to whom he deſtined the government of *Africa*, with inſtructions to let them know, that, as ſoon as he had put an end to the *African* war, beſides the diſtributions of

Suet. in Cæſ. Appian. Dio, l. xlii.

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ. Above 32l.

land and money already due to them, he would add a thouſand denarii to each man as a recompenſe for this laſt campaign. Theſe offers, ſo wide of the ſoldiers expectations, greatly exaſperated them. *Salluſt* was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight; and, in the extremity of their reſentment, they marched to *Rome*, plundering all in their way, and killed ſeveral people of diſtinction. *Cæſar*, under apprehenſions for the city, ordered the gates to be ſhut, and ſent to its defence what troops he had about him: But when he heard of their arrival, and that they had ſat down in the *Campus Martius*, the entreaties of his friends, concerned for his ſafety, could not prevail with him to defer a moment going in perſon to ſpeak with them. He boldly mounted his tribunal, and, with a menacing tone of voice, aſked the ſoldiers, What had brought them thither, and what they wanted? This intrepid and imperious behaviour began to diſconcert them: They were aſhamed to reproach him with having delayed their promiſed rewards, but repreſented that, being worn out by fatigue, and weakened by the wounds they had received in his ſervice, they were in hopes that he would have given them their diſcharge. *I give it you*, replied *Cæſar*; and, after a ſhort ſilence, added, *and, when I ſhall have triumphed with other troops, I nevertheleſs will fulfil my engagements with you.* They were thunderſtruck with theſe words; and the Dictator was about to retire, when he was ſtopped by the officers attending him; who conjured him to treat the companions of his victories with leſs coldneſs and ſeverity. He conſented to ſpeak to them once more, and began by addreſſing them with the word *Quirites*, citizens. This expreſſion inſtead of that of *Commilitones*, or *Comrades*, which he commonly uſed, quite overcame them, and brought them back effectually to their duty. They interrupted him, and inſiſted that they were ſtill his ſoldiers, and begged he would conſider them as ſuch, offering to follow him into *Africa*, and every-where elſe [a]. He pardoned them, but ſoon after took the firſt occaſion to puniſh the licentious behaviour and the rapines of ſome of the officers. *C. Avienus*, a military Tribune of the tenth legion, when he ſet out from *Sicily*, having filled a ſhip entirely with his own equipage and ſervants, *Cæſar* ſummoned all the military Tribunes and Centurions to appear before his tribunal the next day, and addreſſed them in theſe words: "I could have "wiſhed that thoſe, whoſe inſolence and licentious carriage have given "me cauſe of complaint, had been capable of amendment, and of ma-king

[a] This event has been embelliſhed with many circumſtances which cannot be true. We are told, that the ſoldiers deſired to be *decimated*, and that *Cæſar* refuſed them that honour, telling them, that he would treat them according to their deſerts, and break them: That he continued inflexible towards the tenth legion; who, not being able to obtain their pardon, followed him of their own accord and without orders into *Africa*; where *Cæſar* made indeed uſe of them, but employed them always in hazardous enterpriſes in order to get rid of them: And that after the war, when returned to *Italy*, he deprived the few that remained of one third of their reward *in* puniſhment of their mutiny. *Dio*, l. xlii. But we ſee that in the battle of *Thapſus*, and afterwards at *Munda*, they had the place of honour as uſual, in the firſt line of the right wing. *Suet. in Cæſ.* 70.

" king a good uſe of my clemency. But, ſince they know not how to Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.
" keep within bounds, I ſhall make an example of them according to
" the law of arms, that others may be taught a better conduct. You,
" *C. Avienus*, when you was in *Italy*, inſtigated the *Roman* ſoldiers to
" mutiny againſt the Republic; you have been guilty of rapine in the
" municipal towns; and you have never been of any real ſervice, either
" to the Commonwealth, or to your General: Laſtly, in place of ſol-
" diers, you have crouded the tranſports with your ſlaves and baggage:
" So that, through your fault, the Republic fails in troops, which at
" this time are not only uſeful, but neceſſary. For all theſe reaſons I
" break you with ignominy, and order you to leave *Africa* this very
" day. In like manner, I break you, *A. Fonteius*, becauſe you have be-
" haved yourſelf as a ſeditious officer, and as a bad citizen. You,
" *T. Salienus*, *M. Tiro*, *C. Cluſinas*, have attained the rank of Centurions,
" through my indulgence, and not through your own merit; and, ſince
" you have been raiſed to that rank, have neither ſhewn bravery in
" war, nor good conduct in peace. Inſtead of behaving according to
" the rules of modeſty, your whole ſtudy has been to ſtir up the ſoldiers
" againſt your General. I therefore think you unworthy of continuing
" Centurions in my army: I break you, and order you to quit *Africa* as
" ſoon as poſſible." Having concluded this ſpeech, he delivered them over to ſome Centurions, with orders to confine them ſeparately on board a ſhip, allowing each of them but one ſingle ſlave: And this ſeems to have been the only puniſhment he inflicted on thoſe ſeditious troops.

CHAP. VIII.

The War of Cæſar *in* Africa *againſt* Scipio, Cato, *and* Juba.

CÆSAR ſet out from *Rome* towards the beginning of *December*; and, paſſing the ſtreights at *Rhegium*, arrived on the 17*th* at *Lilybæum*, the fartheſt point of *Sicily*. It was his deſign to embark immediately, though he had but one legion of new levies, and not quite ſix hundred horſe; and he ordered his tent to be pitched ſo near the ſea-ſide, that the waves flowed quite up to it. This he did to take away all hopes of delay, and keep his men in readineſs at an hour's warning: And, the wind proving contrary, he nevertheleſs ſuffered none of the ſoldiers or mariners to come on ſhore, that he might loſe no opportunity of ſailing. His view was to land and intrench himſelf on the coaſt of *Africa* before his enemies were appriſed of his approach, or could aſſemble their army [b]: And he meant alſo to ſhew an utter

[b] We are told, that this reaſon prevailed with him more than the will of the Gods, declared by the Auſpices: *Cum immolanti aufugiſſet hoſtia, profectionem adverſus Scipionem et Jubam non diſtulit. Suet. in Cæſ. c.* 59. *Quid? Ipſe Cæſar cum a ſummo haruſpice moneretur, ne in Africam ante Brumam tranſmitteret, nonne tranſmiſit? Quod ni feciſſet, uno in loco omnes adverſariorum copiæ conveniſſent.* Cic. de Divinat. l. ii. c. 24.

Y. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

contempt of their forces, which were greatly exaggerated both in *Italy* and *Sicily*. While the wind remained contrary, his gallies and tranſports increaſed daily; and, before the *25th*, he had got together ſix legions, and two thouſand horſe, with the greateſt part of which he ſet ſail, giving ſtrict orders to *Allienus* the Prætor, whom he left to command in *Sicily*, to embark with the utmoſt expedition the remainder of his troops. The wind being favourable, he himſelf, with a few gallies, arrived the fourth day within ſight of *Africa:* But moſt of his tranſports had not kept up with him, nor had he appointed them any place of rendezvous, knowing of no part that was clear of the enemy's forces, and reſolving to land where occaſion offered. He coaſted ſome time along the ſhore, running ſouthward, and leaving *Clypea* and *Neapolis* behind him; and when he came before *Adrumetum*, where the enemy had a garriſon commanded by *C. Conſidius*, *Cn. Piſo* appeared upon the ſhore with the cavalry and about two thouſand Moors. Here, notwithſtanding this ſhew of oppoſition, he landed the troops he had with him, which did not exceed three thouſand foot and a hundred and fifty horſe, and encamped before the town, keeping his ſoldiers within their intrenchments, and not ſuffering them to commit any hoſtilities. *L. Plancus*, one of his Lieutenants, diſpatched a meſſenger into the town with a letter, exhorting *Conſidius* to ſurrender: But *Conſidius* ordered him to be ſlain in his preſence, and ſent the letter unopened to *Scipio*, ſaying, he knew no other General of the *Romans*. *Cæſar*, finding himſelf unable to ſtorm the town, after ſtaying before it one night and a day, broke up his camp. As he was drawing off his troops, the garriſon which conſiſted of two legions made a ſally, and, a body of *Juba*'s horſe, whom he had ſent to receive their pay, happening juſt then to come up, they jointly took poſſeſſion of the abandoned camp, and began to harraſs his rear. The legionaries immediately halted, and the cavalry, though few in number, boldly charged the great multitude of the enemy: Thirty *Gallic* horſe are ſaid on this occaſion to have repulſed two thouſand Moors, and driven them quite within the town. *Cæſar* reached *Ruſpina* the ſame day, which was the *1ſt* of *January* [c].

Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator III.
M. Æmilius Lepidus, Mag. Eq.

From *Ruſpina*, *Cæſar* marched towards *Leptis*, a free town, and governed by its own laws. The inhabitants of this place had formerly aſſiſted his enemies, but now they thought proper to ſend Deputies to him, to make offer of their ſubmiſſion and ſervices; and, having placed a guard at its gates, to prevent the ſoldiers from entering it and committing diſorders, he encamped with his army at a ſmall diſtance. Here he was joined by a part of his fleet, by whom he was informed that the reſt, uncertain what courſe to take, had ſteered towards *Utica*. *Cæſar* inſtantly diſpatched ten gallies after them, and the next day, hav-

[c] According to *Uſher*, the *13th* of *October*; but, more probably, the *5th* of *November* of the *Julian* year.

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ing left ſix cohorts at *Leptis*, he returned with the reſt of his army to *Ruſpina*; where he went on board with ſome of his beſt troops in the evening to the great aſtoniſhment and diſmay of his army. They ſaw themſelves but few in number, moſtly new levies, expoſed upon a foreign coaſt to the mighty forces of a crafty nation, which had an innumerable cavalry; nor had they the leaſt expectation of ſafety from their own conduct, but derived all their hopes from the alacrity and chearfulneſs which appeared in the countenance of their General: For, at no time, had he ſhewed a greater confidence. They ſoon, however, underſtood with what view he intended to put to ſea, when, the next day, they ſaw him return with the reſt of the troops, which his fleet had luckily brought him before he ſet ſail. He was greatly apprehenſive leſt they ſhould fall in with the enemy's fleet, and had reſolved to go out to aſſiſt and direct them. Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

This junction of his forces was very neceſſary; for *Labienus* was in full march towards him with a conſiderable army of horſe and foot. *Cæſar*, after forming his camp, having advanced only three miles into the country with thirty cohorts to forage, was informed by his ſcouts, and ſome advanced parties of horſe, that the enemy was in view. Upon this intelligence, he ordered his horſe, and a ſmall number of archers which attended them, to advance, and his cohorts to follow and prepare for battle. *Labienus* drew up with a very extended front, conſiſting moſtly of horſe, with whom he intermixed light-armed *Numidians* and archers, and formed them in ſuch cloſe order, that *Cæſar*'s army at a diſtance miſtook them all for infantry; his right and left were ſtrengthened with a numerous cavalry. *Cæſar* was forced to draw up his army alſo in one line, on account of the ſmallneſs of its number; ranging his bowmen in front, and his cavalry in the wings; and he gave them particular inſtructions not to ſuffer themſelves to be ſurrounded. Both armies ſtood ſome time expecting the ſignal: At length, the enemy began to extend themſelves, and to ſpread out upon the hills with a view to ſurround *Cæſar*'s cavalry. The main bodies advancing then to engage, the enemy's horſe, intermixed with the light-armed *Numidians*, ſuddenly ſprung forward from among the legionaries, and threw their darts. Upon this, they retreated with all ſpeed, leaving the legionaries to ſuſtain the attack of *Cæſar*'s troops, and ſoon after returned to the charge with freſh vigour. *Cæſar*, perceiving that his ranks were in danger of being broken by this new way of fighting, which enticed his men to purſue the horſe, gave expreſs orders that no ſoldier ſhould advance above four feet beyond the enſigns. But he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides, his cavalry being altogether unable to reſiſt thoſe of the enemy; and, in this perplexity, he formed his whole army into an orb. *Labienus*, to encourage his men, advanced on horſeback to the front of the battle, and, addreſſing *Cæſar*'s legions, upbraided them with their inexperience in war, and their infatuation in following him to their Hirt. de Bell. Afr.

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certain deſtruction. One of the ſoldiers anſwered, *that he was no new ſoldier, but a veteran of the tenth legion. Where then is your ſtandard?* ſaid *Labienus. You ſhall know me preſently*, anſwered the ſoldier: Then, pulling off his helmet to diſcover himſelf, he launched his dart with all his ſtrength againſt *Labienus*. The dart wounded his horſe in the breaſt, and the veteran called out, *Learn, Labienus, to reſpect a warrior of the tenth legion.* However, the whole army, particularly the new levies, began to be terrified; and, caſting their eyes on *Cæſar*, expected their deliverance from his experience. *Cæſar*, to diſengage himſelf, directed the cohorts of the right and left wings to extend themſelves as much as poſſible, and puſh forward alternately; by which means he broke the enemy's circle at both his wings; and, attacking one part of it now ſeparated from the other, with almoſt all his forces, eaſily put it to flight; and, with the ſame ſucceſs, having repulſed the other part, he immediately gave orders for the retreat. But *M. Petreius* and *Cn Piſo*, brought up in this moment eleven hundred ſelect *Numidian* horſe, and a conſiderable body of foot; and, this ſuccour recovering the enemy from their terror, they fell again on the rear of the legions. *Cæſar* was forced to order his men to wheel about, and renew the battle; but, perceiving that the enemy ſtill purſued their former plan, and avoided a cloſe engagement, and, conſidering that his horſes, fatigued with their late voyage at ſea and the buſineſs of the day, were unfit for a vigorous and long purſuit, which the approach of night rendered alſo impoſſible, he ordered both horſe and foot to fall at once briſkly upon the enemy, and follow them beyond the next hill, and not to ſtop till they had taken poſſeſſion of it. This ſcheme was immediately executed; and *Cæſar*, having kept that poſt for ſome time, retired ſlowly in order of battle to his camp. The enemy thought proper to do the ſame, having been rudely handled in this laſt attack, in which *Petreius* was alſo dangerouſly wounded, and obliged to quit the field. The battle laſted from eleven till ſun-ſet. *Cæſar* made a great many priſoners, and many deſerters flocked to him after the action, by whom he was informed that *Labienus* brought againſt him ſixteen hundred *Gallic* and *German* horſe, who had ſerved under *Pompey*, with eleven hundred *Numidian* troopers commanded by *Petreius*, eight thouſand *Numidian* foot, and four times that number of light-armed ſoldiers, with a multitude of archers and ſlingers; and that he had deſigned to have aſtoniſhed *Cæſar*'s raw levies, and few legionaries, with the new and uncommon manner of fighting of his troops; and, after ſurrounding them with his cavalry, to have cut them to pieces, as *Saburra* did *Curio*'s army. He had ſaid in Council, that he would lead ſuch a numerous body of men againſt *Cæſar*'s legions, as ſhould fatigue them with the very ſlaughter, and defeat them even in the very boſom of victory. This is *Hirtius*'s account. The *Greek* hiſtorians tell us, that *Cæſar* had the worſt of it in this day's battle; and it appears from a paſſage in *Valerius Maximus*, that *Labienus* and *Scipio* rewarded their ſoldiers for

Plut. App. Dio.

Val. Max. vii. 14.

for their bravery; and they alſo probably gave out, that the victory was on their ſide, ſince *Cæſar* retreated to his camp [d]. Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45.

Cæſar was alſo informed, that within three days *Scipio* was expected with his forces, which conſiſted of eight legions and three thouſand horſe. He therefore fortified his camp and the forts about it with the greateſt care, and threw up two intrenchments; one from *Ruſpina* quite to the ſea, and the other from his camp to the ſea likewiſe, in order to ſecure the communication, and receive his ſupplies without danger. He took out of his fleet a great number of the mariners, *Gauls*, *Rhodians*, and others, of whom he formed companies of light-armed troops to fight, after the example of the enemy, among the cavalry. Having thus ſtrengthened his army, he ſtationed his fleet along the coaſts and iſlands for the ſecurity of his convoys, wrote to *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to preſs for ſupplies of all kinds, and ſent *Salluſt* to ſeize *Cercinna*, an iſland upon the coaſt, where *Scipio* had a magazine of proviſions. But, notwithſtanding what was brought from thence, he found himſelf ſoon in very great ſcarcity, and particularly of forage. He was not maſter of ſix miles in *Africa*, and was obliged to keep within his intrenchments: It was the winter ſeaſon, and navigation was very dangerous; and his ſhips of burden were often taken by the enemy's fleets: The veteran ſoldiers, however, and cavalry, who had been accuſtomed to hardſhips of every kind, were nowiſe diſmayed; and with ſea-weed, waſhed in freſh water, they ſubſiſted the horſes and cattle of the army. 406 Conſ.

Cn. Pompey ſet out about this time upon a particular expedition. *Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, never ceaſed exhorting and urging the youth in words to this effect: "Your father, when he was arrived at your "age, and ſaw the Commonwealth oppreſſed by wicked and daring "men; and the honeſt party either ſlain, or driven by baniſhment "from their country and relations; inſtigated by magnanimity and "the love of glory, though then only a private man, had yet the cou-"rage to rally the remains of his father's army, and to deliver *Italy* and "*Rome* from the yoke of ſlavery and tyranny under which they groaned. "He recovered, with amazing diſpatch, *Sicily*, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Mauri-*"*tania*, and by that means gained an illuſtrious and extenſive reputation "among all nations, and triumphed at three-and-twenty, while but a "*Roman* Knight. Nor did he enter into the world with thoſe advan-"tages which you enjoy; the exploits and dignity of his father reflected

[d] *Appian*'s account is as follows: *Cæſar*, upon his landing in *Africa*, being informed that *Scipio* was gone to meet King *Juba*, took the opportunity of his abſence, and drew up his army before the enemy's camp. *Labienus*, and *Petreius*, *Scipio*'s Lieutenants, accepted his defiance, and vigorouſly beat back *Cæſar*'s men, driving them before them with contempt, till, *Labienus*'s horſe, wounded in the belly, having thrown him, he was obliged to quit the fight. *Petreius*, who took the command, contenting himſelf with having tried the courage of his ſoldiers, cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, ſaying to thoſe about him, *We muſt not deprive* Scipio, *our General, of the honour of beating* Cæſar.

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"on him no conſiderable luſtre. Do you, dignified by your deſcent, "beſtir yourſelf and call together your friends, and vindicate your "own liberty, that of the Commonwealth, and of every good and "honeſt man." Rouſed by the remonſtrances of a man of ſuch gravity, young *Pompey* collected about thirty ſail of ſhips, of which a few were gallies, and, ſailing from *Utica* to *Mauritania*, invaded the kingdom of *Bogud*, who was in alliance with *Cæſar*; but he had little ſucceſs in this attempt. With an army of two thouſand men, compoſed of freedmen and ſlaves, of whom ſome were armed and ſome not, he approached the city of *Aſcurum*, in which the King had a garriſon. The inhabitants ſuffered him to advance to the very walls and gates, and then, ſallying out of a ſudden, they drove him quite back to his ſhips. This defeat determined him to leave that coaſt, and he ſteered directly to the *Balearian* iſlands, and *Spain*, whither he was invited by a party which had declared for him; and there he raiſed a force ſufficient to appear againſt *Cæſar* the following year, and to diſpute with him the *Roman* empire.

Scipio, having left a ſtrong garriſon in *Utica*, under the command of *Cato*, had marched to *Adrumetum*, and, a few days after, joined *Petreius* and *Labienus*, whoſe camp was but three miles diſtant from *Cæſar*'s. *Juba* alſo was advancing at the head of a great body of horſe and foot, when news was brought him that *P. Sitius* [e] and King *Bogud* had united their forces, entered *Numidia*, and taken *Cirta*, the moſt opulent city of the country, by ſtorm, with two other towns of the *Getulians*, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. He therefore marched immediately back to hinder the further devaſtation of his territories, leaving only thirty elephants behind him; but, as ſoon as he had put his kingdom in a better poſture of defence, ordering *Saburra* to make head againſt *Sitius*, he returned again to *Scipio* with three legions, eight hundred horſe, a body of *Numidian* cavalry, thirty elephants more, and a great number of light-armed infantry. Both armies for four months were continually obſerving each other's motions; during which time there happened frequent engagements between detachments from the two camps, in which *Cæſar* had commonly the advantage. *Scipio*, on his arrival, had appeared very deſirous of coming to a general battle, and brought out his troops every day; but *Cæſar* had not collected all his forces, and he was ſenſible from the laſt encounter, in which he had ſo much difficulty to bring off

[e] *P. Sitius* was a *Roman* Knight, who, having made himſelf obnoxious to the laws, had been obliged to leave *Italy*, and retired into *Africa*. There he got about him a great number of *Italians* and *Spaniards*, of whom he formed a ſmall army, and, in the wars between the petty Princes in *Africa*, he let himſelf out to the beſt bidder: And, it being remarked, that the ſide he eſpouſed always came off victorious, he gained great reputation, and was much courted. He was in alliance with *Bogud*, who favoured *Cæſar*.

his men, that, having to do with an army ſo ſuperior in number, and commanded by experienced officers, it was neceſſary to uſe the greateſt caution. He therefore kept within his intrenchments, and applied himſelf to gain over to his intereſt the people of the country, and to encourage deſertion in the enemy's camp. He ſucceeded in his intentions; and the *Africans*, in particular, came to him in crouds when they underſtood that he was related to *C. Marius*, for whoſe name they had the greateſt reſpect. The *Pompeians*, at the ſame time, were diligent in diſciplining their elephants; and *Cato* was daily inliſting freedmen, *Africans*, ſlaves, and all that were of age to bear arms, and ſending them to *Scipio*'s camp. Y.R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 706 Conſ.

When *Cæſar*, however, ſaw all his forces drawn together, and had taught them how to fight with elephants, and with troops who never ſtood their ground, but, after a fierce attack, retreated to return again, he was as deſirous to give battle, as he had been formerly averſe to it. But *Scipio*, in his turn, had changed his ſcheme, and reſolved very prudently to protract the war. On the *fourteenth* of *April*, *Cæſar*, to force him to an engagement, decamping at midnight, marched to *Thapſus*, a ſea-port town of the utmoſt importance to the enemy, and where *Vergilius* commanded with a ſtrong garriſon. The very firſt day after his arrival he began the circumvallation, and ſoon raiſed all the forts neceſſary both for his own ſecurity, and to prevent any ſuccours from entering the town. *Scipio* and *Juba*, to avoid the diſgrace of abandoning *Vergilius* and the *Thapſitani*, who had all along remained firm to their party, followed *Cæſar* without delay, and poſted themſelves in two camps eight miles from *Thapſus*. They attempted firſt to throw troops into the place, but, finding that to be impoſſible, they reſolved to give battle [f]. For this purpoſe *Scipio* approached with his army, and began to intrench himſelf about fifteen hundred paces from the ſea. *Cæſar* immediately, leaving two legions to guard his camp, marched all the reſt of his forces with the utmoſt expedition to the place where the enemy was poſted. At the ſame time, he ordered part of his fleet to make as near the ſhore as poſſible towards the enemy's rear, and obſerve the ſignal he ſhould give them; upon which they were to raiſe a ſudden ſhout, that the enemy, alarmed and

[f] *Plutarch in Cat.* tells us, that *Cato* oppoſed this reſolution with the greateſt earneſtneſs, and inſiſted upon protracting the war. But that *Scipio* rejected his advice with diſdain; and, in a letter he ſent him, taxed him with cowardice, and told him that he ought to be ſatisfied with being ſafe in a good city, behind ſtrong walls; and that it was taking too much upon him to diſſuade others from following the dictates of their courage. *Cato*, nettled at the reproach, replied, that, if he would give him back the troops he had brought, he was ready to march at the head of them into *Italy*, and that it was more for their intereſt ſo to do, than to riſk all in *Africa*. *Plutarch* adds, that he then ſorely repented the having given up the command to a man who was incapable of a prudent conduct in the war, or of any moderation in victory: And indeed *Hirtius* has given us ſeveral inſtances of his cruel diſpoſition.

Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 46 Conf. disturbed by the noise behind them, might be forced to face about. He found *Scipio*'s army in order of battle before the intrenchments, which were not yet perfected, and the elephants were ranged in the two wings. Upon this he drew up his army in three lines: He placed the second and tenth legions in the right wing, the eighth and ninth in the left, and five legions in the center: He covered his flanks with five cohorts posted opposite to the elephants, and disposed the archers and slingers in the two wings, and the light-armed troops, which he intermingled with his cavalry. He himself, on foot, went from rank to rank to rouse the courage of the veterans, putting them in mind of their great reputation for bravery; and to exhort the new levies to emulate the valour of the veterans, and attain the same degree of glory. As he spoke to his soldiers, he observed the enemy to be very uneasy, hurrying from place to place; one while retiring behind the rampart, then coming out again in great tumult and confusion; and his officers, making the same observation, begged that he would give the signal for battle. While he hesitated whether he should restrain the eagerness of his troops, a trumpeter in the right wing sounded, of a sudden, the charge, and all the cohorts rushed forwards. The Centurions strove in vain to keep them back, and *Cæsar*, perceiving that their ardour could not be checked, spurred on his horse and charged the enemy in the center. On the right wing the archers and slingers poured such a volley of arrows and stones upon the elephants, that these animals, which were not perfectly disciplined, turning upon their own men, trod them down, and rushed into the camp through the gates, which were but half finished. The *Mauritanian* horse followed them; upon which the legions pushed on to the intrenchments which they soon carried; and the greatest part of the troops that defended them fled to the camp which they had quitted the preceding day. Thither they were followed, and, finding neither General to command them, nor any security, they made towards *Juba*'s quarters. This being likewise forced by the victorious troops, they retired to a hill; where, seeing their case desperate, they endeavoured to soften their enemies, saluting them with the name of brethren: But the veterans, transported with rage, were not only deaf to their cries, but even killed and wounded some persons of distinction of their own army, whom they suspected to wish well to the contrary party. Ten thousand of the enemy were slain upon the spot: The rest were dispersed, and their three camps carried sword in hand with the loss of only fifty men killed, and a few wounded.

The garrison of *Thapsus*, during the battle, had sallied out of the town with a view either to assist *Scipio*, or to make their escape; but had been beat back by the servants and followers of the camp. *Cæsar*, in his return from the battle, stopped before the town, and ranged the sixty elephants he had taken, with their trappings and castles, in full view of the place. He was in hopes, by this evidence of his success,

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to induce *Vergilius* to a ſurrendry; and he farther invited him to it by reminding him of his experienced clemency. No anſwer, however, being given, he retired from before the town; but, next day, after returning thanks to the Gods, he aſſembled his army before it, and, in the ſight of the inhabitants, praiſed his ſoldiers from his tribunal, and rewarded them according to their deſerts. Then leaving *C. Rebellius*, one of his Lieutenants, with three legions, to continue the ſiege, he ſent *Cn. Domitius*, with two, to inveſt *Tiſdra*, where *Conſidius* now commanded, and marched himſelf towards *Utica*. U. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 46 Conſ.

Scipio's cavalry had taken the ſame road in their flight, and, arriving at *Parada*, were refuſed admittance, the inhabitants being already appriſed of *Cæſar*'s victory. They thereupon forced the gates, and, lighting a great fire in the market-place, threw all the inhabitants they could ſeize into it, without diſtinction of age or ſex, with all their effects: And thence they marched directly to *Utica*. *Cato*, who commanded there, knowing the common people to be well affected towards *Cæſar*, who had formerly procured them great privileges, had turned them out of the town, and obliged them to encamp without the walls under the protection of a ſlight intrenchment, round which he had placed guards. The cavalry attacked firſt this camp, but the people, animated with the news of *Cæſar*'s victory, and enraged at the ill uſage they had met with, repulſed them, though they had no other arms than clubs. Diſappointed in this attempt, they entered the town, and began to ſack it. *Cato*, unable to prevail with them to abſtain from rapine and undertake the defence of the place, gave each of them an hundred ſeſterces, and *Fauſtus Sylla* gave them as many more, to retire in peace: And he marched them into the territories of *Juba*. Many of the other fugitives had by this time arrived at *Utica*, and *Cato*, having aſſembled them with the three hundred *Roman* merchants ſettled in the town, and of whom he had formed a council, he exhorted them to ſet their ſlaves free, and join with him in the neceſſary meaſures for defence; but, finding them averſe to this reſolution, he furniſhed them with ſhips to make their eſcape. He himſelf, having ſettled all his affairs with the utmoſt care, and recommended his children to *L. Cæſar*, his Quæſtor, without the leaſt indication, which might give cauſe of ſuſpicion, or any change in his countenance and behaviour, privately carried a ſword into his chamber, when he went to ſleep, and ſtabbed himſelf with it. The wound, however, not proving mortal, and the noiſe of his fall creating a ſuſpicion, a phyſician, with ſome of his friends, broke into his chamber, and endeavoured to bind it up; which he no ſooner was ſenſible of, than, tearing it open again with his own hands, he expired with undaunted reſolution and preſence of mind. The *Uticans*, though they hated his party, yet, in conſideration of his ſingular integrity, his behaviour, ſo different from that of the other Chiefs, and the wonderful fortifica-

Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ

tions he had erected to defend their town, interred him honourably. This is the account we find of *Cato*'s conduct and death in the Memoirs concerning the *African* war, and it contains the ſubſtance of *Plutarch*'s longer narrative. As the *Greek* hiſtorian's circumſtantial relation, however, has paſſed hitherto for authentic, and is the ground-work of all the panegyric which has been written upon *Cato*, it might look like partiality, if we ſhould omit it. It is as follows:

Plut. in Cat.

The news of the battle of *Thapſus*, and the utter ruin of *Scipio*'s and *Juba*'s armies, cauſed the greateſt conſternation in *Utica*. *Cato* applied himſelf firſt to quiet the minds of the people, by repreſenting to them, that the reports were greatly exaggerated; and, as he went from ſtreet to ſtreet, his preſence appeaſed for a time their apprehenſions. His next care was to aſſemble the three hundred *Roman* merchants or bankers, with whom he uſed to conſult, and who had been very ſerviceable to his cauſe: And, after beſtowing due praiſes upon their paſt fidelity and ſervices, he exhorted them above all to a ſtrict union, as the only means by which they could ſupport themſelves, or make themſelves conſidered by the Conqueror. He then told them to conſult together what was proper to be done, and that, if they thought fit to ſubmit to fortune, he would aſcribe their reſolution to neceſſity; but that, if they reſolved to perſiſt in the defence of their liberty, he would be their Leader in ſuch a glorious cauſe. "*Rome*, he ſaid, had "often emerged out of greater difficulties: The Conqueror was per- "plexed in many difficult affairs: *Spain* had revolted to *Pompey*'s ſons: "And the *Romans* would unanimouſly throw off a yoke which they "wore with indignation." His ſpeech had the deſired effect: All appeared zealous for the proſecution of the war, and promiſed to arm themſelves: But a little reflection ſoon cooled their ardour. "Who "are we? ſaid they, and to whom do we refuſe ſubmiſſion? Is not "*Cæſar* veſted with the whole authority of the *Roman* empire? Does "he not command its forces? Shall we diſpute the poſſeſſion of *Utica* "with him to whom *Pompey* and all his adherents were forced to aban- "don *Italy*? And, when the whole earth ſubmits to his yoke, ſhall "we undertake the defence of the *Roman* liberty?" They made a declaration of theſe ſentiments to *Cato*, and many of them even formed a deſign of ſeizing the *Roman* Senators, and delivering them up to *Cæſar*, the better to ingratiate themſelves with him. *Cato*, ſenſible that it was impoſſible to keep *Utica*, gave notice of it to *Scipio* and *Juba*; the firſt had eſcaped to his fleet at ſea, and then lay concealed behind a promontory not far from the city; and the other was hid in the neighbouring woods, and had ſent meſſengers to him. The arrival of *Scipio*'s cavalry gave *Cato* freſh hopes, and he went out to meet them, attended by all the *Roman* Senators except *M. Rubrius*, whom he left to watch the motions of the three hundred during his abſence. He addreſſed the Commanders of this body of cavalry, and entreated

entreated them not to give themſelves up to a foreign Prince, but to prefer *Cato* to *Juba*, repreſenting to them the diſhonour of ſuch a conduct, and that, by affording a protection to him and the Senators with him, they would provide for their own ſafety in a town ſo well furniſhed with proviſions and every thing neceſſary to hold out a ſiege. The officers replied, they would conſult their troopers, and *Cato* ſat down on an eminence waiting their anſwer. Here *Rubrius* came to him, complaining of the audaciouſneſs of the three hundred, who had revolted, and raiſed a commotion in the city. *Cato* ſent him back to beſeech them to wait his return. The anſwer of the cavalry added to his perplexity. They ſent him word "that they had no inclination to "ſerve under *Juba*; nor any apprehenſions of *Cæſar* when under *Cato*'s "command: But that they would not put their truſt in the inhabi-"tants of *Utica*, whom, therefore, he muſt conſent to murder, or ex-"pel the city, if he would make uſe of their aſſiſtance[g]." *Cato*'s anſwer was, "that he would conſult with the three hundred." Upon his return into the town, he found that theſe men were come to a reſolution of having recourſe to *Cæſar*'s mercy, and explained themſelves pretty clearly on their deſign of delivering up the Senators; and, at the ſame time, notice was given him that the cavalry were making off. *Cato*, fearing leſt the three hundred ſhould immediately execute their threats, when they ſaw themſelves delivered from the cavalry, called for a horſe and rode after them, and by his entreaties, which he accompanied with tears, he with much difficulty prevailed upon them to halt one day; and, having brought them back, poſted them at the gates of the city, and put them in poſſeſſion of the citadel. The three hundred, alarmed at this proceeding, aſſembled, and invited *Cato* to their meeting. The Senators were very earneſt to diſſuade him from putting himſelf into their hands, but he knew that he had nothing to fear from them. They began by making their acknowledgments for the confidence he repoſed in them, and gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their reſpect and of their attachment to his perſon; but told him, that they were not *Cato's*, and could not attain to his exalted ſentiments. They added that they had come to a reſolution to ſend Deputies to *Cæſar* to implore his clemency; but that the firſt and principal object of their ſollicitation ſhould be *Cato*'s ſafety, which if they could not obtain, they would fight in his defence to the laſt moment of their lives. *Cato* thanked them for their good-will towards him, approved of their deſign of ſubmitting to *Cæſar*, and adviſed them to loſe no time, but deſired them to make no ſollicitation in his favour. "It is proper, ſaid he, for the van-"quiſhed to have recourſe to prayers, and for thoſe who have com-

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[g] We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Juba* had propoſed, in the beginning of the war, to deſtroy the city and exterminate the inhabitants, and that *Scipio* had conſented to this maſſacre; but that *Cato* oppoſed it with ſo much vehemence and indignation, that the barbarous project was not carried into execution.

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"mitted faults to ſue for pardon. As for me, I have been invincible "during the whole courſe of my life, and even now I am victorious, "and triumph over *Cæſar* by the ſuperiority of juſtice and equity. It "is he that is conquered: This day is he attainted and convicted by "undeniable evidence, notwithſtanding what he has ſaid to the con-"trary, of plotting againſt his country." *Cato*, as he came out from this conference, was informed, that *Cæſar* was on his march with the greateſt part of his forces to beſiege *Utica*. Alas! ſays he, he pays us a compliment we do not deſerve: He takes us for men. Another meſſage was brought him preſently after from *M. Octavius*, who ſent to let him know that he was near *Utica* with two legions, and was ready to join him, but it was neceſſary firſt to ſettle who ſhould have the command in chief. *Cato* returned no anſwer to the meſſage, but, addreſſing himſelf to his friends, "Well, ſays he, ought we to be "ſurpriſed that our affairs have not ſucceeded, ſince, when upon the "brink of ruin, we are contending for the the vain honour of com-"mand." His only care now was to haſten the departure of the *Roman* Senators before the cavalry retired; and, having ordered all the gates of the town to be ſhut, except that which led to the port, he appointed ſhips and furniſhed every thing requiſite to thoſe who were to ſail. The cavalry, now looking upon *Utica* as a town of their enemies, had begun to plunder it; but *Cato*, interpoſing, wreſted, out of the hands of thoſe he met firſt, the ſpoils they were carrying off, and the reſt threw away of their own accord what they had ſeized, and departed in ſilence, aſhamed of what they done. He then called together the citizens of *Utica*, and recommended it to them to act in concert with the three hundred, and ſeek their common ſafety together with them. Having done this, he went to the port and took leave of the Senators who were about to embark. His ſon, however, remained with him, and *Statilius*, a young man remarkable for his hatred to *Cæſar*. He did not inſiſt upon his ſon's departing, but endeavoured to perſuade the other to go with the reſt: And, upon his refuſing to do it, he turned to *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, two philoſophers who conſtantly attended him; "it is your buſi-"neſs, ſaid he, to bend that ſtubborn ſpirit, and give it a more uſe-"ful turn." *Cato* then returned to his affairs, and diſpatched buſineſs all that night and the greateſt part of the following day. *L. Cæſar*, being appointed Deputy for the three hundred, begged of *Cato* that he would aſſiſt him in drawing up the ſpeech for the occaſion; and declared, at the ſame time, that he would be alſo mediator for him, and would throw himſelf at the Dictator's feet, and embrace his knees to obtain his pardon. "By no means, replied *Cato*; were I "diſpoſed to owe my life to *Cæſar*, I ſhould myſelf go to him, but I "will not be beholden to the tyrant for any act of his injuſtice: For "it is unjuſt in him to pretend as a maſter to pardon thoſe over whom

"he

" he has no lawful power. But, if you pleaſe, let us conſider what " it is proper to ſay in behalf of the three hundred." They then conferred together on this ſubject, and *Cato* at parting recommended to him his ſon and the reſt of his friends. Theſe being aſſembled at his houſe, among other diſcourſe, he forbad his ſon to take any ſhare in the adminiſtration of public affairs; " for to act as became him was " now impoſſible, and to do otherwiſe was diſhonourable." Towards evening he went into the bath, and, there calling to mind *Statilius*, he inquired of *Apollonides* whether he had ſucceeded with him; " and is " he gone, ſaid he, without taking leave of us? " No, replied the " philoſopher; I have diſcourſed much with him, but to no purpoſe: " He is reſolute, and declares that he will ſtay and follow your ex- " ample." *Cato* ſmiled, and anſwered, " of that we ſhall ſoon judge." After bathing he ſupped with his friends and the magiſtrates of the city. They ſat late at table, and the converſation was lively: The diſcourſe falling upon this maxim of the Stoics, that *the wiſe man alone is free, and that the vicious are ſlaves*, which *Demetrius*, who was a *Peripatetic*, undertook to confute from the principles of his ſchool, *Cato*, in anſwer, treated the matter very amply, and with ſo much earneſtneſs and vehemence of voice, that he betrayed himſelf, and confirmed the ſuſpicions which his friends had already conceived of his deſign to kill himſelf. When he had done ſpeaking, a melancholy ſilence enſued; and *Cato*, perceiving it, turned the diſcourſe to the preſent ſituation of affairs, expreſſing his concern for thoſe who had been obliged to put to ſea, as well as for thoſe who, having determined to make their eſcape by land, had a dry and ſandy deſart to paſs. After ſupper, the company being diſmiſſed, he walked for ſome time with a few friends, and gave his orders to the officers of the guard; and, going into his chamber, he embraced his ſon and his friends with more than uſual tenderneſs, which farther confirmed the ſuſpicions of the reſolution he had taken. Then, laying himſelf down on his bed, he took up *Plato*'s Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul. Having read for ſome time, he looked up, and, miſſing his ſword, which his ſon had removed while he was at ſupper, he called a ſlave and aſked who had taken it away; and, receiving no pertinent anſwer, he reſumed his reading. Some time after he aſked again for his ſword, and, without ſhewing any impatience, ordered it to be brought to him: But, having read out the book, and finding nobody had brought him his ſword, he called for all his ſervants, fell into a rage, and ſtruck one of them with ſo much violence on the mouth, that he very much hurt his own hand, crying out in a paſſionate manner, *What? do my own ſon and family conſpire to betray me, and deliver me up naked and unarmed to the enemy?* Immediately his ſon and friends ruſhed into the room, and began to lament, and to beſeech him to change his reſolution. *Cato*, raiſing himſelf, and looking fiercely at them, *How*

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long is it, ſaid he, *ſince I have loſt my ſenſes, and ſince my ſon has become my keeper? Brave and generous ſon, why do you not bind your father's hands, that, when* CÆSAR *comes, he may find me unable to defend myſelf? Do you imagine, that without a ſword I cannot end my life? Cannot I deſtroy myſelf by holding my breath for ſome moments, or by ſtriking my head againſt the wall?* His ſon anſwered with his tears, and retired. *Apollonides* and *Demetrius* remained with him, and to them he addreſſed himſelf in the following words: *Is it to watch over me that you ſit ſilent here? Do you pretend to force a man of my years to live? Or can you bring any reaſon to prove, that it is not baſe and unworthy of Cato to beg his ſafety of an enemy? Or why do you not perſuade me to unlearn what I have been taught, that, rejecting all the opinions I have hitherto defended, I may now by* CÆSAR*'s means grow wiſer, and be yet more obliged to him than for life alone? Not that I have determined any thing concerning myſelf, but I would have it in my power to perform what I ſhall think fit to reſolve upon: And I ſhall not fail to aſk your counſel, when I ſhall have occaſion to act up to the principles which your philoſophy teaches. Go, tell my ſon that he ſhould not compel his father to what he cannot perſuade him.* They withdrew, and the ſword was brought by a young ſlave: *Cato* drew it, and, finding the point to be ſharp, *Now,* ſaid he, *I am my own maſter:* And, laying it down, he took up his book again, which, it is reported, he read twice over. After this he ſlept ſo ſoundly, that he was heard to ſnore by thoſe who were near him[h]. About midnight he called two of his freedmen, *Cleanthes,* his phyſician, and *Butas,* whom he chiefly employed in the management of his affairs. The laſt he ſent to the port, to ſee whether all the *Romans* were gone: To the phyſician he gave his hand to be dreſſed, which was ſwelled by the blow he had given his ſlave. This, being an intimation that he intended to live, gave great joy to his family. *Butas* ſoon returned and brought word, that they were all gone except *Craſſus,* who had ſtaid upon ſome buſineſs, but was juſt ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high and the ſea rough. Theſe words drew a ſigh from *Cato.* He ſent *Butas* again to the port to know, whether there might not be ſome one, who, in the hurry of the embarkation, had forgot ſome neceſſary proviſions, and had been obliged to put back to *Utica.* It was now break of day, and *Cato* ſlept yet a little more, till *Butas* returned to tell him, that all was perfectly quiet. He then ordered him to ſhut his door, and he flung himſelf upon his bed, as if

[h] There are doubtleſs ſeveral circumſtances in this ſtory which have the appearance of a forgery. It is not probable that a man in ſuch a heat of paſſion, and taken up with the thoughts of putting an end to his life, would ſleep ſo ſoundly. And it is ſtill more ſtrange, that he ſhould read twice over *Plato's Phædo,* to confirm himſelf in his deſperate reſolution: For there is not a paſſage in it to encourage ſelf-murder, and many againſt it: Indeed the whole is ſo, and no one, who admires the death of *Socrates,* can ever die like *Cato.*

he meant to finiſh his night's reſt. But, immediately, he took his ſword, and ſtabbed himſelf a little below his cheſt; yet, not being able to uſe his hand ſo well by reaſon of the ſwelling, the blow did not kill him. It threw him into a convulſion, in which he fell from his bed, and overturned a table near it. The noiſe gave the alarm, and his ſon, and the reſt of the family, entered the room, where they found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels half out of his body. The ſurgeon upon examination found that his inteſtines were not cut, and was preparing to replace them and bind up the wound, when *Cato*, recovering his ſenſes, thruſt the ſurgeon from him, and, tearing out his bowels, immediately expired. Y.R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

Thus died, according to his admirers, the famous *Cato*, in the forty-eighth year of his age. "If we conſider his character without preju- "dice, ſays a celebrated writer, he was certainly a great and worthy "man; a friend to truth, virtue, liberty: Yet, falſely meaſuring all "duty by the abſurd rigour of the *Stoical* rule, he was generally diſap- "pointed of the end which he ſought by it, the happineſs both of his "public and private life [i]. In his private conduct, he was ſevere, mo- "roſe, inexorable; baniſhing all the ſofter affections, as natural ene- "mies to juſtice, and as ſuggeſting falſe motives of acting, from favour, "clemency, and compaſſion: In public affairs he was the ſame [k]; had Middl. p. 162.

[i] What this *Stoical* rule was, we are told in another place, p. 564. "The *Stoics* "were the *bigots* or *enthuſiaſts* in philoſo- "phy; who held none to be truly wiſe and "good but themſelves; placed *perfect happi- "neſs in virtue, though ſtript of every other "good*; affirmed *all ſins to be equal*; *all de- "viations from right equally wicked*; *to kill "a dunghill-cock, without reaſon, the ſame "crime as to kill a parent*; that a wiſe man "cou'd never *forgive*; *never be moved by "anger, favour, or pity*; *never be deceived*; "*never repent*; *never change his mind*. With "theſe principles, *Cato* entered into public "life." Theſe, certainly, were never the practical principles of any man; and, if to live a wiſe man, or to be a true *Stoic*, is to live up to them, *Cato* had no pretenſions to that character. He was often deceived; ſometimes he changed his mind, was very ſubject to envy and anger, and ſometimes was moved by favour. There are many examples of his frailties in the foregoing pages. The account of this pretended rule, by which *Cato* meaſured all duty, is taken from the oration of *Cicero pro Murena*; in which the orator ridicules the *Stoics*, and banters *Cato*, who was the accuſer. *Cato* was ſo far from acknowledging the rule to be his, that he cried out, *What a merry Conſul we have got? Cicero* was Conſul when he ſpoke this oration.

[k] This made him *obſtinate*, rather than *conſtant*, *moroſe* inſtead of being *grave*, and *ſour*, when he would be moſt *ſincere*. His humour was not only always overcaſt, but ſometimes broke out upon his beſt friends in indecent paſſions: His temper was rather *ſtiff* than *ſteady*; for he was as inflexibly in the wrong as in the right; he withſtood *compaſſion* as reſolutely as *bribery*, and avoided *common decency* as much as *flattery*: He would come into the Forum with nothing but his under garment on, and that looſe; his boſom and feet bare; and in this condition ſit upon the bench when he was Prætor, and paſs ſentence upon thoſe of the firſt quality. *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*, being at *Rome*, and deſiring to ſpeak with him, he ſent word, as he was upon the *cloſe-ſtool*, that *he might come to him, if he had any thing to ſay to him*. See his behaviour on his return from the *Cyprian* expedition, and after his loſing the conſulate. This gives a ſuſpicion of his ſetting too great a value upon his actions, and being liable to ſomething of vain-glory. *Adams*.

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" but one rule of policy, *to adhere to what was right*, without regard " to times and circumſtances, or even to a force that *could controul him*[l]: " For, inſtead of managing the power of the Great, ſo as to mitigate " the ill, or extract any good from it, he was urging it always to acts of " violence by a perpetual defiance; ſo that, *with the beſt intentions in* " *the world, he often did great harm to the Republic.* This was his ge- " neral behaviour; yet, from ſome particular facts, it appears that his " ſtrength of mind was not always impregnable, but had its weak pla- " ces of pride, ambition, and party-zeal; which, when managed and " flattered to a certain point, would betray him ſometimes into mea- " ſures contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The laſt act of " his life was agreeable to his nature and philoſophy: When he could " no longer be what he had been; or when the ills of life overbalanced " the good; which, by the principles of his ſect, was a juſt cauſe for " dying; he put an end to his life with a ſpirit and reſolution which " would make one imagine that he was glad to have found an occaſion " of dying in his proper character. On the whole, his life was rather " admirable than amiable; fit to be praiſed rather than imitated [m]."

L. Cæſar.

[l] Nothing is *right* that is not ſo, taking in the conſideration of all circumſtances of time, place, and perſons. But, beſides, did *Cato* make *right* the rule of his conduct, when he oppoſed ſalutary laws, becauſe propoſed by *Cæſar*; when, in puniſhing *Cataline*'s accomplices, he extended, againſt the fundamental laws of the ſtate, the prerogative of the Senate; and when he refuſed to allow *Cæſar* what had been granted him by a law of the people, and a decree of the Senate. Have we not ſeen him a riotous Magiſtrate, violating the privilege of the tribuneſhip in the perſon of one of his colleagues, and, from perſonal hatred to *Cæſar*, approving of bribery and corruption at the elections for magiſtracy? *See Vol.* III. *p.* 383, 399.

[m] It is ſaid, in another place, p. 564, that " after a perpetual courſe of diſappoint- " ments and repulſes, finding himſelf unable " to purſue his old way any farther; inſtead " of taking a new one, he was *driven by his* " *philoſophy* to put an end to his life." We have ſeen above, a King of *Cyprus*, a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, accuſed of no practices, nor ſuſpected of any deſigns againſt the Republic, yet deprived of his kingdom and eſtate by an iniquitous law preferred by *P. Clodius*; and that our *Stoic* philoſopher *Cato* took upon him to execute this unparalleled act of injuſtice, and valued himſelf upon this his *Cyprian* expedition. *Ptolemy*, unable to reſiſt the *Roman* power, and too proud to take up with a private ſtation after he had reigned ſo long, was driven by his *royal philoſophy* to put an end to his life by poiſon. In what is the *Stoic philoſophy* of *Cato* preferable to the royal philoſophy of the *Cyprian Monarch*? What can be alledged to excuſe the one, which does not equally excuſe the other? *Ptolemy*, I ſhould imagine, was driven to that extremity by injuries much more evidently unjuſt and more affecting than were thoſe which *Cato* complained of. But we are told by *Cicero*, that it was becoming and proper in *Cato* to die in this way; and that otherwiſe he would not have kept up the *decorum of life*, which conſiſts in maintaining a certain likeneſs in all our actions, a certain equality of behaviour: And this, he adds, is grounded upon univerſal and particular nature. " The difference of particular na- " ture, ſays he, which forms the ſeveral " characters of men, is of that force, that " one ſometimes ought to kill himſelf, " and yet another in the ſame circumſtances " ought not; for was not *Cato*'s caſe the " very ſame with that of thoſe who ſurren- " dered themſelves to *Cæſar* in *Africa*? " And yet, perhaps, it would have been " blameable in them to have killed them- " ſelves, becauſe their manners were gent-

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L. Cæſar, to procure ſome advantages by *Cato*'s death, aſſembled the people, and in an harangue exhorted them to throw themſelves upon *Cæſar*'s clemency, from which they had the greateſt reaſon to hope the beſt. Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

Cæſar from *Thapſus* had marched to *Uſceta*, where *Scipio* had laid up a great ſtore of corn and ammunition, and which immediately ſurrendered: He entered alſo *Adrumetum* without oppoſition, where he found *Q. Ligarius* and *C. Conſidius*, the ſon, whom he pardoned. In his way to *Utica*, he was met by *L. Cæſar*, who threw himſelf at his feet, and begged for nothing more than that he would grant him his life. He obtained this favour, and it was extended likewiſe to *Cæcina*, *C. Ateius*, *P. Atrius*, *L. Cella*, father and ſon; *M. Eppius*, *M. Aquinius*, to *Cato*'s ſon, and the children of *Damaſippus*. Being informed of *Cato*'s death, *Cæſar* is reported to have broke out into this exclamation: *O Cato! I envy thee the glory of thy death, ſince thou haſt envied me that of ſaving thy life.* On his entering the town, he ſummoned an aſſembly of the people, and thanked them for the affection they had ſhewn to his cauſe. At the ſame time he cenſured ſeverely and enlarged upon the crime of the three hundred merchants, who had furniſhed *Scipio* and *Varus* with money; but concluded with telling them, that they might ſhew themſelves without fear, as he was determined to grant them their lives, and content himſelf with expoſing their effects to ſale; and that he would give them notice when their goods were to be ſold, and allow them the liberty of redeeming them upon payment of a certain fine. The three hundred who had ſerved his enemies with zeal, and dreaded *Cæſar*'s reſentment, were very well pleaſed with theſe conditions, and begged that he would impoſe a certain ſum in groſs upon them all: And he accordingly Hirt. de Bell. Afric. Plut. in Cat.

"ler and eaſier: But, as nature had given "*Cato* an incredible bravery, and he had "confirmed this by a perpetual conſtancy, "and had always remained immoveable in "what he had once reſolved and undertaken, it became him rather to die than ſee "the face of the tyrant." But is not this a juſtification of the ſame deſperate behaviour in every wrong-headed, obſtinate, and perverſe man?

The public good, in his own ſenſe of it, required of *Cato*, I ſhould think, to remain in life, and purſue the ruin of the tyrant. In his ſpeech to the three hundred, after the battle of *Thapſus*, did he not tell them, "that, if they continued firm againſt *Cæſar*, "they would thereby avoid his contempt; "and that *Rome* had fallen lower, and emerged from yet greater dangers." This was as true in regard to him as to them; and, though they had not ſpirit enough to follow his counſel, he ſhould, however, have done himſelf what he exhorted others to do. He might certainly have done good ſervice to his party in *Spain*: And, after *Cæſar*'s death, a great field of action would have opened to him.

Some authors have imputed *Cato*'s death to his hatred to *Cæſar*: And indeed no perſons in the world were more contrary in their humours and manners. The oppoſition of temper between two perſons engaged in the ſame place, about the ſame affairs, very naturally gives riſe to enmity; and this, in the preſent caſe, was increaſed by family injuries. *Cæſar*'s intimacy with *Servilia*, *Cato*'s ſiſter, was once the talk of all *Rome*. *Cato* accordingly ſeems to have oppoſed *Cæſar* furiouſly in every thing, right or wrong: And there is no abſurdity in

Y.R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conf.

ingly amerced them in two hundred millions of ſeſterces [n], to be paid to the Republic at ſix different payments within the ſpace of three years.

Juba had fled with *Petreius* towards *Zama*, his place of reſidence, which he had ſtrongly fortified in the beginning of the war; but the inhabitants, who were diſſaffected towards him [o], could not be prevailed upon, either by threats or intreaties, to open their gates, or even to deliver to him his wives and children. They ſent ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*, to ſignify to him this their intention, and to deſire that he would prevent by a ſpeedy ſuccour any attempt the King might make upon their town. At the ſame time *Tiſdra* was abandoned by *Conſidius*, and *Vergilius* ſurrendered *Thapſus*; and the fame of his clemency brought over to *Cæſar*, on his march, all the *Numidian* officers that remained. *Juba*, ſeeing himſelf deſerted on all ſides, and that there was no longer any hope of ſafety, propoſed to *Petreius* an engagement in which they ſhould mutually kill each other. *Petreius* fell firſt, and the King immediately endeavoured to diſpatch himſelf, but was obliged to have recourſe to one of his ſlaves, on whom he prevailed to perform that laſt office. *P. Sitius*, in the mean time, having defeated the army of *Saburra*, and ſlain the General, was marching through *Mauritania* to join *Cæſar*, and chanced to fall in with *Fauſtus* and *Afranius*, who had put themſelves at the head of the party that had plundered *Utica*, and were making their way to *Spain*. This Commander, having notice of their approach, placed himſelf during the night in an ambuſcade, and, attacking them upon their march by break of day, he either killed or made them all priſoners, except a few that eſcaped from the van. *Afranius* and *Fauſtus* were among the priſoners, with their wives and children: And our author ſays, that they were ſlain a few days after, together with *L. Cæſar*, in a mutiny of the ſoldiers. *Dio* and *Florus* report, that they were killed by *Cæſar*'s order, or at his inſtigation; and *Suetonius* has obſerved, that this was the general belief. And perhaps they had no pretenſions to his mercy. *L. Cæſar* had ſhewn himſelf his implacable enemy on all occaſions, had treated ſeveral of his domeſtics with more than ordinary cruelty, and had ordered the beaſts to be killed which the Conqueror had deſtined for his games in *Rome*: And *Afranius* and *Fauſtus* were taken in their flight to his enemies in *Spain*. But ſince *Cæſar* had laid it down to himſelf as a general law, not to put any citizen to death in cold blood,

3 6 14 5 8 3 l. Hirt. de Bell. Afric.

in ſuppoſing that the laſt act of his life was directed by that principle, which ſo powerfully influenced him in other parts of his conduct. I do not ſay but that *Cato* died in character, but I think that his death is far from reflecting any luſtre on his life.

[n] *Appian* writes, that *Cæſar* put to death all he could find of the three hundred who had formed *Cato*'s Senate. This author muſt have invented a number of facts and circumſtances of facts, which, certainly, no memoirs, how partial ſoever, could have tranſmitted to him.

[o] And they had very good reaſon, if, as *Hirtius* tells us, before he ſet out againſt *Cæſar*, he had raiſed a mighty pile of wood in the market-place, and declared a reſolution, in caſe he did not conquer, to maſſacre all the citizens, and deſtroy their bodies and effects in one general conflagration.

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it is not probable that he made an exception to this rule in the caſe of theſe two and his relation *L. Cæſar*. *Cicero* beſtows this encomium on his clemency, "that the citizens which the Republic loſt were carried "off by the common chance of war, and not through any reſentment "of the conqueror[p]". To *Pompeia*, the wife of *Fauſtus*, and her children, he not only granted a pardon, but permitted them the free enjoyment of all their effects. Nor had *Scipio* better ſucceſs in his flight: He had got together twelve gallies, with a deſign to make for the coaſt of *Spain*, but was obliged by ſtreſs of weather to put in at *Hippo*, where *Sitius*'s fleet chanced to be at that time. *Scipio*'s veſſels were moſt of them ſunk; and, when he ſaw that there was no hopes of eſcaping, he ſtabbed himſelf, and in his laſt moments behaved with magnanimity; for when one of *Sitius*'s ſoldiers, who had boarded his ſhip, enquired what was become of the General? He anſwered himſelf, *the General is ſafe*. Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 C. nſ. Florus, iv. 2.

From *Utica Cæſar* marched to *Zama*, where he expoſed to ſale the goods of King *Juba*, confiſcated the eſtates of the *Roman* citizens ſettled there, who had joined in the war againſt him, and converted the kingdom into a *Roman* province. *Sitius*, who had done him ſuch ſignal ſervice, was put in poſſeſſion of *Cirta*, formerly the royal city of *Maſiniſſa* and of *Syphax*; and which, from the name of its new inhabitants, was afterwards called *the colony of the Sitians*. When he returned to *Utica*, he, in the like manner, confiſcated and ſold the effects of all who had the rank of Centurions under *Petreius* and *Juba*; and he fined the ſeveral towns that had ſerved his enemies in proportion to their revenue, but ſuffered none to be plundered by his ſoldiers. The only diſtinction he made between the *Romans* who readily ſubmitted after the battle of *Pharſalia*, and thoſe whoſe obſtinacy forced him to conquer them a ſecond time in *Africa*, was, that the firſt were immediately reſtored to all their former privileges, and the laſt remained in exile till after the *Spaniſh* war, when he granted a general pardon. *Dio* tells us, that he gave the ſame inſtance of his moderation after the battle of *Thapſus*, which had done him ſo much honour after that of *Pharſalia*, in burning all the papers of *Scipio* without reading them. *Salluſt*, the hiſtorian, was left to govern the new *Roman* province of *Numidia*, where he amaſſed great wealth, which enabled him, on his return to *Rome*, to purchaſe the famous *Salluſtian* gardens in the city, with ſeveral villa's in the country, in which he ſpent the remainder of his life, in a learned and ſplendid retreat from all public buſineſs[q].

CHAP.

[p] Quos amiſimus cives, eos martis vis perculit, non ira victoriæ. *Cicero* pro Marcello.

[q] As this is the laſt time we ſhall have occaſion to mention *Salluſt*, it may not be improper to ſubjoin a few particulars concerning him. It appears by all his writings, as well as by the favour ſhewn him by *Cæſar*, that he was of the popular party. In his early youth, as he tells us himſelf, he Bell. Cat.

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CHAP. IX.

Cæſar *returns to* Rome; *the honours decreed him: His four triumphs; his civil adminiſtration and clemency.*

V. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ. *CÆSAR* left *Utica* on the 13*th* of *June*, having put an end to a war of great importance, and attended with extreme difficulty, in little more than five months. He took his way by *Sardinia*, from whence he ſent part of his fleet and legions into *Spain*, under the command of *C. Didius*, his Admiral, and his Lieutenants *Q. Fabius*, and *Q. Pædius*, with orders to obſerve the motions of the ſons of *Pompey*. After a ſhort ſtay in that iſland, he put to ſea on the 29*th*; but, meeting with foul weather in his paſſage, he did not get to *Rome* before the end of *July*.

Hirtius de Bell. Afric.

Dio, l. xliii. The uncertain event of the *African* war had kept the Senate under ſome reſerve; but they now began to puſh their flattery beyond all bounds of decency, and decreed more extravagant honours to *Cæſar* than were ever given before to any mortal. It was decreed, that there ſhould be feaſts and rejoicings for forty days, to celebrate his late victory;

was carried away by ambition, and ſought preferment. At what time he was made Quæſtor is uncertain; but he was Tribune of the people in 701, when *Pompey* was ſole Conſul; and at firſt acted vigorouſly againſt *Milo*, though he afterwards became more tractable. In 703, he was turned out of the Senate by the Ariſtocratic Cenſor *Appius*, for his immoral life, and notorious debauchery; and, if we believe the anonymous author of an invective againſt him, he left *Rome* to join *Cæſar*. As ſoon as the civil war broke out, he wrote an epiſtle to *Cæſar*, upon the regulation of the Commonwealth; where he vents his ſpleen againſt *Pompey* and the faction of the Nobles, and was, in the year 704, named Quæſtor a ſecond time, and thus recovered his ſeat in the Senate. He ſeems to have written his ſecond epiſtle to *Cæſar* in the year 706, while the Dictator was yet in *Aſia*, who cauſed him to be named Prætor for the following year. *Cæſar* then employed him in the *African* war, and recompenſed his ſervices with the grant of the government of the province. In this government he is accuſed by *Dio* of having exerciſed the moſt flagrant oppreſſions; and *Cæſar*, it is ſaid by this author, gave him expreſs orders to plunder the people, rather than to protect them. This teſtimony of *Dio* is ſupported by the authority of an old grammarian, and of the author of the abovementioned invective, who tell us, that, on his return to *Rome*, he divided his ſpoils with *Cæſar*, who ſcreened him from all proſecution. The riches he had acquired enabled him to paſs the remainder of his days in a learned retreat; and it was then that he wrote the hiſtory of *the conſpiracy of Cataline*, of the *war againſt Jugurtha*, of *the attempts of Lepidus*, and *the war againſt Sertorius in Spain*; which laſt hiſtory he carried backwards twelve years to the commencement of the *Social* or *Marſic* war. In regard to the private life and character of this hiſtorian, it muſt be remarked, that, as he had reviled the vices of the Nobility with great vehemence, and had thereby created to himſelf many enemies, injurious aſperſions would be thrown out againſt him. We are informed by *Suetonius*, that *Lenæus*, a freedman of *Pompey*, wrote a violent invective againſt him, becauſe, in ſpeaking of his patron *Pompey*, he had ſaid, that, *with a modeſt exterior, he had a ſhameleſs ſoul: Oris probi, animo inverecundo fuiſſe. Euſebius* in Chron. ſays, he died in the year 718, four years before the rupture between *Antony* and *Octavius*.

Aſcon. in Cic. Mil.

Dio, l. xlii.

that,

that, when he triumphed, his chariot ſhould be drawn by four white horſes, as thoſe of *Jupiter* and of the Sun; and that, beſides the ordinary number of Lictors belonging to his offices, he ſhould be preceded by all thoſe of his former dictatorſhips. He was created Dictator for ten years, and Inſpector of Morals for three; his ſtatue was placed in the Capitol oppoſite to that of *Jupiter*, with the globe of the earth under his feet, and with this inſcription, *To Cæſar the Demi-god.* Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

Ever ſince the commencement of the civil war, he had found no leiſure for celebrating the triumphs, which he had ſo juſtly deſerved. He thought therefore the preſent time the moſt convenient for this purpoſe; and, in one month, he enjoyed four triumphs, which were conducted with a magnificence anſwerable to the wealth of the empire he was maſter of. His firſt triumph was over the *Gauls*; the next over *Ptolemy* and *Egypt*; the third over *Pharnaces* and *Pontus*; and the fourth over King *Juba*. We are told that the apparatus of each of theſe triumphs (by which is meant probably the pedeſtals and frames for the ſtatues, pictures, and other repreſentations) was different; that *citron-wood* was made uſe of in the firſt, *tortoiſe-ſhell* in the ſecond, *acanthus* in the third, and *ivory* in the fourth. In that over the *Gauls*, which was the moſt ſplendid of the four, were carried the *Rhine* and the *Rhone*, and the captive ocean repreſented in gold. *Dio* adds a moſt improbable circumſtance, that a multitude of priſoners preceded his chariot, among whom was diſtinguiſhed *Vercingetorix*, the unfortunate Chief of confederate *Gaul*, who had been reſerved upwards of ſix years, to grace his Conqueror's march to the Capitol, and was afterwards thrown into a dungeon, and put to death with other captives. But *Cæſar* never acted with this barbarity againſt his enemies, when in the actual purſuit of conqueſt; and much leſs would he now be guilty of it towards a nation from which he had lately received ſo many ſignal proofs of their attachment to his cauſe and perſon. The axle-tree of the triumphal chariot broke in the way, and he did not arrive at the Capitol till night, which he aſcended by the light of luſtres and flambeaux, carried by forty elephants ranged on the right and left: And the *Greek* hiſtorian, juſt now mentioned, tells us, that, notwithſtanding the divine honours decreed him, he, in a very humble and ſupplicating poſture, and upon his knees, climbed up the ſteps of the *Capitol*. In the triumph over *Egypt* was repreſented the river *Nile*, and the *Pharos* on fire; and the death of *Achillas* and *Pothinus* in two different pictures. *Dio* ſays that *Arſinoë*, *Cleopatra*'s ſiſter, appeared there as a captive, and was afterwards ſet at liberty. This circumſtance, however, is to be found in no other author, and *Hirtius* has informed us, that *Cæſar* baniſhed her the kingdom of *Egypt* before he left *Alexandria*. The triumph over *Pharnaces* had nothing more remarkable than the inſcription, *Veni, vidi, vici*, engraved in capitals on a tablet. In the fourth marched *Juba*'s ſon, a child; who afterwards gained great reputation Suet. 37.

Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ. 134062501. by his learning, and was reſtored to the kingdom of *Mauritania*[r]. *Appian* ſays, that the money carried in theſe proceſſions as the fruits of his victories, amounted to ſixty-five thouſand talents, beſides two thouſand eight hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing together twenty thouſand four hundred and fourteen *Roman* pounds.

Suet. in Cæſ. 38. Above 1611. Above 3 l. Theſe triumphs were followed by rewards to his ſoldiers, and largeſſes to the citizens: To the firſt, beſides land and ſettlements according to their ſervices, he gave each veteran twenty thouſand ſeſterces, double of that ſum to every Centurion, and four times as much to the Tribunes. One hundred and fifty thouſand citizens received from his bounty each ten buſhels of corn, ten pounds of oil, and four hundred ſeſterces in money; and, at the ſame time, the whole body of the people was treated with the greateſt profuſion at twenty-two thouſand tables placed in the ſtreets. To theſe expences *Cæſar* further added public ſpectacles of all ſorts. For the *Circenſian* games, the *Circus* was enlarged on each ſide, and a canal ſunk round it: And ſeveral young men of the greateſt families ran the races in chariots drawn, ſome by four, ſome by two horſes, and ſome on a ſingle horſe. The *Trojan* game was acted by two companies of leſſer and larger boys, children of the nobility. The hunting of wild beaſts was repreſented for five days together; and at laſt a battle was fought by five hundred foot, twenty elephants, and thirty horſe on each ſide; to make room for which the goals were taken away, and in their room two camps pitched oppoſite to one another. Wreſtlers too performed for three days together in a *ſtadium* provided for the purpoſe in the field of *Mars*. A lake was ſunk in the leſſer *Codeta*, in which the people were entertained with the repreſentation of *Egyptian* and *Tyrian* gallies of two, three, and four benches of oars, and a ſea-fight. He alſo dedicated this year his temple to *Venus Geni-*

[r] *Appian* relates, that in theſe triumphs were to be ſeen repreſentations of all the memorable events of the Civil War; and portraits of all the *Romans* of diſtinction, who had loſt their lives in it, *Pompey* only excepted; of *Metellus Scipio*, for example, falling on his own ſword, and of *Cato* tearing out his bowels. But it is certain, that *Cæſar* imitated *Sylla* upon this occaſion, and gave no offence by ſhewing the wounds of his country, and inſulting over the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens: For *Cicero*, who in his eighth *Philippic* mentions the ſpectators concern when they ſaw the city of *Marſeilles* carried in triumph, would not have omitted thoſe other affecting circumſtances. The ſoldiers, on feſtivals of this kind, were allowed the liberty, during the proceſſion, of ſinging verſes, which ſometimes contained the victor's praiſes, but were much oftener ſatyrs on him. *Suetonius* tells us, that they now reproached their General with his debauchery, and revived the ſuſpicion which he had formerly lain under during his ſtay at the Court of *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*; a ſuſpicion which gave him great offence, but which he could never get clear of, notwithſtanding his oath to the contrary. *Suet. in Cæſ.* xlix. 57. *Pliny* ſays that, diſſatisfied with the rewards beſtowed on them, they reproached him with the bad food they had lived upon at *Dyrrhachium*. *Plin.* xix. 8. And *Dio* writes that they all told him with one voice, *If you act the honeſt part* (by reſigning your uſurped power) *you will be puniſhed; but, if you continue to be unjuſt, you may continue to reign over us.* Dio l. xliii.

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trix; opened his new Forum; and celebrated the funeral obſequies of his daughter *Julia*, *Pompey*'s wife. Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45.

Many *Roman* Knights, to make their court to the Dictator, and pleaſe the populace, debaſed themſelves ſo far as to enter the liſts of gladiators. *Furius Leptimus*, a man of a prætorian family, and *Q. Calpenus*, who had been a Senator, fought a prize in the Forum. *Decimus Laberius*, a *Roman* Knight, acted a mimic piece of his own compoſition, in compliance with *Cæſar*'s will; and, being immediately preſented with five hundred thouſand ſeſterces and a gold ring, he went from the ſtage, through the *orcheſtra*, into the ſeats aſſigned for the equeſtrian order [s]. 406 Conſ. Suet. in Cæſ. 39. 40361.

When theſe feſtivals and rejoicings were over, *Cæſar* turned his attention towards matters of ſtate and the adminiſtration of juſtice. He filled up the vacancies in the Senate, advanced ſeveral Commoners to the dignity of Patricians, and enlarged the number of Prætors, Ædiles, Quæſtors, and inferior magiſtrates, reſtoring ſuch as had been diſgraced by the Cenſors, or condemned for bribery in elections. He admitted to the offices of the Republic the ſons of thoſe who had been proſcribed by *Sylla*. He introduced *Gauls* and other foreigners, who had enriched themſelves in his ſervice, into the Senate; and, on this account, he has been greatly cenſured [t]. *Dio* and *Macrobius* tell us, that he increaſed the number of Senators to *nine hundred*, whereas the Houſe formerly did not conſiſt of above ſix hundred: And ſuch an augmentation, we may obſerve, is greatly recommended in a letter to *Cæſar*, attributed to *Salluſt*, the hiſtorian, concerning the regulation of the State. But we have no mention of this matter in any of *Cicero*'s letters, or in any authentic writing; nor of the augmentation of magiſtrates mentioned by *Suetonius*: Though the increaſe of the Senate, if true, implied that of the magiſtrates, that there might be Quæſtors enough to fill up the Suet. in Cæſ. 41.

[s] *Laberius*, to get to his place, was obliged to paſs over the benches of the Senators; and *Cicero*, as he came by him, ſaid to him, *I would make room for you on our benches, if we were not already too much crouded*: meaning to ridicule *Laberius*, and at the ſame time to reflect on the number of new Senators. The Poet made him this ſmart anſwer: *You ſurpriſe me; for you were wont to ſit on two ſtools at once*; a proverbial expreſſion to ſignify a trimmer. It appears that the Knights were greatly diſguſted to ſee one of their body upon the ſtage, and that *Laberius* had conſented to appear there againſt his will. We are told, that, to make ſome amends, and to ſhew a ſpirit more ſuitable to his rank, he inſerted ſome lines, which gave offence to *Cæſar*, and engaged him to award the prize to *Publius Syrus*, *Laberius*'s competitor: *Romans, we are loſing our liberty. He, who is feared by many, has many to fear. Neceſſe eſt multos timeat, quem multi timent.* Macrob. Sat. xi. 3.

[t] *Suetonius* c. lxxx. ſays that, on this occaſion, the following advertiſement was ſtuck up in different parts of the city: *Bonum factum. Ne quis Senatori novo curiam monſtrare velit*: "This is to give notice, that "perſons are deſired not to ſhew any of the "new Senators the way to the Senate-houſe." And, according to *Macrobius*, the great increaſe of Senators occaſioned a joke of *Cicero*; who, being applied to by one of his friends for his intereſt to get his ſon-in-law made a Senator in one of the municipal towns: "At *Rome*, ſaid he, the thing is "eaſy: At *Pompeii* it is more difficult."

Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ. annual vacancies of the Senate without any particular creation of Senators. We are told, that from this time there were 14 Prætors, and 40 Quæſtors.

Suet. in Cæſ. 41. The choice of the magiſtrates he ſo divided with the people, that, excepting only the competitors for the conſulſhip, they choſe one half of them, and he the other half: And his way was to recommend ſuch as he had pitched upon, by billets diſperſed through the ſeveral tribes to this effect: *Cæſar, the Dictator, to ſuch a tribe: I recommend to you ſuch and ſuch perſons, that, by the favour of your votes, they may attain to the reſpective honours they ſue for.* We do not, however, find any diviſion of magiſtracies between *Cæſar* and the people in *Cicero*'s letters: It appears, on the contrary, that the Conſuls, Prætors, Ædiles, Tribunes and Quæſtors were all elected according to the uſual forms.

Dio l. 43. Suet. in Cæſ. 41. He reſtrained the trial of cauſes to two ranks of Judges, thoſe of the Equeſtrian and Senatorian orders, laying aſide the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, who had before made a third claſs.

Id. In the quality of Maſter of Manners, he ſurveyed the people, but not in the uſual method or place. He made the *cenſus* in the ſeveral ſtreets by thoſe called *Domini inſularum*; and he reduced the number of thoſe who received corn from the public, from three hundred and twenty thouſand to one hundred and fifty thouſand. And, to prevent all riots for the future upon account of the ſurvey, he ordered, that, every year, a choice ſhould be made by lot, by the Prætor, in the room of ſuch as died, out of thoſe who had not been enrolled for the receipt

Id. 42. of corn. He reduced the number of the poor citizens, by ſending fourſcore thouſand into colonies beyond ſeas. He enacted, that no freeman of the city above twenty, and under forty, ſhould be allowed to abſent himſelf three years together from *Italy*; that no Senator's ſon ſhould go into foreign parts, unleſs in the retinue of ſome Governor; and that thoſe who had paſture ground ſhould have no leſs than a third part of their ſhepherds free-born. He made all ſuch as practiſed phyſic in *Rome*, and all maſters of liberal arts, free of the city, in order to fix them in it, and invite others to the place. To many, who had ſhewed themſelves zealous in his cauſe, he communicated the like favour: And we have a proof from one of *Cicero*'s letters, that, in beſtowing this

Ep. Fam. xiii. 36. Melm. vii. 45. privilege, he acted with diſcretion. For, having found that ſome of his friends had abuſed his confidence by expoſing this privilege to ſale, he made a general revocation of ſuch grants, and examined anew the

Dio, l. 43. grounds upon which they had been given. He encouraged marriages at the ſame time, and decreed rewards to thoſe who had a numerous offspring.

Suet. in. Cæſ. 42. He diſappointed the expectation of many in his regulation concerning debts. Several of his followers were in hopes that theſe would be wholly cancelled; a thing, as we have ſeen, that was frequently moved for; but he ordered that the debtors ſhould ſatisfy their creditors, deducting

only what intereſt had been paid ſince the commencement of the civil war, by virtue of which order, *Suetonius* ſays, a fourth part of the debt was loſt. Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conf.

He aboliſhed all companies of artificers but ſuch as were of ancient eſtabliſhment: For the corporations of later inſtitution had been chiefly erected by turbulent magiſtrates, ſuch as *Clodius*, with a view to have in the city ſo many companies to vote, or regiments to fight, for them. Suet. in Cæſ. 42.

Luxury being carried to great exceſs in dreſs, furniture, building, eating, and ſepulchral monuments, he revived the ſumptuary laws, and was very deſirous to carry them into execution. He laid duties on the importation of foreign commodities; and the uſe of coaches, jewels, and ſcarlet cloth was allowed only to certain perſons. We are told that he appointed Commiſſioners to inſpect the markets, and ſeize upon all the victuals which were expoſed to ſale contrary to law; and that he ſent officers into private houſes, to take off the tables the prohibited rarities, when he heard of any prevarications in this particular. All this care, however, was to no purpoſe: Luxury ſtill continued to prevail. Ad Att. xiii. 7.

He was indefatigable and very ſtrict in the adminiſtration of juſtice [u]. He inforced the laws againſt crimes by more ſevere puniſhments: And, becauſe the rich were eaſily induced to tranſgreſs, by reaſon of their being only puniſhed with baniſhment, he ſtripped parricides or murderers of their whole eſtates, and other offenders of one half. He turned ſuch as were convicted of bribery out of the Senate; and he diſſolved the marriage of a Senator of prætorian rank, who had married a woman two days after her divorce from a former huſband, though there was no ſuſpicion of any former unlawful commerce betwixt them. Suet. in Cæſ. 43.

One of the moſt conſiderable as well as moſt uſeful of his laws was, *that no Prætor ſhould hold any province more than one year, or a Conſul more than two.* This was a regulation that had been often wiſhed for, as *Cicero* ſays, in the beſt times; and what one of the ableſt Dictators of the old Republic had declared to be its chief ſecurity, *not to ſuffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration; but to limit them at leaſt in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in power* [x]. *Cæſar* knew by experience that the prolongation of theſe extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling kingdoms, was the readieſt way not only to inſpire contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to ſubvert them. He ſecured by this law his own poſſeſſion and power from the attempts of all future invaders; and, after him, it was the Dio 43. Phil. i. 8.

[u] Jus laborioſiſſimè ac ſeveriſſimè dixit. *Suet.* 43.

[x] *Mamercus Æmilius.*—Maximam autem, *ait*, ejus cuſtodiam eſſe, ſi magna imperia diuturna non eſſent; et temporis modus imponeretur, quibus juris imponi non poſſet. *Liv.* iv. 24.

A. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 706 Conſ.

moſt proper to ſecure the liberties of the State, by preventing any other man from doing what *Pompey* and he himſelf had done.

It was at this time alſo, that he ſet himſelf *to reform the calendar*; a work of general benefit to mankind. The *Roman* year, from the old inſtitution of *Numa*, was *lunar*; borrowed from the *Greeks*; among whom it conſiſted of *three hundred and fifty-four days*. *Numa* added one more to them, to make the whole number odd, which was thought the moſt fortunate; and, to fill up the deficiency of his year to the meaſure of the *ſolar* courſe, inſerted likewiſe, or *intercalated*, after the manner of the *Greeks*, an extraordinary month of twenty-two days, every ſecond year, and twenty-three every fourth, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth day of *February*. If *Numa* had ſtuck to the lunar year of 354 days, by this intercalation his year would have been as regular as that of *Cæſar*, but, by adding his odd day, each year deviated from the *ſolar* one whole day too much: Which irregularity he might eaſily have corrected by ſtriking out of the intercalary month eight days every eighth year. This, however, was not done, and there appears to have been a progreſſion of all the months in the year, relatively to the ſeaſons: And we find, that the Conſuls, and other magiſtrates entered upon their offices in different ages of the Republic, in *January*, in *December*, in *October*, in *July*, and in *March*; though the commencement of their magiſtracies muſt have been always in the winter-ſeaſon. *Numa* committed the care of theſe intercalations to the College of Prieſts; who, it is commonly aſſerted, partly by a negligent, partly by a ſuperſtitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuſe of their power, uſed either to drop or to inſert them, as it was found moſt convenient to themſelves or their friends to make the current year longer or ſhorter. But, when the laſt intercalation was made in the year 701, *Pompey* being ſole Conſul, the firſt of *January* of the following year was very near the winter ſolſtice, and therefore in its right place; and the great confuſion, in the year 707, proceeded from the omiſſion of the intercalary months during ſix ſucceſſive years. *Cæſar* reſolved to put an end to this diſorder for the future, as well as for the preſent, by aboliſhing the ſource of it, the uſe of intercalations; and, inſtead of the *lunar*, to eſtabliſh the *ſolar* year, adjuſted to the exact meaſure of the ſun's revolution in the *zodiac*, or to that period of time in which it returns to the point from which it ſet out: And as this, according to the aſtronomers of that age, was ſuppoſed to be *three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours*, ſo he divided the days into twelve artificial months, and to ſupply the deficiency of ſix hours, by which they fell ſhort of the ſun's complete courſe, he ordered a day to be intercalated every fourth year between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of *February*[y]. But,

[y] This day was called *Biſſextus* from its being a repetition or duplicate of the *ſixth of the calends of March*, which fell always on the twenty-fourth; and hence our *intercalary*, or *Leap-year*, is ſtill called *Biſſextile*. See *Middl.* p. 170.

to make this year begin and end regularly, he was forced to inſert into the current year *two extraordinary months* between *November* and *December*; the one of thirty-three, the other of thirty-four days; beſides (add *Suetonius* and *Cenſorinus*) the ordinary intercalary month of twenty-three days, which fell into it of courſe. But *Dio* is poſitive, that *he added no more than ſixty-ſeven days:* And, though his authority is not deciſive, yet as he ſeems to have examined this point, and there is no probability of there having been any intercalation ſince the beginning of the civil war, ſixty-ſeven days were ſufficient to replace the months in their proper ſeaſons; which *ſixty-ſeven days* were loſt, ſince 701, by the omiſſion of *three intercalations*. All this was effected by the care and ſkill of *Soſigenes*, a celebrated aſtronomer of *Alexandria*, whom *Cæſar* had brought to *Rome* for that purpoſe: And a new calendar was formed upon it by *Flavius*, a Scribe, digeſted according to the order of the *Roman* feſtivals, and the old manner of computing their days by *calends*, *ides*, and *nones*; which was publiſhed and authoriſed by the Dictator's edict not long after his return from *Africa*. This year therefore was the longeſt that *Rome* had ever known, conſiſting of *fourteen months*, or *four hundred and twenty-two days*; and is called *the laſt of the confuſion*, becauſe it introduced the *Julian* or *ſolar* year, with the commencement of the enſuing *January*; which continues in uſe to this day in all Chriſtian countries, without any other variation than that of *the old and new ſtyle* [z].

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Pliny, Hiſt. Nat. xviii. 25.

Macrob. Sat. i. 3.

Dio, 227.

All the regulations mentioned above were not enacted merely by *Cæſar's dictatorial authority*: They were confirmed either by *decrees of the Senate*, or *orders of the People*, according to their nature. Indeed grants to foreign Princes were often made in the name of the Senate, though the affair had not been referred to the Houſe; but this had been practiſed before *Cæſar*'s reign, and theſe jobs had been eſteemed the perquiſites of the Conſuls [a].

The

[z] This difference of the *old and new ſtyle* was occaſioned by a regulation made by Pope *Gregory*, A. D. 1582; for it having been obſerved, that the computation of the vernal equinox was fallen back 10 days from the time of the Council of *Nice*, when it was found to be on the 21ſt of *March*; according to which all the feſtivals of the Church were then ſolemnly ſettled; Pope *Gregory*, by the advice of aſtronomers, cauſed ten days to be entirely ſunk and thrown out of the current year, between the 4th and 15th of *October*.

[a] *Ep. Fam* ix. 15. *Middl.* p. 152. "While "I am ſtill at *Rome*, and attend the Forum, "ſays *Cicero*, in a letter to *Papirius Pætus*, "the Senate's decrees are all drawn at our "friend's houſe; and, whenever it comes "into his head, my name is ſet down as if "preſent at drawing them; ſo that I hear "from *Armenia* and *Syria* of decrees ſaid to "be made at my motion, of which I had "never heard a ſyllable at home. Do not "take me to be in jeſt, for I aſſure you, that I "have received letters from Kings from the "remoteſt parts of the earth, to thank me "for giving them the title of King; when, "ſo far from knowing that any ſuch title "had been decreed to them, I knew not "even that there were any ſuch men in being. What is then to be done? Why, as "long as our *Maſter of Manners* continues "here, I will follow your advice; but, as ſoon

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The Dictator diſtinguiſhed himſelf alſo, during his ſtay at *Rome*, by the greateſt acts of clemency and generoſity to his moſt avowed enemies. *M. Marcellus*, who, when Conſul, began the attack upon *Cæſar*, and proſecuted it for three years by his relations, whom he got ſucceſſively into the firſt dignity of the State, retired, after the battle of *Pharſalia*, to *Mitylene*, where he lived in eaſe without making any advances to *Cæſar*, and it was with difficulty he conſented that his friends ſhould ſue for his pardon. In an aſſembly of the Senate, *Piſo*, *Cæſar*'s father-in-law, undertook to broach the affair, and immediately *C. Marcellus*, brother to *Marcus*, threw himſelf at *Cæſar*'s feet; upon which the whole Senate, riſing from their ſeats, ſeconded the requeſt. *Cæſar* complained of the moroſeneſs of *Marcellus*, and made a parallel of his behaviour with that of others towards him, and particularly with that of *S. Sulpicius*, his collegue in the conſulate; but preſently declared, contrary to all their expectations, that, whatever offence he had received from the man, he could refuſe nothing to the interceſſion of the Senate, though he knew that he had many enemies who had deſigns upon his life [b]. And it was upon this occaſion that *Cicero* delivered that ingenious and eloquent panegyric on *Cæſar*, in which he juſtifies the Dictator's conduct in the civil war, and profeſſes a perſonal affection for him, and zeal for the preſervation of his life, inſomuch that he declares himſelf ready to put himſelf between a pointed dagger and his body [c]. *Marcellus*, however, did not live to enjoy the

" ſoon as he is gone, will run away to join " you over a plate of muſhrooms." Was it not a great grievance that *Cæſar* ſhould grant favours, without the privacy of the Senate, to men ſo inſignificant that *Cicero* had never heard of them?

[b] The whole hiſtory of this tranſaction is related by *Cicero*, in a letter to *Sulpicius*, *Ep. Fam.* iv. 4. *Melm.* ix. 17.

Guthrie, Vol. i. p. 167—171. Middl. p. 167.

[c] " Now proceed I to your heavy charge " and gloomy ſuſpicions (ſays *Cicero* to " *Cæſar*, in his ſpeech for *Marcellus*) all " which ought to be guarded againſt not " more by you than by every *Roman*, " eſpecially by us whom you have pre- " ſerved: And, though I hope they are " groundleſs, yet never ſhall I endeavour, " by my expreſſions, to extenuate them; " for your circumſpection is our ſafety; and, " were I to err on any extreme, it ſhould be " that of *too much caution*, rather than *too* " *little prudence*. But who can be ſuch a " madman? Is he of your friends? Who " can be more ſo than they whom, contra- " ry to their own expectations, you brought " from ruin! Is he of thoſe who followed " you to the field? Where is the wretch ſo " frantic, as not to prefer, even to his own " life, the life of the man, under whoſe " command he has riſen to all that ambition " could wiſh! But, if your friends enter in- " to no conſpiracy, may not your foes? " Where are theſe to be found! For all, " who formerly were ſo, either owed their " death to their own *ſtubbornneſs*, or their " life to your *mercy*. Thus no man who ever " was your foe is now alive, or, if alive, " he is now your determined friend.

" Yet, as the mind of man is ſo dark and " ſo impenetrable, we ought to increaſe " your diſtruſt, and, at the ſame time, your " circumſpection. For, ſhew me the man " ſo new to the affairs of life, ſuch a novice " in this State, ſo unheeding either his own " or the common ſafety, as not to be ſen- " ſible, that in your preſervation his own " is included, and upon your life depends " the life of every *Roman*? For my part, " when I meditate night and day on the " accidents of life, the uncertain enjoy- " ment

the benefit of his pardon. He had left *Mitylene* in the beginning of the following year, and was come as far as *Piræus* on his way towards *Rome*; Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conf.

" ment of health, and the frailty to which " nature is ſubjected; I tremble, I grieve, " that this State, which ought to be eter- " nal, ſhould exiſt in the breath of one mor- " tal. But if, with human accidents and " doubtful events depending on the natural " conſtitution, treaſon and villainy ſhall co- " operate, to me it appears, that a *God*, " were he *willing*, muſt be *unable* to ſave " this country.

" By you, alone, O *Cæſar!* every thing, " which you ſee overthrown and overturned " by the unavoidable calamities of war, is " to be replaced: Public juſtice muſt be " reſtored, public credit muſt be retrieved; " the luſts of mankind ſuppreſſed, the race " of mankind propagated, and every droop- " ing branch of the conſtitution, that now " hangs its head, is to be reared and ſup- " ported by the wholſome ſeverity of laws. " There is no denying that, in ſo fierce a " civil war, amidſt ſuch a combuſtion of " arms and opinions, in every event the " State muſt receive a ſhock, by the beat- " ing down ſome of her moſt graceful orna- " ments and primeſt bulwarks. For the " head of each party, in the ſtorm of war, " was forced on many meaſures which he " would have diſapproved of in the calm of " peace. *You alone are the phyſician to bind* " *up theſe bleeding wounds of your country, and* " *every application from any other hand muſt* " *prove ineffectual.*

" With reluctance, therefore, did I hear " from your mouth that ſaying, which diſ- " covers at once the hero and the philoſo- " pher: *That you had lived long enough either* " *for nature or for glory.* Enough, if you " will, for *nature*; nay, I will add for *glory* " too: But ſurely not for the chief purpoſe " of life, *your country!* Give over, there- " fore, I conjure you, that philoſophical " contempt of death. Do not be a ſage at " the expence of your country: For it has " often reached my ears, that it is com- " monly in your mouth, *that you have lived* " *long enough for yourſelf.* True! if I could " ſuppoſe that you lived for yourſelf, and " was born for yourſelf alone. But now " *that your courage and conduct are connected* " *with the ſafety of* ROMANS, *and the con-* " *ſtitution of* ROME; ſo far are you from " having completed, that you have not yet " laid the foundations of thoſe great deſigns " you meditate. Thus you limit your life, " not by the good of your country, but the " intentions of your equity: Yet even that " is not enough for the purpoſes of glory; " which, wiſe as you are, you muſt own to " be the ruling paſſion of your ſoul.

" *Shall I then*, ſay you, *leave behind me* " *but a ſcanty portion of glory?* Yes: to " others it would be ſufficient: But to *Cæ-* " *ſar* it is but ſcanty. For what, conſidered " by itſelf is great, may prove but little " when compared with the degrees to which " it may be extended. If this was to be the " end of your immortal acts, that, after " conquering all your enemies, you ſhould " leave the Republic in the condition in " which it is now; conſider, I beſeech you, " whether your divine virtue would not ex- " cite an admiration of you rather than any " real glory: For glory is the illuſtrious " fame of many and great ſervices either to " our friends, our country, or to the whole " race of mankind.

" This part, therefore, ſtill remains; there " is one act more to be performed by you; " to eſtabliſh the Republic again, that you " may reap the benefit of it yourſelf in " peace and proſperity. When you have " paid this debt to your country, and ful- " filled the ends of your nature by a ſatiety " of living, you may then tell us, if you " pleaſe, that *you have lived long enough:* " Yet what is it, after all, that we can really " call *long*, of which there is an end? For, " when that end is once come, all paſt plea- " ſure is to be reckoned as nothing, ſince " no more of it is to be expected. Though " your mind, I know, was never content " with theſe narrow bounds of life which " nature has aſſigned to us, but inflamed " always with an ardent love of immor- " tality.

" Nor indeed is this to be conſidered as " your life, which is compriſed in this bo- " dy and breath; but that, that, I ſay is " your life, which is to flouriſh in the me- " mory of all ages: Which poſterity will " cheriſh, and eternity itſelf propagate. It " is to this that you muſt attend; to this " that you muſt form yourſelf: Which has

" many.

Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

Middl. p. 194.

Il. p. 198.

Rome; where he was killed by *P. Magius Cilo*, his friend and companion; who, though he had been Quæſtor, and was of a family which had borne ſome of the public offices, had attached himſelf to the fortunes of *Marcellus*, and followed him through the wars, and in his exile. After having given him two wounds, the one in his ſtomach, the other in his head near the ear, he ſtabbed himſelf with the ſame poniard. As ſoon as the news reached *Rome*, it raiſed a general conſternation: And, from the ſuſpicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were preſently turned upon *Cæſar*, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and, from the wretched fate of ſo illuſtrious a citizen, every man began to think himſelf in danger. *Cicero* was greatly ſhocked at it, and ſeemed to conſider it as the prelude of ſome greater evil to

" many things already to admire, yet wants " ſomething ſtill, that it may praiſe in you. " Poſterity will be amazed to hear and read " of your commands, provinces; the *Rhine*, " the *Ocean*, the *Nile*; your innumerable " battles, incredible victories, infinite mo- " numents, ſplendid triumphs: But, un- " leſs this city be eſtabliſhed again by your " wiſdom and counſels, your name indeed " will wander far and wide, yet will have " no certain ſeat or place at laſt, where to " fix itſelf. There will be alſo, among thoſe " who are yet unborn, the ſame controver- " ſy that has been among us; when ſome " will extol your actions to the ſkies; others " perhaps will find ſomething defective in " them; and that one thing above all, if " you ſhould not extinguiſh this flame of ci- " vil war, by reſtoring liberty to your coun- " try: For the one may be looked upon as " the effect of fate, but the other is the cer- " tain act of wiſdom.

" Pay a reverence, therefore, to thoſe " Judges who will paſs judgment upon you in " ages to come; and with leſs partiality per- " haps than we, ſince they will neither be bi- " aſſed by affection or party, nor prejudiced " by hatred or envy to you; and though this, " as ſome falſly imagine, ſhould then have " no relation to you, yet it concerns you " certainly, at the preſent, to act in ſuch a " manner, that no oblivion may ever ob- " ſcure the luſtre of your praiſes.

" Various were the inclinations of the " citizens, and their opinions wholly di- " vided: Nor did we differ only in ſenti- " ments and wiſhes, but in arms alſo and " camps: The merits of the cauſe were " dubious, and the contention between two " celebrated Leaders: Many doubted what " was the beſt; many what was convenient; " many what was decent; ſome alſo what " was lawful: The Commonwealth, at " length, got over this ruinous, this deſtruc- " tive war: Victory favoured the man whoſe " reſentment was not inflamed by conqueſt, " but ſoftened by clemency; the man who " did not condemn to exile, or death, the " enemy againſt whom he was exaſperated. " Some quitted their arms; they were forced " from others. That citizen is unjuſt and " odious, who, when hoſtilities are laid " aſide in the field, retains them in his " boſom; much more juſtifiable is he who " lays down his life in the field of battle, " and ſeals with his blood the cauſe he has " embraced.

" But ſince all civil diſcord is now ſub- " dued by the arms, or extinguiſhed by the " clemency of the victor, let us all think " and act with unanimity. It is, O *Cæſar*, " only by your remaining ſafe and fixed in " the ſame principles which you have here- " tofore, but more particularly this day ex- " preſſed, that we can be preſerved. There- " fore all of us who wiſh the proſperity of our " country, beg and intreat, that you would " provide for your life and ſafety; and all of " us, (I ſpeak for others what I myſelf feel) " as you ſuſpect ſome reaſon to be cautious, " *promiſe not only to guard you by day, and* " *watch you by night, but to form, with our* " *own bodies and our own breaſts, the wall of* " *your defence.*"

Though all this was mere compliment in *Cicero*, it might have been ſpoken with great truth and ſincerity; for certain it is, that at this time, no power leſs than that of a Dictator, as *Cæſar* was, could remedy the diſorders of the State.

enſue,

enſue; and *Atticus*, ſignifying his concern upon it, adviſes him to take a more particular care of himſelf, as being the only *conſular Senator* left, who ſtood expoſed to any envy. But *Cæſar*'s friends ſoon cleared him of all ſuſpicion; as indeed the fact itſelf did, when the circumſtances came to be known, and fixed the whole guilt of it on the fury of *Magius*. It was *Cicero*'s conjecture that *Magius*, oppreſſed with debts, and apprehending ſome trouble on that ſcore, at his return to *Rome*, had been urging *Marcellus*, who was his ſponſor for ſome part of them, to furniſh him with money to pay the whole; and, by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madneſs of killing his Patron. Others aſſign a different reaſon, as the rage of jealouſy, and the impatience of ſeeing others more favoured by *Marcellus* than himſelf [d].

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Ad. Att. xiii. 10.

Val. Max. ix. 11.

Soon after the affair of *Marcellus*, *Cicero* had another occaſion of trying both his eloquence and intereſt with *Cæſar* in the cauſe of *Ligarius*; who was now in exile, on account of having been in arms againſt *Cæſar* in the *African* war, in which he had borne a conſiderable command. His two brothers, however, had been on *Cæſar*'s ſide; and, being recommended by *Panſa*, and warmly ſupported by *Cicero*, had almoſt prevailed for his pardon; when *Q. Tubero*, who had an old quarrel with him, being deſirous to obſtruct it, and knowing *Cæſar* to be particularly exaſperated againſt all thoſe, who, through an obſtinate averſion to him, had renewed the war in *Africa*, accuſed him, in the uſual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in proſecuting that war. *Cæſar* is ſaid to have privately encouraged the proſecution, and ordered the cauſe to be tried in the *Forum*, where he ſat upon it in perſon, ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed againſt the criminal, and determined to lay hold of any plauſible pretence of condemning him: But the force of *Cicero*'s eloquence, exerted with all his ſkill in a cauſe which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him againſt his will [e]. This *Ligarius*, after his return, lived

Ep. Fam. vi. 14.

Plut. in Cic.

[d] *S. Sulpicius*, who, in a letter to *Cicero*, gives the account above, tells him, that the *Athenians* refuſed to grant a place of burial for him within the city, ſaying, that it was forbidden by their religion, and had never been indulged to any man. He was therefore buried without the city in the *Academy*. *Middl. p.* 172. *Ep. Fam.* iv. 12.

[e] The merit of this ſpeech, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, is too well known to want to be enlarged upon: Thoſe who read it will find no reaſon to charge *Cicero* with *flattery: But the free ſpirit, which it breathes, in the face of that power to which it was ſuing for mercy, muſt give a great idea of the art of the Speaker, who could deliver ſuch bold truths without offence; as well as of the generoſity of the Judge who heard them not only with patience, but approbation.* Middl. p. 173—175.

"Obſerve, *Cæſar*, ſays he, with what "fidelity I plead *Ligarius*'s cauſe, when I "betray even my own by it. O that ad- "mirable clemency, worthy to be celebrated "by every kind of praiſe, letters, monu- "ments! *M. Cicero* defends a criminal be- "fore you, by proving him not to have "been in thoſe ſentiments in which he owns "himſelf to have been: Nor does he yet "fear your ſecret thoughts, or, while he is "pleading for another, what may occur to "you about himſelf. See, I ſay, how little he "is afraid of you. See with what a courage "and gaiety of ſpeaking your generoſity

"and

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in great confidence with *Brutus*, who found him a fit perſon to bear a part in the conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar*; but, happening to be taken ill near the time of its execution, when *Brutus* in a viſit to him began to lament, *that he was fallen ſick in a very unlucky hour*; he, preſently raiſing himſelf upon his elbow, and, taking *Brutus* by the hand, replied: Yet ſtill, *Brutus*, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourſelf, I am well. Nor did he diſappoint *Brutus*'s opinion of him, for we find him afterwards in the liſt of the conſpirators.

Cicero compoſed, at this time, his panegyric upon *Cato* [f], which is loſt: But, from the accounts given of the work by antiquity, it appears, that

" and wiſdom inſpire me. I will raiſe my " voice to ſuch a pitch that the whole *Ro-* " *man* people may hear me, After the war " was not only begun, *Cæſar*, but, in a " great meaſure, finiſhed, when I was driven " by no neceſſity, I went, by choice and " judgment, to join myſelf with thoſe who " had taken arms againſt you. Before " whom do I ſay this? Why before him " who, though he knew it to be true, yet " reſtored me to the Republic, before he " had even ſeen me; who wrote to me from " *Egypt*, that I ſhould be the ſame man that " I had always been; and, when he was the " only Emperor within the dominion of " *Rome*, ſuffered me to be the other; and " to hold my laurelled faſces, as long as I " thought them worth holding.—Do you " then, *Tubero*, call *Ligarius*'s conduct *wic-* " *ked?* For what reaſon, ſince that cauſe " has never yet been called by that name? " Some indeed call it miſtake, others fear; " thoſe, who ſpeak more ſeverely, hope, am- " bition, hatred, obſtinacy, or, at the worſt, " raſhneſs; but no man beſides you has ever " called it wickedneſs. For my part, were I to " invent a proper and genuine name for our " calamity, I ſhould take it for a kind of fa- " tality, that had poſſeſſed the unwary minds " of men; ſo that none can think it ſtrange " that all human counſels were over-ruled " by a divine neceſſity. Call us then, if " you pleaſe, unhappy, *though we can ne-* " *ver be ſo under this Conqueror*; but I " ſpeak not of us who ſurvive, but of thoſe " who fell: Let them be ambitious; let " them be angry; let them be obſtinate; " but let not the guilt of crime, of fury, of " parricide, ever be charged on *Cn. Pompey* " and on many of thoſe who died with him. " When did we ever hear any ſuch thing " from you, *Cæſar?* Or *what other view* " *had you in the war but to defend yourſelf from* " *injury?*—You conſidered it, from the firſt, " not as a war, but a ſeceſſion; not an hoſ- " tile, but a civil diſſenſion: Where both " ſides wiſhed well to the Republic; yet, " through a difference, partly of counſels, " partly of inclinations, deviated from the " common good: The dignity of the Lead- " ers was almoſt equal; though not, per- " haps, of thoſe who followed them; the " cauſe was then dubious, ſince there was " ſomething which one might approve on " either ſide; but now that muſt needs be " thought the beſt, which the Gods have " favoured; and, after the experience of " your clemency, who can be diſpleaſed " with that victory, in which no man fell " who was not actually in arms."

It would have been difficult for *Cæſar* to have been angry with theſe *bold truths*.

[f] Dr. *Middleton* (p. 160) and Abbé *Mongault* imagine, that *Cicero* had been left a guardian to *Cato*'s ſon, as he was alſo to young *Lucullus*, *Cato*'s nephew. " This teſ- " timony of *Cato*'s friendſhip and judgment " of him, ſays the former of theſe writers, " might induce him the more readily to pay " this honour to his memory. It was a mat- " ter, however, of no ſmall deliberation, in " what manner he ought to treat the ſubject: " His friends adviſed him not to be too ex- " plicit and particular in the detail of *Cato*'s " praiſes, but to content himſelf with a ge- " neral encomium, for fear of irritating *Cæ-* " *ſar*, by puſhing the argument too far. In " a letter to *Atticus*, (xii. 4.) he calls this " *an Archimedean problem*; *but I cannot hit* " *upon any thing*, ſays he, *that thoſe friends* " *of yours will read with pleaſure, or even* " *with patience: Beſides, if I ſhould drop* " *the account of* CATO'S *votes and ſpeeches in* " *the Senate, and of his political conduct in* " *the*

that he ſpared no pains to adorn it. *Brutus*, alſo, compoſed and publiſhed a piece on the ſame ſubject. *Cæſar*, far from expreſſing any reſentment, affected to be pleaſed with them; yet declared that he would anſwer *Cicero*'s; and *Hirtius*, in the mean while, drew up a little piece, in the form of a letter to *Cicero*, filled with objections to *Cato*'s character, but with high compliments to *Cicero* himſelf; which *Cicero* took care to make public, and called it a ſpecimen of what *Cæſar*'s work was like to be. *Cæſar*'s anſwer was not publiſhed till the next year, upon his return from *Spain*, after the defeat of *Pompey*'s ſons. It was a laboured invective; anſwering *Cicero*'s book paragraph by paragraph, and accuſing *Cato* with all the art and force of his rhetoric, *as if in a public trial before Judges*; yet with expreſſions of great reſpect towards *Cicero*; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to *Pericles* and *Theramenes* of *Athens*: And in a letter upon it to *Balbus*, which was ſhewn by his order to *Cicero*, he ſaid, *that, by the frequent reading of* CICERO*'s Cato, he was grown more copious; but, after he had read* BRUTUS*'s, thought himſelf more eloquent.*

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Tac. An. iv. 34. Quint. iii. 7. Plut. in Cic. Ad Att. xiii. 46.

Brutus, about this time, took a reſolution of putting away his wife *Claudia*, to marry *Porcia*, *Bibulus*'s widow, and his uncle *Cato*'s daughter; a ſtep for which he was much cenſured; ſince *Claudia* had no ſtain upon her character; was nobly born; the ſiſter of *Appius Claudius*; and nearly allied to *Pompey*; ſo that his mother *Servilia*, though *Cato*'s ſiſter, ſeems to have been averſe to the divorce, and ſtrongly in the intereſt of *Claudia* againſt her niece. *Cicero*'s advice upon it was, that, if *Brutus* was reſolved upon the thing, he ſhould do it out of hand, as the beſt way to put an end to people's talking; by ſhewing that it was not done out of levity or complaiſance to the times, but to take the daughter of *Cato*, whoſe name was now highly popular: Which *Brutus* ſoon after complied with, and made *Porcia* his wife. And *Cicero*, when he ſeparated from *Terentia*, in the beginning of this year, had thoughts of marrying the daughter of *Pompey*. Nothing ſhews better how much they preſumed on *Cæſar*'s mildneſs. He married, however, *Publilia*, a young woman with a great fortune, to whom he was Guardian, to ſatisfy, ſays *Plutarch*, his creditors with her money. This drew upon him a great deal of cenſure; and was certainly an act of the greateſt injuſtice to *Terentia*, who had lived with him upwards of thirty years, and had made him the father of two children extremely dear to him.

Middl. p. 193.

" *the State, and give a ſlight commendation* " *only of his conſtancy and gravity, even this* " *will be more than they care to hear: But* " *the man cannot be praiſed as he deſerves,* " *unleſs it be particularly explained, how he* " *foretold all that has happened to us; how* " *he took arms to prevent its happening; and* " *parted with life rather than ſee it happen.*" " Theſe were the topics, which he re- " ſolved to diſplay with all his force." And the Doctor thinks, that this work was *a remarkable proof of his being no temporiſer at this time.* But, ſince *Cæſar* and his friends were ſo much pleaſed with the work, it is very evident that they did not find their condemnation in it. His orations for *Marcellus*,

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lus, for *Ligarius*, and afterwards for *Dejotarus*, may be called, with as good reaſon, *remarkable proofs* of his courage and veracity, whereas they are extraordinary examples of falſeneſs and ſervile adulation. If we examine his private correſpondence at this period, we ſhall find, that he acted a double part; making his court, on the one hand, to *Cæſar*, and paſſing his whole time with *Cæſar*'s friends, of whom he was continually aſking favours; while, on the other hand, he was perpetually complaining of the ſtate of affairs, in the bitterest and moſt unreaſonable terms, to Republicans, and to *Pompeians* then in exile.——The following letters accordingly will give the reader a moſt ſatisfactory account of his ſentiments and way of life during *Cæſar*'s adminiſtration: And we ſhall accompany them with ſome remarks.

CICERO to PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.

Ep. Fam. ix. 16. Melm. viii. 20.

"YOUR letter afforded me a very agreeable inſtance of your friendſhip, in the "concern it expreſſed leſt I ſhould be uneaſy at the report which had been brought me "hither by *Silius*;" [This man had brought an account from the army in *Africa*, that ſome witticiſms of *Cicero* had been reported to *Cæſar*, which had given him offence] "I "was indeed before perfectly ſenſible how much you was diſturbed at this circumſtance, "by your care in ſending me duplicates of a former letter upon the ſame ſubject: And I "then returned ſuch an anſwer as I thought would be ſufficient to abate, at leaſt, if "not entirely remove this your generous ſollicitude. But ſince I perceive, by your laſt "letter, how much this affair ſtill dwells upon your mind; let me aſſure you, my dear "*Pætus*, *that I have employed every artifice* (for we muſt now, my friend, be armed with "cunning, as well as prudence) *to conciliate the good graces of the perſons you mention:* And, "if I miſtake not, my endeavours have not proved ineffectual. I receive indeed ſo many "marks of reſpect and eſteem from thoſe who are moſt in *Cæſar*'s favour, that I cannot "but flatter myſelf they have a true regard for me. It muſt be confeſſed, at the ſame "time, that a pretended affection is not *eaſily* diſcernible from a real one, unleſs in ſea"ſons of diſtreſs. For adverſity is to friendſhip what fire is to gold; the only infal"lible teſt to diſcover the genuine from the counterfeit: as, in all other circumſtances, "they both bear the ſame common ſignatures. I have one ſtrong reaſon, however, to "perſuade me of their ſincerity: as neither their ſituation, nor mine, can by any means "tempt them to diſſemble with me. As to that perſon [*Cæſar*] in whom all power is "now centered, I am not ſenſible that I have any thing to fear: or nothing more, "at leaſt, than what ariſes from that general precarious ſtate in which all things muſt "ſtand where the fence of laws is broken down; and that it is impoſſible to pronounce "with aſſurance of any event, which depends wholly upon the will, not to ſay the ca"price, of another. But this I can with confidence affirm, that I have not, in any ſingle "inſtance, given him any juſt occaſion to take offence: and, in the article you point out, "I have been particularly cautious. There was a time, it is true, when I thought it well "became me, by whom *Rome* itſelf was free, to ſpeak my ſentiments with freedom: But, "now that our liberties are no more, I deem it equally agreeable to my preſent ſituation "not to ſay any thing that may diſguſt either *Cæſar* or his favourites. But, were I to "ſuppreſs every riſing raillery, that might pique thoſe at whom it is directed, I muſt re"nounce, you know, all my reputation as a wit: And, in good earneſt, it is a character "upon which I do not ſet ſo high a value as to be unwilling to reſign, if it were in my "power. However, I am in no danger of ſuffering in *Cæſar*'s opinion, by being repre"ſented as the author of any ſarcaſms to which I have no claim: As his judgment is "much too penetrating ever to be deceived by any impoſition of this nature. I remem"ber your brother *Servius*, whom I look upon to be one of the moſt learned Critics that "this age has produced, was ſo converſant in the writings of our Poets, and had ac"quired ſuch an excellent and judicious ear, that he could immediately diſtinguiſh the "numbers of *Plautus* from thoſe of any other author. Thus *Cæſar*, I am told, when "he made his large collection of apothegms, conſtantly rejected any piece of wit that "was brought to him as mine, if it happened to be ſpurious: A diſtinction he is much "more able to make at preſent, as his particular friends paſs almoſt every day of their "lives in my company. As our converſation generally turns upon a variety of ſubjects, I

"frequently

" frequently ſtrike out thoughts which they look upon as not altogether void, perhaps, Y. R. 707.
" of ſpirit and ingenuity. Now theſe little ſallies of pleaſantry, together with the gene- Bef. Chr.
" ral occurrences of *Rome*, are commonly tranſmitted to *Cæſar*, in purſuance of his own 45.
" expreſs directions: So that, if any thing of this kind is mentioned by others as coming 406 Conſ.
" from me, he always diſregards it. You ſee then, that the lines you quote, with ſo much
" propriety, from the tragedy of *Oenomaus*, contain a caution altogether unneceſſary.
" For tell me, my friend, what jealouſies can I poſſibly create? Or who will look with envy
" upon a man in my humble ſituation? But, granting I were in ever ſo enviable a ſtate,
" yet, let me obſerve, that it is the opinion of thoſe philoſophers who alone ſeem to have
" underſtood the true nature of virtue, that a good man is anſwerable for nothing farther
" than his own innocence. Now, in this reſpect, I think myſelf doubly irreproachable:
" In the firſt place, as having recommended ſuch public meaſures as were for the intereſt
" of the Commonwealth; and, in the next, when I found I was not ſufficiently ſupported
" to render my counſels effectual, that I did not deem it adviſeable to contend farther by
" arms againſt a ſuperior ſtrength. Moſt certainly, therefore, I cannot juſtly be accuſed of
" having failed in the duty of a good citizen. The only part, therefore, that now re-
" mains for me, is to be cautious not to expoſe myſelf, by any indiſcreet word or action,
" to the reſentment of thoſe in power: A part which I hold likewiſe to be agreeable to
" the character of true wiſdom. . . . . But to turn from the ſerious to the jocoſe part
" of your letter.—The ſtrain of pleaſantry you break into, immediately after having quoted
" the tragedy of *Oenomaus*, puts me in mind of the modern method of introducing, at
" the end of thoſe graver dramatic pieces, the buffoon humour of our low mimes, inſtead
" of the more delicate burleſque of the old *Atellan* farces. Why elſe do you talk of your
" paltry polypuſſes, and your mouldy cheeſe? In pure good-nature, it is true, I for-
" merly ſubmitted to ſit down with you to ſuch homely fare: but more refined company
" has improved me into a better taſte: For *Hirtius* and *Dolabella*, let me tell you, are
" my Preceptors in the ſcience of the table: As, in return, they are my diſciples in that
" of the bar. But I ſuppoſe you have already heard, that they frequently declaim at my
" houſe, and I ſup at theirs."

To the ſame.

" YOUR very agreeable letter found me wholly diſengaged at my *Tuſculan* villa. I Ep. Fam.
" retired hither during the abſence of my *pupils* [*Hirtius* and *Dolabella*] whom I have ix. 18.
" ſent to meet their victorious friend, in order to conciliate his good graces in my favour. Melm. viii.
" As *Dionyſius*, the tyrant, after he had been expelled from *Syracuſe*, opened a ſchool, it 22.
" is ſaid, at *Corinth*; in the ſame manner, being driven from my dominions in the Fo-
" rum, I have erected a ſort of academy in my own houſe; and I perceive, by your let-
" ter, that you approve the ſcheme. I have many reaſons for approving it too: And,
" principally, as it affords me, what is highly expedient in the preſent conjuncture, a
" means of eſtabliſhing an intereſt with thoſe in whoſe friendſhip I may find a protection.
" How far my intentions in this reſpect may be anſwered, I know not: I can only ſay,
" that I have hitherto had no reaſon to prefer the different meaſures which others of the
" ſame party with myſelf have purſued; unleſs, perhaps, it would have been more
" eligible not to have ſurvived the ruin of our cauſe. It would ſo, I confeſs, had I
" died either in the camp, or in the field: But the former did not happen to be my
" fate; and, as to the latter, I was never engaged in any action. But, the inglo-
" rious manner in which *Pompey*, together with *Scipio*, *Afranius*, and your friend *Len-*
" *tulus*, ſeverally loſt their lives, will ſcarcely, I ſuppoſe, be thought a more deſirable
" lot. As to *Cato*'s death; it muſt be acknowledged to have been truly noble: And I
" can ſtill follow his example, whenever I ſhall be ſo diſpoſed: Let me only endea-
" vour, as in truth I do, not to be compelled to it by the ſame neceſſity: And this, indeed,
" is my firſt reaſon for engaging in my preſent ſcheme. My next is, that I find it an advan-
" tage not only to my health, which began to be impaired by the intermiſſion of exerciſes
" of this kind, but alſo to my oratorial talents, if any I ever poſſeſſed; which would have
" totally loſt their vigour, if I had not had recourſe to this method of keeping them in
" play. The laſt benefit I ſhall mention (and the principal one, I dare ſay, in your eſti-
" mation),

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" mation) is, that it has introduced me to the demoliſhing a greater number of more delicious " peacocks, than you have had the devouring of paltry pigeons in all your life. The truth " of it is, whilſt you are humbly ſipping the meagre broths of the ſneaking *Aterius*, I am " luxurioufly regaling myſelf with the ſavoury ſoups of the magnificent *Hirtius*. If you have " any ſpirit then, fly hither, and learn, from our elegant bills of fare, how to refine " your own. . . . . To encourage you to do ſo, you ſhall be honoured with a chair and " cuſhion next to mine, and ſit the ſecond great pedagogue in my celebrated ſchool."

The following letter to his friend NIGIDIUS FIGULUS, who was then in exile, is in a more melancholy ſtrain:

Ep. Fam. iv. 13. Melm. ix. 8.

" THOUGH I have been long looking out for an occaſion of writing to you, yet " I have not only been unable to meet with any particular ſubject for that purpoſe, but " find myſelf utterly at a loſs even to furniſh out a common letter. The calamities of " our country have ſpoiled me for thoſe jocoſe epiſtles, with which, in happier days, I " uſed to entertain my friends: As fortune has rendered me incapable of writing, or in " truth of thinking upon any ſubject of a chearful nature. There remains another ſpecies " of letters of a grave and ſerious caſt, peculiarly adapted to theſe miſerable times. But " as a letter of this kind ought to contain either ſome promiſe of aſſiſting you to ſurmount " your misfortunes, or ſome arguments to ſupport you under them; from theſe too I am " likewiſe excluded. Sunk, indeed, as I am into the ſame abject fortune as yourſelf; " what aſſiſtance can I poſſibly offer you? The truth is, I am obliged to have recourſe " myſelf to the aid of others: And I have much more reaſon to lament *that I live upon theſe* " *diſgraceful terms, than to rejoice that I am ſtill in being.* I ſay not this from any extraor- " dinary injuries which I have ſuffered in my own perſon: As indeed there is nothing " which, in the preſent conjuncture, I could wiſh for myſelf, that *Cæſar* has not volun- " tarily offered me. *Nevertheleſs the ſorrows that oppreſs my heart are of ſo ſevere a nature,* " *that I think myſelf guilty of a crime in ſtill continuing to live.* For I live deprived of ma- " ny of my moſt intimate friends, whom death, or thoſe public calamities which have " driven them from their country, have ſeparated from me: As I have likewiſe loſt, by " the ſame means, all thoſe whoſe good-will I formerly conciliated, when, by your aſſiſt- " ance, I ſucceſsfully ſtood forth in defence of the Republic. I have the unhappineſs, " at the ſame time, to be placed in the midſt of the general wreck and plunder of their " fortunes: And not only have the pain to hear, (but, what is far more affecting) am a " ſpectator of the diſſipation of the eſtates which belonged to thoſe illuſtrious aſſociates, " who aſſiſted me in extinguiſhing the flames of that dangerous conſpiracy. In a word, I " have the mortification to find myſelf utterly diveſted of all credit, authority, and ho- " nours in that Republic, where I once flouriſhed in the full poſſeſſion of theſe glorious " diſtinctions. *Cæſar*, it is true, acts towards me with the utmoſt generoſity: But his " generoſity cannot reſtore what I have loſt by the general violence and confuſion of the " times. Thus, bereaved of thoſe advantages to which I was habituated by genius, by " inclination, and by cuſtom, I imagine the world is no leſs diſſatisfied with me than I " am with myſelf. Formed indeed as I was by nature to be perpetually engaged in the " nobleſt and moſt important occupations, I am now deprived of every means, not only " of acting, but thinking to any public purpoſe. There was a time when my aſſiſtance " could have raiſed the obſcure, and protected even the guilty: But now I cannot ſo " much as ſend a favourable promiſe to *Nigidius*; to the virtuous and learned *Nigidius*; " to the man who once flouriſhed in the higheſt credit, and who was always my warmeſt " friend! Thus you ſee that I am totally diſqualified from writing letters to you of this " kind.

" The only ſubject, that remains to me then, is to endeavour to draw off your mind " from its inquietudes, by laying before you ſuch arguments as may afford you a well- " grounded conſolation. But, if ever any man was peculiarly qualified to employ the " ſtrongeſt reaſonings of this nature, either for his own uſe, or for that of others, moſt " undoubtedly it is yourſelf. Such, therefore, as may be drawn from the refined ſources " of philoſophy, I will not pretend to touch; but ſhall leave them entirely to your own " ſuggeſtions. Whatever is worthy of a man of true wiſdom and fortitude; whatever is

" agreeable

" agreeable to that character you have ſuſtained in the world, and to thoſe ſtudies in Y. R. 707.
" which you ſo early excelled; whatever, in ſhort, is expected from a great and exalted Bef. Chr.
" mind in the circum ſtances wherein you are placed, your own reflections will beſt ſupply. 45.
" I will only take upon myſelf therefore to inform you of what I have been able to diſ- 406 Conſ.
" cover from my being ſituated in *Rome*, and giving a particular attention to every occur-
" rence that paſſes. I will venture then with confidence to aſſure you, that your preſent
" troubles (perhaps too I might add, that thoſe of the Republic itſelf) will not be of long
" continuance. For, in the firſt place, *Cæſar* ſeems well-inclined to recall you from
" exile: And, truſt me, I ſpeak this from no haſty conjecture. On the contrary, I exa-
" mine his ſentiments and diſpoſition ſo much the more ſtrictly, as I am leſs biaſſed in
" his favour by any particular connexions. I am perſuaded then that the ſingle reaſon
" for his delaying to reſtore you is, that he may, with a better grace, refuſe the ſame fa-
" vour to others, againſt whom he is more warmly incenſed. I am ſure, at leaſt, that all
" his moſt intimate friends and favourites both think and ſpeak of you highly to your
" advantage. In the next place, the populace, or rather, I ſhould ſay, the whole com-
" munity in general, are ſtrongly in your intereſt. And, let me add, that the Republic
" herſelf, whoſe power at preſent, it is true, is certainly inconſiderable, but who muſt ne-
" ceſſarily, however, recover ſome degree of credit; the Republic herſelf, believe me, will
" ſoon obtain your reſtoration from thoſe who at this time hold her in ſubjection. In this
" reſpect therefore I may venture even to promiſe you ſome aſſiſtance. With this view,
" I ſhall cloſely attach myſelf to *Cæſar*'s favourites; who are all of them indeed extreme-
" ly fond of me, and ſpend much of their time in my company: As I ſhall inſinuate my-
" ſelf into an intimacy with *Cæſar*; to which *my own modeſty* has hitherto proved the ſin-
" gle obſtruction. In ſhort, I ſhall purſue every probable means of this kind (and ſome
" too that I dare not commit to paper) in order to obtain your return. As to other ar-
" ticles of aſſiſtance, I am ſenſible there are many who are perfectly well inclined to offer
" you their ſervices; but you may depend upon me as the firſt and forwardeſt in that
" number."

To Curius.

" THERE was a time when I thought you made a very injudicious choice, by pre- Ep. Fam.
" ferring a foreign country to your own. I imagined that *Rome* (while yet alas! it was vii. 28.
" *Rome*) muſt be far more ſuitable. I will not only ſay than *Patræ*, but even than the no- Melm. ix.
" bleſt city in the *Peloponneſus*, to a man of your amiable and elegant turn of mind. But 25.
" now, on the contrary, I look upon your having retired into *Greece*, when our affairs
" were well nigh deſperate, as a ſtrong proof of your great penetration: And I conſider
" your abſence not only as a very judicious, but a very happy reſolution. Yet, why do
" I call it happy, when it is impoſſible that happineſs ſhould be the portion of any man
" in theſe wretched times, who poſſeſſes the leaſt degree of ſenſibility? However, that
" deſirable privilege, which you, who were at liberty to leave *Italy*, enjoy by travelling,
" I have procured by another method: And I can, in ſome ſort ſay, no leſs than your-
" ſelf, that I live

Where nor the name, nor deeds accurs'd, I hear,
Of Pelops' *impious race*——

" For, as ſoon as my levee is over, (which is ſomewhat more frequented than formerly;
" a Patriot being now looked upon as a ſight of all others the moſt uncommon *) I ſhut
" myſelf up in my library. And it is there, my friend, that I am employed in compo-
" ſitions which you will find, perhaps, to be animated with all that ſpirit, which you
" once ſaid ſo ill agreed with my dejection and deſpair; when you reproached me at your
" houſe, for not acting up to the fortitude that appeared in my writings. I muſt confeſs, I

* A *true Patriot* was a ſight in all ages too uncommon, it muſt be owned, not to have been worth remarking: But whether thoſe who viſited *Cicero*, in order to view ſo ſingular a curioſity, were diſappointed: or not, is a queſtion, which does not require great ſagacity to determine.

" could

Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

" could not at that time forbear lamenting the wretched fate of the Republic: To which " I was the more tenderly attached, as I had not only been diſtinguiſhed with its honours, " but had greatly aſſiſted it by my ſervices. And even now that time (which wears out " the ſorrows of the weakeſt minds) together with reaſon (which ought to have the ſtrongeſt " influence for that purpoſe) have jointly contributed to compoſe my breaſt; yet I ſtill la- " ment to ſee the Commonwealth thus fallen, without a hope of ever riſing more! *There* " *is nothing, however, that can at preſent be juſtly imputed to him, in whom all power is now* " *veſted: unleſs, perhaps, it be that he has more than he ought.* And, as to what is paſt, " *our fate and our follies have had ſo large a ſhare in all that has happened, that we cannot* " *complain with a good grace.* As little reaſon is there to hope that affairs will mend. I " cannot, therefore, but conclude my letter as I began it, with admiring your judgment, " if it were choice, or your fortune, if it were chance, which led you from this unpleaſing " ſcene."

Middl. p. 159.

The ingenious author of the life of *Cicero*, after having preſented to his reader a few extracts from the foregoing letters, has made the following obſervations: " It is certain " that there was not a man in the Republic, ſo particularly engaged, both by principle " and intereſt, to wiſh well to its liberty, or who had ſo much to loſe by the ſubverſion of " it, as he: For, as long as it was governed by civil methods, and ſtood upon the foun- " dation of its laws, he was undoubtedly *the firſt citizen in it*; had *the chief influence in* " *the Senate*; *the chief authority with the People:* And, as all his hopes and fortunes were " grounded on the peace of his country, ſo all his labours and ſtudies were perpetually " applied to the promotion of it. It is no wonder, therefore, in the preſent ſituation " of the city, oppreſſed by arms and a tyrannical power, to find him ſo particularly im- " patient *under the common miſery*, and expreſſing ſo keen a ſenſe of *the diminution of his* " *dignity*, and *the diſgrace of ſerving where he had been uſed to govern.* CÆSAR, on the " other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcileable to his " uſurped dominion, yet out of friendſhip to the man, and a reverence for his character, " was determined to treat him with the greateſt humanity; and, by all the marks of per- " ſonal favour, to make his life not only tolerable, but eaſy to him: Yet all that he could " do had no other effect on *Cicero*, than to make him think and ſpeak ſometimes favou- " rably of the natural clemency of their maſter; and to entertain ſome hopes from it, " that he would be one day perſuaded to reſtore the public liberty: But, excluſive of that " hope, he never mentions his government, but as a *real tyranny*, or his perſon in any " other ſtyle, than as *the oppreſſor of his country.*"

Is it not amazing to hear Dr. *Middleton* talk in this ſtrain? Had *Cicero* been *uſed to go-* *vern Rome? Cicero* ever a ſlave to the Great, the perpetual panegyriſt of the Triumvirs, and their tool to all the purpoſes of their ambition; who was no ſooner abandoned by them, than he fell a ſacrifice to the reſentment of a young rake whom he had offended. " *It is not wonderful that he ſhould expreſs ſo keen a ſenſe of the diminution of his dignity.*" Was there then more *dignity* in his behaviour before the triumvirate, when, contrary to the views of the ariſtocracy, to ingratiate himſelf with *Pompey*, he defended the *Gabinian* and *Manilian* laws? After the triumvirate was formed, who was the promoter of *Cæſar*'s power, but he? Of *Craſſus*'s, that man whom he abhorred, but he? Who was the advo- cate of all the miſcreants of the State, but he? *Cicero* all his life talked of *his dignity*, and could give a juſt definition of *true dignity*, when he pleaſed; but in his actions cer- tainly he never ſhewed any, if dignity conſiſts in *an upright, open, generous behaviour*, and not in prating to a Senate or a mob, right or wrong.— " *He was impatient under the com-* " *mon miſery.*" But was really the State miſerable under *Cæſar*'s adminiſtration? Did he not reſtore order and peace in a diſtracted government? Did he not immediately ſet about making the moſt ſalutary laws? Was he not ſo intent upon their execution, as to be in- clined to delay his expedition into *Parthia*, to give them, by his preſence in the city, a greater force? Did not the people, under his ſhort dominion, taſte all the ſweets of li- berty but the name? And did not that empty name, under their own government, tole- rate all the outrageous barbarity and injuſtice of the moſt abſolute tyranny? Were *order* and *affluence* no public bleſſings, becauſe they were the gift of *Cæſar*? Did not *Cicero* him- ſelf enjoy the greateſt eaſe and liberty, and more power, by his intereſt with *Cæſar*, than

Cibber 202.

he

he ever had in the Republic? And, when we view him in this tranquillity, oppoſed to the late tempeſtuous times he had been toſſed in, was it gratitude in *Cicero* that he ſtill talked of *Cæſar* as the oppreſſor of his country? Or, were the recovered ſweets of life, which *Cicero* was now taſting, all imbittered, becauſe the generoſity of *Cæſar*, had no title to make them ſecure to him? If ſuch indulgence were the effect of *tyranny*, what name ſhould *Cicero* have given to that upright Republic that baniſhed him? Y. R. 707. Bef. Chr. 45. 406 Conſ.

But was not *Cæſar* the immediate deſtroyer of the *Roman* liberty? Certainly he was not: "Had *Rome* at the time of the civil war, been miſtreſs of herſelf, both *Pompey* and *Cæſar* muſt have equally obeyed her. Though her government was not legally changed, it was ſo viſibly altered by time and accidents, that it had then as much the appearance of an elective monarchy as of a Republic, its ancient liberty having ſcarce any one privilege left, but that of voting by the ſword, what ſhould be the name of the man that was to deſtroy it.—Had not the Republic almoſt conſumed itſelf for want of an uncontroulable Magiſtrate? And was it better that the whole had periſhed, than that an uncommiſſioned power ſhould have preſumed to ſave the remains of it? Was ſo unaſked a favour an injury, when public violence was grown too ſtrong for the old laws; had not neceſſity, when ſhe had no laws, a right to form new ones for her own uſe? And what poſſible power, but that of *Cæſar*, could have aſſiſted that neceſſity to make them? Though form and order be indiſpenſable in the *quiet* execution of laws, yet there may be critical ſeaſons or times of danger, when the breaking through them may be equally neceſſary, and which the *Roman* Republic, under their happieſt ſettlement, thought it ſometimes adviſeable to comply with; and in ſuch caſes made a temporary Dictator, *to take care the Commonwealth came to no harm.* Thus, by parity of reaſon, when *Pompey* had, by his intimidating army, made himſelf little leſs than ſuch a Dictator, had not *Cæſar* juſt as good a right to diſplace him? So that, whatever title was wanting to *Cæſar*'s office, his office at leaſt became neceſſary.——Admitting then that, out of the ruins of this ſelf-ſubverted Republic, *Cæſar* had for ſome time deſigned to erect a monarchy, what more ſalutary expedient could, in their preſent diſtractions, be hoped for? Wherein was his uſurpation a more public grievance, than in throwing water upon a houſe in flames? Would *Pompey* have held the imperial hand over them with more gentleneſs than *Cæſar*? This is the only material conſideration, *ſince without a Maſter Rome could not live.* Now it is agreed on all ſides, that *Pompey*'s victory would have been a cruel one; and ſo intent were his followers upon deſtruction and proſcriptions, that *Cæſar*'s clemency ſtruck them with amazement, and they could not believe their ſenſes." Cibber, p. 198.

But ſhould not *Cæſar* have reſtored the Commonwealth, as *Sylla* did? *Sylla*'s ſettlement was no reſtoration of the public liberty, or of the true *democratic* government; he changed the conſtitution of the State and made it *ariſtocratic*; which, we are told by politicians is the worſt of governments. This *ariſtocracy* ſubſiſted but a few years; *Pompey* by his conqueſts acquired ſo much wealth, glory, and power, that he became of courſe the Maſter of the Republic; till *Cæſar*, by his conqueſts, glory, and power, became his competitor: Part of the State choſe to adhere to *Pompey*, another part ſided with *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* had ſucceſs, and ſhewed he deſerved it by his moderation and clemency. To have relinquiſhed the ſovereign authority would have been to have acted as an enemy to his country, ſince, having it in his power to do univerſal good, he would have choſen to have thrown the State into the ſame confuſions and convulſions out of which it had ſo luckily and ſo gently emerged. "And why ſhould we ſuppoſe a ſoul ſo elevated as *Cæſar*'s could be ignorant of advantages to be derived from his greatneſs, or could think that the power of doing univerſal good could have a joy or glory ſuperior to it?" Did not *Cicero* himſelf encourage him to keep his authority, and lay before him the ſtrongeſt motives for this purpoſe, in his ſpeech for *Marcellus*? And, if *Cæſar* had taken *Cicero* into his council, and flattered his vanity by giving him the appearance of a ſhare in the adminiſtration, who can doubt but he would have had, in our Orator, a zealous panegyriſt of all his actions, who, at the time that he made the complaints which have occaſioned theſe reflections, writes thus to his friend *Aulus Cæcina*, Fam. vi. 6. *Melm.* ix. 34. "I ſhall now, indeed, be enabled to employ my zeal more effectually than heretofore, *as I make great and daily advances in* CÆSAR's *friendſhip*; not to mention my intereſt alſo with his favourites, who diſtinguiſh me with the firſt rank in their affection." In the ſame letter Id. p. 208,

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he raiſes the hopes of his friend, then in exile, by the conſideration of *Cæſar*'s magnanimous conduct: "I cannot but obſerve to you, that I have often occaſion to admire the "*juſtice* and *judgment* of *Cæſar*; who never ſpeaks of *Pompey*, but in terms of the higheſt "honour. Should it be ſaid, that, whatever regard he may ſhew to his memory, he treated "his perſon upon many occaſions with great aſperity: Let it be remembered, that theſe "inſtances cannot reaſonably be imputed to *Cæſar*, but were the natural conſequences of "war. But how favourably has he received many of us, and myſelf in particular, who "were engaged in the ſame party? Has he not appointed *Caſſius* to be his Lieutenant? "Has he not given the government of *Gaul* to *Brutus*? and that of *Greece* to *Sulpicius*? "In a word, highly incenſed as he was againſt *Marcellus*, has he not in the moſt honourable manner reſtored him to his friends and to his country?" *Cicero* ſucceeded ſo well in his application to *Cæſar*'s favour, that, the following year, when he had any thing to aſk, he wrote directly to himſelf: And his letters do but ill ſupport what *Dr. Middleton* ſays of his ſhyneſs during *Cæſar*'s adminiſtration.

CHAP. X.

Cæſar's *war in* Spain *againſt* Pompey's *ſons. The honours decreed him by the Senate. His triumph, and thoſe of his two Lieutenants* Q. Fabius *and* Q. Pedius. Cicero's *grief for the death of his daughter* Tullia. *His writings during his retreat at this time.*

C. Julius Cæsar, Dictator III. Conſul IV. ſine Collega.
M. Æmilius Lepidus, Mag. Equit.

Y.R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ.

IN the end of the year *Cæſar* was called away in great haſte into *Spain* to oppoſe the attempts of *Pompey*'s ſons. The city was left without *Conſuls* or *Prætors*, under the government of *Lepidus*, General of the Horſe, and ſix Prefects to adminiſter juſtice. The Tribunes and the Ediles were the only Magiſtrates elected in the ordinary form.

Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

After the defeat of *Afranius*, *Cæſar* appointed to the government of *Spain* Q. *Caſſius Longinus*, who was Tribune with *Antony* when the civil war broke out, and fled with him to *Ravenna*. He had been Quæſtor there under *Pompey*, and was well acquainted with the country: But his violence and avarice, during his quæſtorſhip, had rendered him the object of the public hatred; and he had been wounded in an attempt made upon his life. Inveſted by *Cæſar* with ſovereign authority, he applied himſelf wholly to gain the hearts of his ſoldiers by largeſſes and a relaxation of military diſcipline, hoping to find in his army a bulwark againſt the reſentment of the people: And, at the ſame time, to ſatisfy the demands of his avarice, he committed all kinds of acts, both of injuſtice and cruelty. This behaviour brought him into contempt even with the miniſters of his violence, and produced a ſecond conſpiracy, which broke out, when, purſuant to *Cæſar*'s orders, he was ſetting out for *Mauritania*, in order to give King *Juba* employment at home, and hinder him from ſending ſuccours to *Pompey*, as he had already done.

Sevilla la vieja.

The conſpirators, who were all of *Italica*, a city founded by the elder *Scipio* in *Bætica*, ſet upon him in open day, and gave him ſeveral wounds;

wounds; but, none of them proving mortal, he had the ſatisfaction to revenge himſelf on them by tortures and death. The act of the conſpirators was approved by a great part of the army, as well as of the people. Two of the legions, who had formerly ſerved under *Varro*, *Pompey*'s Lieutenant, ſoon ſhewed their diſaffection by an open mutiny; and, their hatred to *Caſſius* reviving their affection for *Pompey*, they declared for him, and engraved his name on their bucklers. Three legions continued faithful to *Longinus*, not through any regard for him, but purely on account of their attachment to *Cæſar*. The city of *Corduba*, where a great many *Romans* were ſettled, deteſted alſo *Longinus*, but were unwilling to abandon *Cæſar's* intereſt. This commotion might have proved fatal to *Cæſar*, had not the Quæſtor *Marcellus Eſerninus* united all *Longinus*'s enemies under *Cæſar*'s name and authority: Which was effected with more eaſe, as accounts came about this time of the victory at *Pharſalia*. *Longinus* on his ſide had called to his aſſiſtance *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, who was in *Cæſar*'s alliance, and their two combined armies waged war for ſome time againſt *Marcellus*, till *Lepidus*, Proconſul in *nether Spain*, coming ſoon after into *Bætica*, with a conſiderable force, *Marcellus* readily conſented to his arbitration. *Longinus* was forced to do the ſame; and, a ſhort time after being informed that *Trebonius*, his ſucceſſor, was arrived in the province, he put immediately to ſea with all his treaſure, and was loſt in a ſtorm in the mouth of the *Iberus*. But, as popular fury does not eaſily ſubſide, this calm was of but ſhort duration. Many, conſcious of their offence, were afraid of *Cæſar*'s reſentment, and were well pleaſed to hear that *Metellus Scipio* had aſſembled a powerful army in *Africa*. They ſent Deputies to him to offer their ſervice and demand his protection; and *Cn. Pompey* was ſent on this occaſion, as has been related above, after he had made a fruitleſs attempt upon the kingdom of *Bogud*. The diſaffected legions did not ſtay for his arrival, but, hearing that he was landed in the *Balearian* iſlands, and was there detained by ſickneſs, they openly declared againſt *Trebonius*, and put themſelves under the conduct of *T. Scapula*, and *Q. Aponius*, two *Roman* Knights. As ſoon as young *Pompey* recovered his health, he joined his friends; and in a ſhort time got together eleven legions, and drove *Trebonius* out of *Bætica*. His brother *Sextus*, in conjunction with *Labienus* and *Varus*, brought him the remainder of *Scipio*'s fleet, and his land army was greatly ſtrengthened by the fugitives from *Africa*; ſo that he was able to act powerfully both by ſea and land. *Cæſar*, immediately after the defeat of *Scipio* and *Juba*, had ſent *Q. Fabius* and *Q. Pedius* with part of his *African* army, and *Didius* with his fleet, to act againſt the ſons of *Pompey*. This Admiral had engaged with ſucceſs the *Pompeian* fleet commanded by *Varus*, and forced it to take refuge in a port called by *Dio Crantia*, which is probably that of *Carteia*: But the Lieutenants could not make head

Y. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ.

Dio, l. xliii.

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againſt the enemy in the field; and *Cæſar*'s preſence was neceſſary to prevent the entire reduction of the province.

Cæſar therefore, called upon by the inhabitants that remained faithful to him, and by his own Lieutenants, ſet out before the end of *November*, arrived at *Obulco*, near *Corduba*, in twenty-ſeven days, and ſurpriſed both his friends and enemies by his ſudden appearance among them. *Cn. Pompey* was at this time actually beſieging *Ulia*, the only town of *Bætica*, which held out againſt him. *Cæſar* found means to throw ſome ſuccour into it, and marched himſelf to *Corduba*, where *Sextus Pompey* had locked himſelf up. *Sextus* called away his brother from *Ulia* to his aſſiſtance; but *Cæſar*, by that motion, had only in view to bring about a general and deciſive action. Finding, however, that the two *Pompey's* had taken a fixed reſolution to keep upon the defenſive, he turned off to *Ategua*, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs poſſeſſed by his enemies: And, in the depth of winter, and in the neighbourhood of a powerful army, carried it the 19*th* of *February*, when it ſurrendered at diſcretion. The garriſon had offered to capitulate ſooner, and ſurrender upon terms; but *Cæſar* anſwered, haughtily, "that he was uſed to preſcribe condi-"tions, not to receive them:" And he treated them, it is probable, with ſeverity; for they had been guilty of great cruelty in cutting the throats of a great number of the inhabitants, who were thought to be in his intereſt, and whoſe bodies were thrown over the walls during the ſiege. *Cn. Pompey*, upon the news of the taking of *Ategua*, treated in the ſame manner, and for the ſame crime, ſeventy-four citizens of a neighbouring town. Acts of the greateſt oppreſſion and inhumanity were committed on both ſides. The two armies, ſhifting continually their ground, in order to find opportunities to harraſs each other, advanced at length into the plains of *Munda*. There, on the 27*th* of *March*, as *Cæſar* was preparing to move his camp, he was informed, that the enemy had been drawn up in order of battle ever ſince midnight. *Pompey*, dreading the contempt and deſertion of his followers, who were all eager for a battle, had reſolved to fight; and had choſen for that purpoſe an advantageous poſt on an eminence, defended on one ſide by a moraſs, and near the city of *Munda*; which, in caſe of bad ſucceſs, would ſecure his retreat. *Cæſar* drew out his troops in the plain, between the two camps, placing his tenth legion as uſual in the right, and the third and fifth in the left, with the auxiliary troops and cavalry. There he waited a little, to draw the enemy down; but, ſeeing that they had no deſign to quit their poſt, he marched up to them, giving the word *Venus*. The word on *Pompey*'s ſide was *Pietas*, in alluſion to his intention of avenging that day his father's death. When *Cæſar*'s troops came to the extremity of the plain, they halted a while, and *Cæſar* marked out to them how far they might advance with ſafety. This halt raiſed the ſpirit of the *Pompeians*, and encouraged them to advance a little way. At laſt the battle began, with a ſhout on both

Hirt de Bell. Hiſp. Dio, l. xliii.

2 ſides,

ſides, and was obſtinate. *Pompey* had not only the advantage of the ground, but the ſuperiority in numbers; and his men were ſo circumſtanced, as to be in a manner under a neceſſity of fighting deſperately; being either ſoldiers, who had before ſerved under *Afranius* and *Varro*, and had paid no regard to the pardon *Cæſar* had granted them, having rebelled againſt *Caſſius*; or ſlaves ſet at liberty, who, if taken priſoners, had nothing to expect but an ignominious puniſhment. At firſt, victory ſeemed to declare againſt *Cæſar*: Not only his new-raiſed troops, but his veterans began to give ground; and, if we believe *Suetonius* and *Florus*, the day was ſo near being loſt, that *Cæſar* was in ſuſpence whether he ſhould not kill himſelf. By all accounts, he gave himſelf incredible pains: Quitting his horſe, he took up a buckler, and advanced before the firſt ranks, and within ten feet of the enemy[s], declaring, that he would not move from the ſpot. His example, and the imminent danger he was in rouſed the courage of his ſoldiers, who were aſhamed to abandon ſuch a General; and the tenth legion, that invincible troop, particularly diſtinguiſhed itſelf. But what determined the victory on *Cæſar*'s ſide was the following circumſtance: *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, who ſerved in *Cæſar*'s army, undertook, during the action, to attack *Pompey*'s camp: And *Labienus*, perceiving his motion, detached five cohorts to intercept the Moors, and protect it. *Cæſar* immediately cried out aloud, *that the enemy was making off:* And this falſe opinion, ſpreading itſelf inſtantly among the two armies, increaſed the courage of the one, and terrified the other. *Cæſar*'s troops, eſpecially the tenth legion, took this opportunity to preſs the enemy, whoſe ranks began to be in ſome confuſion; and, after a vigorous conteſt, entirely broke and diſcomfited them. Thirty thouſand were killed on *Pompey*'s ſide, among whom were *Labienus* and *Varus*, and three thouſand *Roman* Knights. All the legionary eagles and moſt of the colours were taken, with the faſces carried before the General; and ſeventeen principal Officers were made priſoners. The conqueror loſt a thouſand of his braveſt ſoldiers, and had five hundred wounded. This bloody battle, which was the laſt in the civil war, was fought the ſame day on which *Pompey* the Great had ſet out from *Brunduſium* to go into *Greece*. *Cæſar* is reported to have ſaid, "that, in his other battles, he fought for victory, in this for his life." The *Romans* of the vanquiſhed party fled, ſome to the camp, ſome to the city of *Munda*, ſome to *Corduba*,

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Plut. Appian.

[s] Nullum unquam atrocius periculoſiuſque a *Cæſare* initum prœlium, adeo ut pluſquam dubio marte, deſcenderet equo, conſiſtenſque ante recedentem ſuorum aciem, increpita prius fortuna, quod ſe in eum ſervaſſet exitum, denunciaret militibus, veſtigio ſe non receſſurum; proinde viderent quem et quo loco imperatorem deſerturi forent. Verecundia magis quam virtute acies reſtitutæ ſunt, a duce quam a milite fortius. *Vel. Patt.* ii. 55. Itaque ablegato equo, ſimilis furenti, primam in aciem *Cæſar* procurrit. Ibi prenſare fugientes, confirmare, per totum denique agmen oculis, manibus, clamore, volitare. Dicitur in illa perturbatione, et de extremis agitaſſe ſecum, et ita manifeſto vultu fuiſſe, quaſi occupare manu mortem vellet. *Flor.* l. iv. c. 2.

and

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Hirt. de Bell. Hiſp. Flor. Dio.

and others ſtill farther. The camp was ſoon forced, but the city was in a condition to maintain a ſiege. *Cæſar* that very day inveſted it; and we are told that the ſoldiers heaped together the dead bodies of the enemy to ſerve them inſtead of a rampart, planting in them their javelins and darts by way of paliſades, with the bucklers hanging upon them; and that, to ſtrike the greater terror into the beſieged, they fixed all around the heads of the deceaſed. *Cæſar* left *Fabius* to command the blockade, and marched immediately to *Corduba*, to inveſt *Sextus Pompey*, who was governor of the place. But *Sextus*, upon the firſt intelligence of the entire ruin of his party, after having diſtributed what money he had among his troops, left the town about nine at night, under a pretence of going to find out *Cæſar* to treat of an accommodation. *Scapula*, who had been the chief occaſion of the revolt of the province, had eſcaped thither out of the battle, and took upon himſelf the command of the place. When he found, however, that he was beſieged, he aſſembled all his followers; and, ordering a funeral pile to be raiſed, and a magnificent ſupper ſerved up, he put on his richeſt dreſs, and diſtributed his plate and ready money among his domeſtics; and, having ſupped chearfully, and anointed himſelf, he commanded one of his freedmen to diſpatch him, and another to ſet fire to the pile. After his death, a diviſion aroſe among the inhabitants, between thoſe who favoured *Cæſar*, and thoſe in the intereſt of *Pompey*, with ſuch a clamour that it was heard in *Cæſar*'s camp. During the conteſts, ſome companies, compoſed partly of fugitives, partly of ſlaves, made free by *Pompey*, ſurrendered themſelves to *Cæſar*: But the thirteenth legion prepared to defend the place, and with that view poſſeſſed themſelves of the walls and the towers in ſpite of all oppoſition. Upon this, the faction for *Cæſar* ſent deputies to him for aid: And the thirteenth legion, irritated by this proceeding, and chuſing rather to periſh, than to fall into the hands of the conqueror, ſet fire to the city. At this inſtant *Cæſar*'s troops making their way into the town, a battle enſued, in which the greateſt part of the legionaries periſhed, and twelve thouſand of the inhabitants. *Cæſar* now marched towards *Hiſpalis*; but was met on the road by Deputies from the inhabitants, who ſued for their pardon, which he immediately granted. At the ſame time he was aſſured that the citizens were able to defend the town with their own forces, and to preſerve it in his intereſt; but he thought proper to ſend thither his Lieutenant *Caninius*, with ſome troops: And he himſelf encamped at a ſmall diſtance. There was in the town a ſtrong party of *Pompeians*, who, being diſpleaſed to ſee *Cæſar*'s troops received within the walls, deputed ſecretly one *Philo*, a zealous partiſan of *Pompey*, and well known in *Luſitania*, to beg aſſiſtance of *Cecilius Niger*, ſirnamed *the Barbarous*, who lay encamped not far off with a ſtrong army of *Luſitanians*: And *Philo*, returning with a body of theſe towards night, got over the walls, ſurpriſed the centinels and garriſon, ſhut

ſhut the gates, and undertook to defend the place. *Cæſar* did not think proper to preſs the ſiege, leſt deſpair ſhould prompt the *Luſitanians* to ſet fire to the town: On the contrary, he placed his guards in ſuch a manner as to give them the hopes of making their eſcape, by ſallying out in the night. They took the opportunity, as was foreſeen, and in the ſally ſet fire to the ſhips on the river *Bætis (Guadalquiver;)* and, while *Cæſar*'s men were employed in extinguiſhing the flame, endeavoured to get off; but, being overtaken by the cavalry, the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces. From *Hiſpalis*, *Cæſar* marched to *Aſta*, which ſubmitted, and thence went to *Gades*. Y. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ.

During the ſiege of *Hiſpalis*, Deputies arrived from *Carteia*[h], with accounts of their having ſecured *Cn. Pompey*; the inhabitants hoping by this ſervice to atone for their former offence, in ſhutting their gates againſt *Cæſar*. *Pompey*, after the battle of *Munda*, attended by a few horſe and foot, had fled to that place, where his fleet lay, and which was about a hundred and ſeventy miles diſtant from *Corduba*. He was at firſt privately attended upon by thoſe of his party, whom he ſecretly made acquainted with his arrival; but, ſeeing that great crouds aſſembled round him, and ſhewed ſome zeal for his ſervice, he began to act more openly. But the faction which declared for him was inferior in point of ſtrength and numbers to that which was in *Cæſar*'s intereſt; and which, thinking to provide for their own ſafety and that of the place, had ſent to him the above-mentioned Deputies. Animoſities within the city were carried to the greateſt extremities; and *Pompey* himſelf, in a tumultuary action which happened, having received ſeveral wounds, did not think proper to ſtay in *Carteia*, but put to ſea with thirty gallies. *Didius*, then at *Gades*, with *Cæſar*'s fleet, hearing of what had paſſed, immediately ſailed in purſuit of them; ſtationing at the ſame time ſome cavalry and infantry along the coaſt to prevent *Pompey*'s retreat by land. *Pompey* had departed with ſo much precipitation, that he had not taken in a ſufficient proviſion of water. This obliging him to ſtop in his way, *Didius* came up with him after four days ſailing, and while the greateſt part of the ſoldiers and mariners were employed aſhore, he took ſome of his ſhips, and burnt the reſt. The unfortunate and wounded General, attended by a few followers, fled, in this extremity, with what expedition he could, to a place of ſtrength, which happened to be at no great diſtance, and where he hoped to conceal himſelf. Being diſcovered, however, by a *Luſitanian*, he was ſoon ſurrounded by the troops ſent after him by *Didius*: And, unable to defend himſelf in this poſt, he fled to another which was more tenable, the approach to it being extremely difficult. *Didius*'s troops, purſued him alſo to this retreat, and, after ſeveral fruitleſs at-

[h] A ſea-port town, in *Hiſpania Bætica*, which ſome geographers have placed at the mouth of the *Bætis*, but is commonly ſuppoſed to have been ſituated in the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*.

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tempts to ſtorm it, determined to lay ſiege to it in form, and began to draw their lines, and to form a terraſs. *Pompey*, ſeeing that he would ſoon be blocked up, betook himſelf again to flight; and, in this eſcape, having been forſaken by his few attendants, he hid himſelf in a cave, where he was diſcovered, and put to death. His head was brought to *Cæſar*, on the *12th of April*, as he was ſetting out from *Gades* to return to *Hiſpalis*. This was the end of the elder *Pompey*; who, though he had ſhewed great abilities for command, was yet unregretted by many of his party, on account of his violent and cruel diſpoſitions[i].

Didius, who had rendered *Cæſar* this ſervice, did not live to receive his recompenſe. Proud of his ſucceſs, and confident that all hoſtilities were over, he hauled ſome of his ſhips aſhore to be refitted, and retired himſelf to a neighbouring fort; where he ſoon found himſelf inveſted by a ſtrong body of *Luſitanians*, formed of ſeveral parties which had fled that way from *Munda*. He made daily ſallies upon them to check their inſolence; and this gave them an opportunity of projecting an ambuſcade, in which they ſucceeded ſo well as to deſtroy him, with almoſt all his followers; a few only having eſcaped by ſwimming to the gallies at ſea.

Munda was at laſt taken, after a ſiege of three weeks, and all *Bætica* ſubmitted to the conqueror. The force of the *Pompeians* was now entirely broken. Even *Sextus Pompey*, the only remaining hope of his family and party, was reduced to the neceſſity of concealing himſelf in the mountains of *Celtiberia*[k]. The ſucceſs of *Cæſar* was complete; and, while

[i] "*Sextus Pompey*, ſays *Cicero* to *Atticus*, "has withdrawn himſelf from *Corduba* "into *hither Spain*: *Cnæus* is alſo fled, "but I do not know whither, nor in truth "do I care." In a letter to *Torquatus*, a *Pompeian* in exile, he ſays, "the world is "every day more and more perſuaded, that, "although there may be ſome little differ- "ence in the cauſe of the contending par- "ties, there will be ſcarce any in the con- "ſequence of their ſucceſs. As to one of "them indeed, we have already in ſome "ſort experienced his diſpoſition; and, as "to the other, we are all of us ſufficiently "ſenſible how much is to be dreaded from "an incenſed conqueror." *Ep. Fam.* vi. 4. *Melm.* x. 16. "May I periſh, ſays *Caſſius* "to *Cicero*, if I be not ſollicitous about the "event of things in *Spain*; as I would "much rather keep our old and cle- "ment maſter, than try a new and cruel "one. You know *what a fool Cnæus is*, "*and how he takes cruelty for a virtue*: And "yet he is ſenſible how much he has been "the object of our ridicule. I fear there- "fore he would be apt to treat us ſome- "what roughly, and return our jokes with "the point of his ſword." He adds: "If "you have any value for me then, you will "not fail to let me know whatever will hap- "pen. *Ah! my friend, how do I wiſh I "were appriſed, whether you read this with "an eaſy or an anxious mind. For, by that "ſingle circumſtance, I ſhould be determined "what meaſures are proper for me to purſue*; "quam velim ſcire, utrum iſta ſollicito "animo, an ſoluto legas! ſciam enim eo- "dem tempore, quid me facere oporteat." *Ep. Fam.* xv. 19. *Melm.* x. 22. Theſe words ſeem to prove that he was then agitating in his mind what he executed the following year.

[k] *Cæſar* paid *Cicero* the compliment of ſending him an account of his ſucceſs with his own hand. At the ſame time young *Quintus Cicero*, who made the campaign along with *Cæſar*, thinking to pleaſe his company, and to make his fortunes the bet-

ter

while he continued in *Spain* during the ſummer, he not only employed himſelf in providing for the future peace and ſettlement of the province[1], but found leiſure to draw up his anſwer to *Cicero*'s *Cato*. Y. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ.

During his abſence there appeared a bold impoſtor, who began to make a great noiſe and figure in *Italy*, by aſſuming the name, and pretending to be the grandſon of *Caius Marius*; and ſeveral of the colonies and municipal towns, particularly thoſe where the veteran ſoldiers were ſettled, acknowledged him for their patron. He wrote a pathetic letter to *Cicero*, to juſtify his claim and deſcent, and to implore his protection againſt the enemies of his family; "conjuring him by their relation; by the poem "which he had formerly written in praiſe of *Marius*; by the eloquence "of *L. Craſſus*, his mother's father, whom he had likewiſe celebrated, "that he would undertake the defence of his cauſe." *Cicero* (who, if he had really been the ſon of *C. Marius*, would have been his diſtant relation, his grandfather having married *Marius*'s aunt) anſwered him very gravely, "That he could not want a patron, when his kinſman *Cæſar*, "ſo excellent and generous a man, was now maſter of all; yet, that he "alſo ſhould be ready to favour him." But *Cæſar*, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, baniſhed him out of *Italy*; ſince, inſtead of being what he pretended to be, he was found to be only a farrier, whoſe true name was *Herophilus*. Middl. p. 198. Ad Att. xii. 49. Val. Max. ix. 15.

While *Cæſar* remained in *Spain*, *Antony* ſet forward from *Italy*, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at leaſt on the road in his return towards *Rome*; but, when he had made about half the journey, he met with ſome diſpatches, which obliged him to return back in all haſte to *Rome*. This raiſed a new alarm in the city; and eſpecially among the *Pompeians*, who were afraid that *Cæſar*, having now ſubdued all oppoſition, was reſolved, after the example of former conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adverſaries; and had ſent *Antony* back as the propereſt inſtrument to execute ſome orders of that ſort. *Cicero* himſelf had the ſame ſuſpicion, and was much ſurpriſed at *Antony*'s ſudden return, till *Balbus* and *Oppius* eaſed him of his apprehenſions, by ſending him an account of the true reaſon of it: Which, Middl. p. 211.

ter among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuſe his uncle again in all places. *Cicero*, in his account of it to *Atticus*, ſays, "there is nothing new, but *Hir-* "*tius* has been quarrelling, in my defence, "with our nephew *Quintus*, who takes all "occaſions of ſaying every thing bad of "me, and eſpecially at public feaſts; and, "when he has done with me, falls next "upon his father: He is thought to ſay "nothing ſo credible, as that *we are both* "*irreconcileable to Cæſar*; *that Cæſar ſhould* "*truſt neither of us*; *and even beware of me.* "This would be terrible, did I not ſee that "our King is perſuaded that I have no ſpi- "rit left. *Ad Att.* xiii. 37.

[1] *Dio* tells us, that he committed great extortions, plundered the very temples, and particularly that of *Hercules*, at *Gades*, whoſe treaſures he applied to his own uſe. But it is not probable that the needy *Pompeians* left much to plunder, or that *Cæſar* would ſeize, when he did not want it, a treaſure which his enemy had ſpared in his utmoſt diſtreſs. The ſame author relates, that the States, who had remained faithful to him, yet paid for the freedom of the city, and the privileges which he granted them.

V. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ.

contrary to expectation, gave no uneaſineſs to any body, but *Antony* himſelf. *Antony* had bought *Pompey*'s houſes in *Rome*, and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at *Cæſar*'s auction, ſoon after his return from *Egypt*; but, truſting to his intereſt with *Cæſar*, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them. *Cæſar*, however, had ſent peremptory orders to *L. Plancus*, the Prætor, to require immediate payment of *Antony*, or to levy the money upon his ſureties, according to the tenor of their bond. This was the cauſe of his quick return, to prevent that diſgrace, and to find ſome means of complying with *Cæſar*'s commands. *Cicero* tells us, in his invective againſt *Antony*, that it provoked him to ſuch a degree, that, in the height of his reſentment, he is ſaid to have entered into a deſign of taking away *Cæſar*'s life; of which *Cæſar* himſelf complained openly in the Senate.

Philipp. ii. 9.

Cæſar returned to *Rome* before the end of *Auguſt*, and ſeems to have paſſed the greateſt part of the month of *September* at *Lavicanum*, his country-ſeat; where he made his will on the 13*th*, which he committed to the care of the eldeſt of the Veſtals. During his reſidence in this place, every thing was prepared for a moſt ſplendid triumph for his victory over *Pompey*'s ſons, as over a foreign enemy; and it was celebrated on the 1*ſt* of *October* [m]. It was followed by two public dinners with plenty of the moſt eſteemed and coſtly wines of *Chios* and *Falernum*. He now proclaimed a general amneſty, and it was probably on this occaſion that a temple was built to *Clemency*, where his ſtatue was placed near to that of the goddeſs, joining hands with her. He alſo diveſted himſelf of the conſulſhip and conferred it upon *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *C. Trebonius* for the remaining months of the year. The Conſul *Fabius* and *Q. Pedius*, who, in quality of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, had reduced ſome parts of *Spain*, were allowed alſo the honour of a triumph, though there had been no example of inferior officers partaking of the honours of the General under whoſe auſpices they had ſerved. The triumph of *Fabius* was celebrated on the 13*th* of *October*, and that of *Pedius* on

Dio, 44.

[m] We are told that the people, inſtead of admiring and applauding this triumph, as he expected, were ſullen and ſilent; conſidering it, as it really was, a triumph over themſelves; purchaſed by the loſs of their liberty and the deſtruction of the beſt and nobleſt families of the Republic: And that they had before given the ſame proof of their diſcontent at the *Circenſian games*; where *Cæſar*'s ſtatue, by a decree of the Senate, was carried in proceſſion along with thoſe of the gods; for they gave none of their uſual acclamations to their favourite deities as they paſſed, leſt they ſhould be thought to give them to *Cæſar*. *Atticus* ſent an account of this triumph to *Cicero*, who ſays in anſwer to him, "*Your letter* "was agreeable, though the ſhew was ſo "ſad:—The people, however, behaved "bravely, who would *not clap even the god-* "*deſs Victory*, for the ſake of ſo bad a "neighbour." But, if *Cæſar* committed any irregularity in this triumph over *Pompey*'s ſons and the *Spaniards*, he was engaged to it by the Senate, who voted, for the victory a *ſupplication* of fifty days, though the Conqueror had writ no public letter to *Rome* on his ſucceſs: The *triumph* was the neceſſary conſequence of the *ſupplication*.

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the 12*th* of *December*. But the magnificence of *Cæſar*'s made theſe appear contemptible; for their models of the conquered towns, which were always a part of the ſhew, being made only of wood, whereas *Cæſar*'s were of ſilver or ivory, *Chryſippus* merrily called them the caſes only of *Cæſar*'s towns. Y. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 406 Conſ.

The Senate now accumulated upon *Cæſar* all the titles that flattery could invent. He was declared *Imperator* or *Emperor* in a ſenſe that conferred upon him the command of all the forces of the Republic; perpetual and ſole Maſter of Manners, and with this office the management of all the revenues: He was ſtyled the *Father* and *Deliverer* of *his country*, and a temple was raiſed to *Liberty*, becauſe he had procured it to the *Roman* people. His perſon was declared ſacred, like thoſe of the Tribunes; and the month *Quintilis* was called *Julius*, becauſe he was born in it. He was allowed the privilege of wearing conſtantly a crown of laurel, and on feſtival days the triumphal robe; of having a diſtinct ſeat in all public ſhews; a golden chair in the Senate-houſe and in the Forum; a ſtatue in all the towns, and in all the temples of the city; two in the Roſtra, one of which had a *civic* crown, becauſe he was the *Saviour* of the people; and the other had an *obſidional* crown, becauſe he was the Saviour of his country; one in the temple of *Quirinus* with this inſcription, *To the invincible god*; and one in the Capitol with thoſe of the ancient Kings. He was allowed to hang up the *opima ſpolia* in the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, that no feature of *Romulus* ſhould be wanting in him: And, in the *Circenſian* games, his image in ivory was ordered to be carried in a chariot in the ſame manner as thoſe of the gods. This was not all; he had a *pulvinar*, or bed of ſtate in the temples, on which his image was laid; temples were erected to him; he was called *Jupiter Latialis*; and a *new* fraternity of *Luperci* was inſtituted to his honour, and called by his name; of which *Antony* was the head, and *Q. Cicero*, the ſon, one of the members [n]; an honour which none of the immortal gods enjoyed, beſides *Mars* and his ſon *Quirinus*, the founders of the State. Many, however, of theſe pretended honours we only hear of in *Appian* and *Dio*; and I cannot but think that theſe *Greek* Hiſtorians, who were grown accuſtomed to the extravagant appellations given to the ſubſequent Emperors, imagined that they had alſo been beſtowed on the firſt of them. The laſt of theſe writers has likewiſe informed us, that ſome of the Senators voted, that this god, this *Jupiter Latialis*, ſhould take to himſelf as many wives as he pleaſed, and whom he pleaſed; and that the Tribune *Helvius Cinna* had actually prepared a law to this

[n] There had been hitherto but two fraternities of *Luperci*, called *Fabiani* and *Quintiliani*. The *Luperci Julii* were inſtituted the year before, after the *African* war. Vide *Ad dit.* xii. 5. *Cicero* very much diſapproved of his nephew's conduct, but the father was pleaſed with it: *Quintus pater quantùm vel potiùs millèſimum nihil ſapit, qui lætetur Luperco filio et Statio, ut cernat dapifer dedecore cumulatam domum.*

A. R. 706. Bef. Chr. 46. 405 Conſ.

effect. From this circumſtance, ſo falſe and ridiculous, it may be gathered what degree of credit ſhould be given to this hiſtorian. In the profuſion of honours conferred on *Cæſar*, both his friends, it is ſaid, and enemies eagerly concurred; the firſt out of zeal for his glory, and a ſpirit of adulation; the latter to load him with public envy, and bring him into contempt: And, indeed it appears, from a letter of *Antony* to *Octavius*, that *Cicero* uſed to boaſt, "that they had impoſed upon *Cæſar*, and ruined him by this ſhew of reſpect for his perſon."

On the laſt day of *December*, *Fabius* having died ſuddenly in the morning, *C. Caninius Rebilus* was named by *Cæſar* to the vacancy at one in the afternoon; whoſe office was to continue only through the remaining part of that day °. *Cæſar* had had ſo many creatures and dependents who expected the honour of the conſulſhip from him, as the reward of their ſervices, that it was impoſſible to oblige them all in a regular way, ſo that he was forced to contrive the expedient of ſplitting it, as it were, into parcels; and conferring it for a few months, or weeks, or even days, as it happened to ſuit his convenience: And, as the thing itſelf was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; ſince the ſhorteſt gave the ſame privilege

Middl. 219.

° This wanton profanation of the ſovereign dignity of the empire raiſed a general indignation in the city; and a conſulate ſo ridiculous gave birth to much raillery and many jokes, which are tranſmitted to us by the ancients (*Macrob.* Sat. ii. 3. *Dio*, p. 236.); of which *Cicero*, who was the chief author of them, gives us the following ſpecimen, in his account of the fact: "I no longer, ſays he in a letter to *Curius*, either adviſe or deſire you to come home to us, but want to fly ſomewhere myſelf, where I may hear neither the name, nor the acts of theſe ſons of *Pelops*. It is incredible how meanly I think of myſelf for being preſent at theſe tranſactions. You had ſurely an early foreſight of what was coming on, when you ran away from this place; for, though it be vexatious to hear ſuch things, yet that is more tolerable than to ſee them. It is well that you were not in the field, when, at ſeven in the morning, as they were proceeding to an election of *Quæſtors*, the chair of *Q. Maximus*, whom they called Conſul, was ſet in its place; but, his death being immediately proclaimed, it was removed; and *Cæſar*, though he had taken the auſpices for an aſſembly of the *tribes*, changed it into an aſſembly of the *centuries*; and, at one in the afternoon, declared a new Conſul, who was to govern till one the next morning. I would have you to know, therefore, *that, whilſt* CANINIUS *was Conſul, nobody dined; and that there was no crime committed in his conſulſhip, for he was ſo wonderfully vigilant that, through his whole adminiſtration, he never ſo much as ſlept.* Theſe things ſeem ridiculous to you, who are abſent; but, were you to ſee them, you would hardly refrain from tears. What, if I ſhould tell you the reſt? for there are numberleſs facts of the ſame kind; which I could never have borne, if I had not taken refuge in the port of philoſophy with our friend *Atticus*, the companion and partner of my ſtudies." *Suetonius* in *Cæſ.* p. 80. tells us, that the people themſelves would not acknowledge a three months Conſul: For, when, upon *Fabius*'s entrance into the theatre, his officers, according to cuſtom, proclaimed his preſence, and ordered the people *to make way for the Conſul*, the whole aſſembly cried out, *he is no Conſul.* I cannot ſee what injury *Cæſar* either did the State, or particular perſons, by making over to others an office, or the title of an office, which the Senate had named him to for his life.

Ep. Fam. xii. 30.

with

with the longeſt, and a man, once declared Conſul, ever after enjoyed the rank and character of a *conſular Senator.* Y. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44.

He now granted a general pardon to all thoſe who had borne arms againſt him; replaced the ſtatues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which had been thrown down, and, diſbanding his *Spaniſh* guard, threw himſelf intirely upon the affections of his citizens. And it was probably on this occaſion that a temple to *New Concord*, mentioned by *Dio*, was built, in imitation of that of *Camillus*; and a feſtival for the reſtoration of peace and harmony in the Republic ordered to be celebrated every year. 407 Conſ. Dio, l. 44.

Cicero's daughter, *Tullia*, died in the beginning of this year, in child-bed, to the inexpreſſible grief of her father. She was about two and thirty years old at the time of her death; and, by the few hints which are left of her character, appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman. She was moſt affectionately and piouſly obſervant of her father; and, to the uſual graces of her ſex, having added the more ſolid accompliſhments of knowledge and polite letters, was qualified to be the companion, as well as the delight, of his old-age; and was juſtly eſteemed not only as one of the *beſt*, but the moſt *learned*, of the *Roman* Ladies. It is not ſtrange, therefore, that the loſs of ſuch a daughter, in the prime of her life, and in the moſt comfortleſs ſeaſon of his own, ſhould affect him with all that grief, which the greateſt calamity could imprint on a temper *naturally timid* and *deſponding*. His friends were very officious in making their compliments of condolence, and in adminiſtering arguments of comfort to him. Among the reſt, *Cæſar* himſelf, in the hurry of his affairs in *Spain*, wrote him a letter on this occaſion, dated from *Hiſpalis*, the laſt of *April* [p]. Their remonſtrances, however, had Middl. p. 180.

[p] The following letter of *S. Sulpicius* is thought to be a maſterpiece of the conſolatory kind; for which reaſon, and becauſe *Sulpicius* has acted a conſiderable part in this hiſtory, we ſhall inſert it here, to bring the reader more acquainted with the talents of this conſular Senator, whom *Cicero* in his letters often treats with much contempt:

"I was exceedingly concerned, as, indeed, I ought to be, to hear of the death of your daughter *Tullia*; which I looked upon as an affliction common to us both. If I had been with you, I would have made it my buſineſs to convince you, what a real ſhare I take in your grief; though that kind of conſolation is but wretched and lamentable, as it is to be performed by friends and relations, who are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot enter upon their taſk without tears, and ſeem to want comfort rather themſelves, than to be in a condition to adminiſter it to others. I reſolved, therefore, to write to you, in ſhort, what occurred upon it to my own mind; not that I imagined, that the ſame things would not occur alſo to you, but that the force of your grief might poſſibly hinder your attention to them. What reaſon is there then to diſturb yourſelf ſo immoderately on this melancholy occaſion? Conſider how fortune has already treated us; how it has deprived us of what ought to be as dear to us as our children; our country, credit, dignity, honours. After ſo miſerable a loſs as this, what addition can it poſſibly make to our grief, to ſuffer one misfortune more? Or how can a mind, after being exerciſed in ſuch trials, not grow callous, and think every thing elſe of inferior value?

Y.R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ. had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found was from reading and writing; and he drew up at this time a treatiſe of conſolation

" lue? But is it for your daughter's ſake, " that you grieve? Yet, how often muſt " you neceſſarily reflect, as I myſelf fre- " quently do, that thoſe cannot be ſaid to be " hardly dealt with, whoſe lot it has been, " in theſe times, without ſuffering any af- " fliction, to exchange life for death. For " what is there in our preſent circumſtances " that could give her any great invitation " to live? What buſineſs? What hopes? " What proſpect of comfort before her? " Was it to paſs her days in the married " ſtate, with ſome young man of the firſt " quality? (for you, I know, on the ac- " count of your dignity, might have choſen " what ſon-in-law you pleaſed out of all our " youth, to whoſe fidelity you might ſafely " have truſted her) Was it then for the ſake " of bearing children, whom ſhe might " have had the pleaſure to ſee flouriſhing " afterwards, in the enjoyment of their pa- " ternal fortunes, and riſing, gradually, to " all the honours of the ſtate, and uſing the " liberty to which they were born, in the " protection of their friends and clients? " But what is there of all this, which was " not taken away, before it was even given " to her? But it is an evil, you'll ſay, to " loſe our children.—It is ſo; yet, it is much " greater to ſuffer what we now endure. I " cannot help mentioning one thing, which " has given me no ſmall comfort, and may " help alſo perhaps to mitigate your grief. " On my return from *Aſia*, as I was ſailing " from *Ægina* towards *Megara*, I began to " contemplate the proſpect of the countries " around me: *Ægina* was behind, *Megara* " before me; *Piræus* on the right; *Co-* " *rinth* on the left; all which towns, once " famous and flouriſhing, now lie over- " turned, and buried in their ruins: Upon " this ſight, I could not but think preſently " within myſelf, alas! how do we poor " mortals fret and vex ourſelves, if any of " our friends happen to die, or to be killed, " whoſe life is yet ſo ſhort, when the car- " caſſes of ſo many noble cities lie here ex- " poſed to me in one view? Why wilt thou " not then command thyſelf, *Servius*, and " remember, that thou art born a man? " Believe me, I was not a little confirmed " by this contemplation: Try the force of " it, therefore, if you pleaſe, upon yourſelf; " and imagine the ſame proſpect before " your own eyes. But to come nearer " home; when you conſider how many of " our greateſt men have periſhed lately at " once; what deſtruction has been made in " the empire; what havock in all the pro- " vinces; how can you be ſo much ſhocked " to be deprived of the fleeting breath of " one little woman? Who, if ſhe had not " died at this time, muſt neceſſarily have " died a few years after, ſince that was the " condition of her being born. But recall " your mind from reflections of this kind " to the conſideration of yourſelf, and think " rather on what becomes your character " and dignity: That your daughter lived " as long as life was worth enjoying, as " long as the Republic ſtood; had ſeen her " father Prætor, Conſul, Augur; been " married to the nobleſt of our youth; had " taſted every good in life; and, when the " Republic fell, then quitted it: What " ground is there then, either for you, or " her, to complain of fortune on this ac- " count? In ſhort, do not forget that you " are *Cicero*; one, who has been always " uſed to give advice and preſcribe to o- " thers; nor imitate thoſe paultry phy- " ſicians, who pretend to cure other peo- " ple's diſeaſes, yet are not able to cure " their own; but ſuggeſt rather to yourſelf " the ſame leſſon, which you would give in " the ſame caſe. There is no grief ſo great, " which length of time will not alleviate: " But it would be ſhameful in you to wait " for that time, and not to prevent it by your " wiſdom; beſides, if there be any ſenſe in " the dead, ſuch was her love and piety to " you, that ſhe muſt be concerned to ſee " how much you afflict yourſelf. Give this " therefore to the deceaſed; give it to your " friends; give it to your country; that it " may have the benefit of your aſſiſtance and " advice, whenever there ſhall be occaſion: " Laſtly, ſince fortune has now made it ne- " ceſſary to us to accommodate ourſelves to " our preſent ſituation, do not give any " one a handle to think, that you are not " ſo much bewailing your daughter, as the " ſtate of the times, and the victory of cer- " tain perſons. I am aſhamed to write any

" more,

tion for himſelf, from which he profeſſes to have received his greateſt comfort. The deſign of it was not only to relieve his own mind, but to conſecrate the virtues and memory of *Tullia* to all poſterity: Nor did his fondneſs for her ſtop here, but ſuggeſted the project of a more effectual conſecration, *by building a temple to her*, and erecting her into a a ſort of *a deity*. In his letters to *Atticus*, we find the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of his reſolution and impatience to ſee this deſign executed. Yet, after all his zeal, or pretended eagerneſs and ſollicitude about this temple, it was never actually built by him [q].

Y. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ.

[r] In the leiſure of the retired life which he led, after the death of *Tullia*, *Cicero* compoſed ſeveral works; his *Hortenſius*; a treatiſe in the way of

"more, leſt I ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt your "prudence, and will add therefore but one "thing farther, and conclude: We have "ſometimes ſeen you bear proſperity nobly, "with great honour and applauſe to your-"ſelf; let us now ſee that you can bear ad-"verſity with the ſame moderation, and "without thinking it a greater burthen than "you ought to do; leſt, in the number of "all your other virtues, this one, at laſt, be "thought to be wanting. As to myſelf, "when I underſtand that your mind is "grown more calm and compoſed, I will "ſend you word how all things go on here, "and what is the ſtate of the province. "Adieu." *Ep. Fam.* iv. 5. *Middleton*, 183.

[q] *Abbe Mongault, ad Att.* xii. 1. and *Dr. Middleton, p.* 190, remark, that this fact ſeems to confirm what the author of the book of *Wiſdom* obſerves on the origin of idolatry; that it was owing to the fond affection of parents, ſeeking to do honour to their deceaſed children. *The father*, ſays he, *oppreſſed with unexpected grief for the ſudden death of his child, after making an image of him, began to worſhip him as a god, though he was but a dead man; and enjoined certain rites and myſteries to his ſervants and dependants.* (Wiſd. xiv. 15.) But it was not *Cicero*'s real thought, after all, to exalt his daughter into a deity; he knew it to be abſurd, as he often declares, *to pay divine honours to dead mortals*; and tells us how their very *publicans* had decided that queſtion in *Bœotia*: For, when the lands of the *immortal gods* were excepted out of their leaſe, by the law of the Cenſors, they denied *that any one could be deemed an immortal god, who had been once a man; and ſo made the lands of Amphiaraus and Trophonius pay the ſame taxes with the reſt*: (De Nat. Deor. iii. 19.) Yet, in a political view, he ſometimes recommends the worſhip of thoſe ſons of men, whom their eminent ſervices to mankind had advanced to the rank of inferior gods, as it inculcated, in a manner the moſt ſenſible, the doctrine of *the ſoul's immortality*: (De leg. ii. 11.) And, ſince a temple was the moſt ancient way of doing honour to the dead who deſerved it, (Plin. Hiſt. 27.) he conſidered it as the moſt effectual method of perpetuating the memory and praiſe of *Tullia*; and was willing *to take the benefit of the popular ſuperſtition*, and follow the example of thoſe ancients, who had poliſhed and civiliſed human life by conſecrating ſuch patterns of virtue to the veneration of their fellow-citizens.

[r] His extraordinary affliction, it may be here remarked, gave occaſion to ſuſpicions very diſhonourable, which are thought to be hinted at in the 38th letter of the xiith book to *Atticus*: "You ſay, that it is time "to ſhew a little more ſtrength of mind, "and you tell me, *that certain perſons talk "concerning me in more ſevere terms than ei-"ther you or Brutus have informed me by "your letters.* If ſome people look upon "my ſpirit to be broken, and my faculties "impaired, let them know in what com-"pany I employ my time, and they will be "ſenſible that I cannot be blameable, ſince "I have already ſo much recovered, as to "bring my mind to ſuch a compoſed ſtate "as to be able to write on difficult ſubjects: "And that, if I have choſen them as an "amuſement to my grief, I am praiſe-"worthy to have taken up with one ſo be-"coming a man of letters." The author of an invective againſt him, under the name of *Salluſt*, openly accuſes him of an inceſ-

Y.R. 708. Bef. J. C. 44. 407 Con.

of dialogue, in which he undertakes the defence of philoſophy againſt *Hortenſius*, to whom he aſſigned the part of arraigning it: His *Academics*, in four books, containing a particular account and defence of the philoſophy of the Academy, which he addreſſed to *Varro* [s]: His excellent treatiſe de *finibus*, or *of the chief good and ill of man*, in five books, which he addreſſed to *Brutus*, in return for a preſent of the ſame kind, which *Brutus* had ſent him a little before, viz. *a treatiſe upon virtue*; and his *Tuſculan diſputations*, in five books alſo, upon as many different queſtions in philoſophy, the moſt important and uſeful to the happineſs of human life. The firſt teaches *how to contemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a bleſſing rather than an evil*; the ſecond, *to ſupport pain and affliction with a manly fortitude*; the third, *to appeaſe all our complaints and uneaſineſſes under the accidents of life*; the fourth, *to moderate all our paſſions*; the fifth, *to evince the ſufficiency of virtue to make men happy* [t].

Middl. p. 115.

After *Cæſar*'s arrival, *Cicero* was perſuaded by his friends to leave ſolitude and the country, and to come to *Rome*; where he ſoon found an opportunity of employing his intereſt and eloquence in the ſervice of King *Dejotarus*. This Prince had already been deprived by *Cæſar* of part of his dominions, for his adherence to *Pompey*; and was now in danger of loſing the reſt, from an accuſation preferred againſt him by his grandſon, of a deſign pretended to have been formed by him againſt *Cæſar*'s life, when *Cæſar* was entertained in his houſe, four years before, on his return from *Egypt*. The charge was groundleſs and ridiculous; but, under his preſent diſgrace, any charge was ſufficient to ruin him;

tuous commerce with this beloved daughter. And *Servius* tells us, that *Virgil* was thought to have glanced at him in this verſe:

Hic thalamum invaſit natæ vetitoſque Hymenæos.

Dio, who betrays every-where the greateſt rancour againſt our orator, has inſerted the ſame charge againſt him, in a ſpeech he has made for *Calenus*, in anſwer to his ſecond Philippic: But there is nothing in all *Cicero*'s letters, or in his behaviour in any part of his life, that gives the leaſt credit to ſo malicious an aſperſion.

[s] *Cicero* wrote alſo at this time a little piece, in the way of a funeral encomium, in praiſe of *Porcia*, the ſiſter of *Cato*, and wife of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Cæſar*'s mortal enemy. *Varro* and *Lollius* attempted the ſame ſubject; and *Cicero* deſires *Atticus* to ſend him their compoſitions: But all the three are now loſt: Though *Cicero* took the pains to revive and correct his, and ſent copies of it afterwards to *Domitius*, the ſon, and *Brutus*, the nephew of that *Porcia*.

[t] It appears, likewiſe, that he was preſſed at this period by *Atticus*, and his other friends, and even by *Brutus* himſelf, to draw up ſomething to be addreſſed to *Cæſar*; and it was certainly an undertaking ſuitable to his dignity and character. He drew up a letter accordingly, which was communicated to *Hirtius* and *Balbus*, for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be ſent to *Cæſar*: But theſe, not thinking it adviſeable to ſend it, unleſs ſome paſſages were ſoftened, *Cicero* was ſo much diſguſted, that he dropped entirely the deſign. "As for the letter to *Cæſar*, ſays he to *Atticus*, I was always very willing that *Hirtius* and *Balbus* ſhould firſt read it; for, otherwiſe, I had both been wanting in civility to them, and, if I had happened to give offence, expoſed myſelf alſo to danger. They have dealt ingenuouſly and kindly with me, in not concealing what they thought; but what pleaſes me the moſt is, that by requiring ſo many alterations, they give me an excuſe for not writing at all." *Ad Att.* xii. 51.

and *Cæsar*'s countenancing it so far as to receive and hear it shewed a strong prejudice against the King; and that he wanted only a pretence for stripping him of all that remained to him. *Brutus* also interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and, when he went to meet *Cæsar*, on his road from *Spain*, made an oration to him at *Nicæa*, in favour of *Dejotarus*; which startled *Cæsar*, and gave him occasion to reflect on what he had never perceived before, *the invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper.* The present trial was held in *Cæsar*'s house; where *Cicero* so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser and the innocence of the accused, that *Cæsar*, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation till he should go in person into the East, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. *Cicero* says, "that *Dejotarus*, neither present nor absent, could ever obtain any favour or equity from *Cæsar:* And that, as often as he pleaded for him, "which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade *Cæsar* to "think any thing reasonable that he asked for him." He sent a copy of his oration to the King; and, at *Dolabella*'s request, gave another likewise to him: Excusing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; but *I had a mind*, says he, *to make a slight present to my old host and friend, of coarse stuff, indeed, yet such as his presents usually are to me.*

V. R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conf.

Ad Att. xiv. 1.

Ep. Fam. ix. 12.

Some little time after this trial, *Cæsar*, to shew his confidence in *Cicero*, invited himself to spend a day with him at his house in the country, and chose the third day of the *Saturnalia* for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting amongst friends and relations [t]. *Cicero* gives *Atticus* the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them. "O this guest, says he, whom I so much "dreaded! Yet I had no reason to repent of him, for he was pleased "with his reception. When he came the evening before, on the 18*th*, "to my neighbour *Philippus*, the house was so crouded with soldiers, "that there was scarce a room left empty for *Cæsar* to sup in: But "*Barba Cassius* relieved me; for he assigned me a guard, and made the "rest encamp in the field; so that my house was clear. On the 19*th*, "he stayed at *Philippus*'s till one in the afternoon; but saw nobody; "was settling accounts, I guess, with *Balbus*; then took a walk on the "shore; bathed after two; heard the verses on *Mamurra* [u], at which he "never

Middl. p. 217.

Ad Att. xiii. 52.

[t] This festival, after *Cæsar*'s reformation of the calendar, began on the 17*th* of *December*, and lasted three days. *Macrob. Saturn.* i. 10.

[u] *Mamurra* was a *Roman* Knight, and General of the Artillery to *Cæsar* in *Gaul*; where he raised an immense fortune, and is said to have been the first man in *Rome* who *incrusted his house with marble, and made all his pillars of solid marble.* (Plin. Hist. xxxvi. 6.) He was severely lashed, says Dr. *Middleton*, together with *Cæsar* himself, for his excessive luxury, and more infamous vices, by *Catullus*, whose verses are still extant, and

Y.R. 708. Bef. Chr. 44. 407 Conſ.

" never changed countenance; was rubbed, anointed, ſat down to table. " Having taken a vomit juſt before [x], he eat and drank freely, and was " very chearful. The ſupper was good and well-ſerved:

" But our diſcourſe at table, as we eat,
" For taſte and ſeaſoning ſtill excell'd our meat.

" Beſides *Cæſar*'s table, his friends were plentifully provided for in three " other rooms; nor was there any thing wanting to his freedmen of " lower rank and his ſlaves; but the better ſort were elegantly treated: " In a word, I acquitted myſelf like a man: Yet he is not a gueſt, to " whom one would ſay, at parting, Pray call upon me again as you " return: Once is enough. We had not a word on buſineſs, but many " on points of literature: In ſhort, he was delighted with his entertain-

and the ſame, it has been thought, that *Cicero* refers to, as being firſt read to *Cæſar* at his houſe. *Middl.* p. 217. The verſes of *Catullus* are as follow:

Quis hoc poteſt videre, quis poteſt pati,
Niſi impudicus, et vorax, & helluo?
Mamurram habere quod comata Gallia
Habebant unctum et ultima Britannia:
Cinæde Romule, hæc videbis et feres,
Et impudicus, et vorax, et aleo. Ep. 30.

Pulchrè convenit improbis Cinædis,
Mamurræ Pathicoque Cæſarique. Ep. 58.

Suetonius, ſpeaking of theſe verſes, ſays, *Valerium Catullum, a quo ſibi verſiculis de Mamurra perpetua ſtigmata impoſita non diſſimulaverat, ſatisfacientem, eadem die adhibuit cœnæ: Hoſpitioque patris ejus, ſicut conſueverat, uti perſeveravit. In Cæſ.* 73. Now *Bayle*, *art. Catulle*, remarks very juſtly, that, if what *Suetonius* aſſerts be true, *viz.* that, if *Cæſar* continued to lodge at the houſe of *Catullus*'s father, after his reconciliation with the ſon, theſe cannot be the verſes read at *Cicero*'s houſe: Becauſe *Cæſar*, after this ſupper, never ſaw *Verona*, where *Catullus*'s father lived: And we muſt conclude, that the offence given by *Catullus*, and his reconciliation, were before *Cæſar*'s laſt journey to *Gaul*; and the verſes now read to him were by another hand.

The reader, perhaps, will not readily underſtand the time and manner of *Cæſar*'s paſſing from *Philip*'s houſe to *Cicero*'s in this ſhort account of it: But it muſt be remembered, that their villa's were adjoining to each other on the *Formian* coaſt near *Cajeta*; ſo that, when *Cæſar* came out of *Philip*'s at one, he took a walk upon the ſhore for about an hour, and then entered into *Cicero*'s; where the bath was prepared for him, and, in bathing, he heard the verſes on *Mamurra*; not produced by *Cicero*, for that would not have been agreeable to good manners, but by ſome of his own friends, who attended him, and who knew his deſire to ſee every thing that was publiſhed againſt him, as well as his eaſineſs in ſlighting or forgiving it.

[x] The cuſtom of taking a vomit both immediately before and after meals, which *Cicero* mentions *Cæſar* to have done on different occaſions, (Pro *Dejot.* 7.) was very common with the *Romans*, and uſed by them as an inſtrument both of their luxury and of their health: *They vomit*, ſays *Seneca*, *that they may eat; and eat, that they may vomit.* (Conſ. ad Helv. 9.) By this evacuation before eating, they were prepared to eat more plentifully; and, by emptying themſelves preſently after it, prevented any hurt from repletion. Thus *Vitellius*, who was a famous glutton, is ſaid to have preſerved his life by conſtant vomits, while he deſtroyed all his companions, who did not uſe the ſame caution: (*Sueton.* 12. *Dio*, lxv. 734.) and the practice was thought ſo effectual for ſtrengthening the conſtitution, that it was the conſtant regimen of all the *Athletæ*, or profeſſed wreſtlers, trained for the public ſhews, in order to make them more robuſt. So that *Cæſar*'s vomiting before dinner was a ſort of compliment to *Cicero*, as it intimated a reſolution to paſs the day chearfully, and to eat and drink freely with him. *Middl.* p. 217.

" ment,

" ment, and paſſed the day agreeably. He talked of ſpending one Y. R. 708
" day at *Puteoli*, another at *Baiæ*. Thus you ſee the manner of my re- Bef. Chr.
" ceiving him; ſomewhat troubleſome, indeed, but not uneaſy to me. 44.
" I ſhall ſtay here a little longer, and then to *Tuſculum*. As he paſſed 407 Conſ.
" by *Dolabella*'s villa, his troops marched cloſe by his horſe's ſide, on the
" right and left; which was done nowhere elſe. This I had from *Nicias*[y].

[y] It is certainly to be regretted that *Cicero* ſuppreſſed the letter which, as we juſt now obſerved, he had prepared to addreſs to *Cæſar* on the ſtate and regulation of public affairs. There remain, however, two epiſtles, which were written to *Cæſar* on the ſame ſubject, and which have been generally, and with good reaſon, aſcribed to *Salluſt*. Theſe, as they contain many important truths, and throw a conſiderable light on the times of which we write; and as they diſcover to us the regulations which an eminent genius and hiſtorian thought neceſſary to remove the diſorders into which the *Roman* State had fallen, and are generally but little attended to; we ſhall beg leave to offer to the reader. That epiſtle, which is called the *ſecond*, was certainly the *firſt*; and was written before the battle of *Pharſalia*: The other, called the *firſt*, was written after *Cæſar* had obtained that battle. It is for this reaſon that we have altered the order in which theſe pieces appear in the different editions of the *Roman* hiſtorian.

The firſt Epiſtle of SALLUST *to* C. JULIUS CÆSAR, *concerning the Regulation of the Commonwealth.*

" I AM not inſenſible how difficult and nice a taſk he undertakes, who ventures to
" offer advice to Princes and Governors; or to any one inveſted with high authority.
" The number of Counſellors with whom ſuch perſons are ſurrounded, and the great un-
" certainty of future contingencies, which the moſt cautious and penetrating politician
" cannot ſufficiently guard againſt, are very diſcouraging conſiderations: And, what
" makes the office ſtill more ungrateful, the worſt-laid ſchemes will frequently have a
" more proſperous event than the moſt rational and prudent counſels. So capricious is
" the ſway of fortune in the diſpoſal of almoſt all human affairs!

" But, notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, ſince my early inclinations led me to
" the ſtudy of ſtate affairs, and as I have, with the utmoſt application, purſued that
" knowledge, not ſo much with a view to obtain employments, which I have often ſeen
" procured by means the moſt baſe and unworthy; but rather that I might thoroughly
" inform myſelf of the nature of our conſtitution civil and military; what is the true ſtate
" of her ſtrength with regard to her men, her arms, and her revenue: Therefore, though
" I may, perhaps, ſuffer in my reputation, and be thought too forward in the attempt,
" yet my regard to your dignity and fame has, after mature deliberation, prevailed with
" me above ſuch apprehenſions; and I am determined to run any hazard, where I have
" the leaſt proſpect of an acceſſion to your glory. And be aſſured it was not without pre-
" vious conſideration, nor ſo much with a view to the circumſtances of your fortune, that
" I took up this reſolution, as becauſe, among your other diſtinguiſhed qualities, I have
" ever experienced in you this moſt admirable one, that the greatneſs of your ſoul is more
" conſpicuous in adverſity than proſperity.—But the fame of your illuſtrious qualities is a
" ſubject I need not expatiate on: It is already ſo great, that ſooner were men wearied in
" admiring and celebrating, than you in performing glorious actions. Nor was it out of any
" fond conceit of my own abilities, that I have preſumed to lay before you my ſentiments
" concerning the Commonwealth; but, as your thoughts have been hitherto taken up with
" another ſcene of buſineſs, with the toils of a camp, with battles, with triumphs, and mili-
" tary commands, I thought it not unſeaſonable to awake your attention to the regulation
" of civil affairs: For, if your only aim and intention be to repel the furious attack of your
" enemies upon your dignity, and defend the grants of the people againſt the Conſul who

" oppoſes

" oppoſes them, theſe are views below the virtue of *Cæſar*. But, if you are ſtill animated by " the ſame ſpirit *with which, from your firſt entrance into public life, you ſucceſsfully oppoſed* " *and overſet the faction of the Nobility, and reſcued the Roman people from the yoke of ſlavery;* " *and with which you baffled, in your prætorſhip, though unarmed, all the attempts of your* " *armed adverſaries, and have ſince performed ſuch great and glorious exploits, that even your* " *enemies have nothing to object againſt you but your ſuperior greatneſs:* If the ſame virtuous " ſpirit ſtill poſſeſs you, give your attention to the plan I ſhall propoſe for the regulation " and government of the Commonwealth; which plan I am perſuaded you will find to " be proper and adviſeable, or, at leaſt, to require but little alteration.

" Now, ſince *Pompey*, either from a kind of infatuation, or blindly bent upon oppo- " ſing you, has been ſo raſh and imprudent as to throw the whole power of the State into " the hands of its enemies [the ariſtocracy] and has thus put all into confuſion, it is in- " cumbent upon you to reſtore the Commonwealth, and replace it upon its proper foun- " dation. [by aſſerting the ſovereignty of the people] The firſt ſtep he took was *that of com-* " *mitting to a few Senators an abſolute authority in the direction of the revenue, the ſumptuary* " *laws, and judicial proceedings; whilſt the people, in whom the ſovereign power had before* " *been lodged, were left in a ſtate of ſubjection and ſlavery.* The judicial authority is, indeed, " as formerly, nominally veſted in the three orders of the Republic; but the real power is " in the hands of the faction, who, with unbridled dominion, controul all things; who " give to one man and take from another; diſpoſe of every thing, as they pleaſe; who " inſnare the virtuous and innocent, and raiſe none but their own creatures to poſts of ho- " nour: How notorious ſoever their crimes be, how flagitious ſoever their lives, and infa- " mous ſoever their reputation, this ſcandalous inſufficiency excludes them not from the " magiſtracy; and, thus exalted, they ſeize, they plunder whatever they have an in- " clination to: In ſhort, their whole conduct is like that of a victorious army ravaging " an enemy's city: Luſt and paſſion animate them; licentiouſneſs is their only law. But, " under theſe afflicting circumſtances, it would, I own, be ſome alleviation to our miſ- " fortunes to ſee men of abilities in poſſeſſion of arbitrary dominion acquired by bra- " very; but, inſtead of that, we ſee a deſpicable faction of baſe, cowardly wretches, whoſe " only ſtrength and courage lie in the feeble efforts of words, maſters of ſovereign power, " which fell into their hands by accident, and has been yielded to them by a baſe, perfidi- " ous man [Pompey] and exerciſing that power with extreme arrogance and cruelty. For, " in any of our former conteſts and civil wars, were ever ſo many and ſuch illuſtrious fami- " lies extirpated? Did ever any before purſue their conqueſts with ſuch impetuous fury, ſuch " exorbitant unbridled licentiouſneſs? Even *Sylla*, who thought the laws of war gave an " unlimited licenſe to the Conqueror, though he conceived that the terror of puniſhment " added ſtrength to his cauſe, yet was ſatisfied with a few inſtances of ſeverity to his ene- " mies, and choſe to win others to his party by lenity and benevolence, rather than the " dread of revenge. But ſuch moderate reſentment ſuits not the ſanguinary temper " of *Cato*, *Domitius*, and the reſt of that faction. No leſs than forty Senators, together " with numbers of young men of promiſing abilities, have, by their orders, been but- " chered, like ſo many victims deſtined to ſlaughter; nor could the blood of all theſe mi- " ſerable citizens glut the thirſt of thoſe moſt implacable tyrants. The doleful cries of " helpleſs orphans, the weakneſs of aged parents, the groans of men and the lamentations " of women, made not the leaſt impreſſion on their unrelenting hearts: So far from it, " that they grew every day more and more inflamed, both in their words and actions; " and, by injurious practices, degraded many from their employments, drove many into " exile." [*Pompey* was guilty of *great partiality* in his third conſulſhip, and probably of *cruelty*, ſince *Tacitus*, ſpeaking of his conduct at this time, ſays, *that, being choſen to correct the public enormities, his remedies proved more grievous to the State than its diſtempers.* *Appius*, in his *cenſorſhip*, acted in the ſame *partial* manner, and his authority was ſubſervient to the views of the ariſtocracy. Among others of the contrary faction he degraded our author and turned him out of the Senate. Hence this deſcription of the injuſtice and cru- elty of his enemies is, perhaps, full of reſentment, and may be exaggerated] " And there " is no occaſion to ſhew how they ſtand affected towards you. Baſe cowards as they are, " they would yet gladly ſacrifice their lives to procure your diſgrace and ruin. Yes,—far " leſs is the pleaſure they taſte in that ſovereignty, which is unexpectedly fallen into their

" hands,

" hands, than the anxiety they feel, when they view your exalted glory: for, to accom-
" pliſh your deſtruction, they chuſe rather to run the hazard of ſlavery, and eſteem it a
" more eligible ſituation, than to ſee you the happy inſtrument of raiſing the empire of
" *Rome*, great as it is, to the higheſt pitch of glory and dominion.

" Theſe conſiderations will convince you, how abſolutely neceſſary it is to uſe the ut-
" moſt care and circumſpection in forming your ſchemes for the eſtabliſhment and ſecu-
" rity of the Commonwealth. What occurs to me I ſhall freely offer without any reſerve:
" But, how far the methods I ſhall propoſe are juſt and practicable, I leave to the determi-
" nation of your own judgment.

" By the primitive conſtitution of the Republic, as our hiſtories inform us, the people
" were divided into two orders, *Patricians* and *Plebeians:* Originally the exerciſe of the
" ſupreme juriſdiction was lodged in the former; but, as the latter was the ſtronger body,
" this ſuperior force often excited them to withdraw to Mount *Aventine*, in defence of
" their liberties: The conſtant effect of which ſeceſſion was, that the power of the Patri-
" cians was diminiſhed, and the rights and privileges of the people augmented. But what
" contributed moſt to the ſecurity of their liberty was this, the laws had their due force,
" and the power of the magiſtrate was ſubſervient to them. Nor was it then [during the
perfect democracy ſettled by the *Licinian* laws] " affluence of fortune, or an arrogant paſ-
" ſion for precedence, but the character of a regular life and gallant exploits, that diſtin-
" guiſhed the nobility from the commonalty: Even men in the loweſt ſtation, whether oc-
" cupied in their farms at home, or ſerving in the wars, juſt provided with the neceſ-
" ſary and decent ſupports of life, were amply ſatisfied themſelves, and gave ample ſa-
" tisfaction to the State. But when, being thruſt out of poſſeſſion of their lands by a gra-
" dual uſurpation, they through indigence and idleneſs (having nothing to do) could no
" longer have any fixed abodes, then they began to covet the wealth of other men, and
" to put their own liberty and the Commonwealth to ſale. *Thus fell, by degrees, the an-*
" *cient power of the Roman people*, who had before been Lords of the world, and given
" laws to all nations; and *they, who jointly exerciſed ſovereign authority, have, each in-*
" *dividual ſeparately, ſold themſelves to ſlavery and bondage.*

" Now a *multitude, thus diſpoſed*, not only corrupt and degenerate in their manners,
" but alſo, by their different courſes and purſuits, ſo alienated from each other, as to be
" incapable of any coalition and unanimity, are, I apprehend, very ill qualified to aſſume
" the government of the Commonwealth. But, if the number of citizens be augmented,
" ſuch a regulation would rouſe up a general ardour in ſupport of the common liberty;
" for then one part of the people will be animated to preſerve the liberty they are admitted
" to; and the other to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery, which has hitherto diſgraced them.
" Theſe new enfranchiſed citizens, joined to ſome of the old ones, ſhould, I think, be
" ſettled in our colonies; by which means we ſhall not only be furniſhed with greater
" ſupplies for recruiting our armies, but the people, being then employed in uſeful oc-
" cupations, will no longer diſturb and embroil the State." [We have ſeen above, that
this was one of the meaſures taken by *Cæſar* for the better ſettlement of the State.] " I am
" not inſenſible, that, when you attempt the execution of this ſcheme, you will expoſe
" yourſelf to the fury and ſevere reſentments of the nobility; who will immediately take
" fire, grow angry, and exclaim, that the very foundation of the conſtitution is under-
" mined, that the ancient citizens are robbed of their privileges, and reduced to a ſtate
" of ſlavery, and this free Republic converted into a regal government, when any ſingle
" perſon aſſumes an arbitrary power of augmenting the number of citizens. I confeſs, in-
" deed, it is my ſettled opinion, that whoever attempts to render himſelf popular, at
" the expence of the Commonwealth, is guilty of a crime, the grievous effects of which
" will fall on his own head: yet, at the ſame time, *I will venture to ſay, He who has not*
" *reſolution enough to undertake ſuch deſigns, as are at once beneficial to the public, as well as his*
" *own private intereſts, is juſtly chargeable with the imputation of indolence and puſillanimity.*
" When *M. Livius Druſus* was Tribune of the people, it was his fixed purpoſe and reſo-
" lution to exert his utmoſt endeavours *in favour of the nobility*; nor did he, at firſt, ever
" enter upon any meaſures without their conſent and authority. And yet thoſe *ſons*
" *of faction*, ever influenced by the maxims of treachery and falſhood, rather than fidelity
" and honour, no ſooner conſidered what a number of men, ſhould *Druſus* ſucceed, would
" owe the mighty obligation to one ſingle perſon; and, as it is reaſonable to imagine,

" when each reflected on his own baſe and perfidious heart, conceived, that *Druſus* would " act in the ſame manner they were conſcious they themſelves ſhould act in the ſame ſitu- " ation; apprehending therefore, that his profeſſions of ſuch ſingular regard for their " intereſt was only an artifice to raiſe himſelf to ſovereignty, they oppoſed him with the " utmoſt vigour, and fruſtrated all his deſigns in their favour. Theſe obſervations will en- " gage you to fortify yourſelf with the greateſt attention and circumſpection with all the " ſupport you can poſſibly procure.

" To ſubdue a fair and open enemy is, to the brave and gallant man, no mighty difficul- " ty: But, in contriving or in avoiding ſecret ſtratagems and latent perils, generous and " noble ſouls are by no means adroit and expert. For your better ſecurity therefore, when " you have augmented the number of citizens, as the power of the people will be reſtored, " *let it be your principal concern to cultivate good manners, and, by a firm coalition, unite the* " *old and new citizens.* But the greateſt ſervice you can poſſibly do to your country, to " your fellow-citizens, to yourſelf, and your poſterity, is *to extinguiſh that extravagant* " *paſſion for riches*, which is ſo prevalent amongſt us; or, at leaſt, *give ſuch a check to it* " *as the circumſtances of the times will permit.* And, unleſs this be done, neither in the " city nor in the camp, neither in the adminiſtration of public or private affairs, can any " due order, any regular œconomy, be expected. For, where the love of money once pre- " vails, it proves always too powerful for diſcipline, and ſuppreſſes all good diſpoſitions; " nor is the firmeſt mind able to reſiſt its efforts; but, ſooner or later, falls a victim to " this paſſion. Numerous are the inſtances that occur in hiſtory, what Princes, what States " and Nations, have intirely owed, to the oppreſſive weight of their opulence, the loſs of " thoſe mighty empires, which have been the glorious acquiſitions of virtuous poverty. " Nor is it at all ſurpriſing: For when an upright man beholds one of leſs merit more " careſſed and eſteemed, upon no other recommendation but a ſuperior fortune; at firſt, " it has no other effect than to raiſe his indignation, and ſtagger him with perplexities: " But, when he has ſtill every day freſh experience that pomp and ſplendor triumph over " genuine glory and honour; wealth and opulence over worth and merit; his mind is at " laſt alienated; he deſerts the cauſe of virtue, and flies to the tents of voluptuouſneſs. It " is doubtleſs the love of glory that ſtimulates and ſupports induſtry: Stripped of that at- " tracting charm, virtue in herſelf appears to men with a very forbidding aſpect, and under " a very unamiable form. In ſhort, wherever riches are in high eſteem, there all worthy ac- " compliſhments, there honour and probity, modeſty and chaſtity, muſt loſe all their regard, " become neglected and deſpiſed. For, in the purſuit of virtue, men are confined to one " road only; a road too ſurrounded with perils and difficulties: But, in queſt of riches, " great is the latitude they take, and every one puſhes forward what way he pleaſes; and " by any means, honourable or diſhonourable, ſtrives to obtain his end. Above all things, " therefore, you muſt determine to cruſh this prevailing power of gold. And I am per- " ſuaded, that no one hereafter will judge a man more or leſs qualified for judicial offices, " or the adminiſtration of the Commonwealth, if you put the election of Conſuls and " Prætors upon ſuch a footing, that real worth and merit, and not wealth and riches, muſt " of neceſſity prevail in the choice." [We have ſeen alſo that *Cæſar* had nothing ſo much at heart as the execution of his ſumptuary laws.]

" *As to the appointment of magiſtrates*, it will be the ſafeſt and moſt convenient method " to inveſt that power in the people. If you confine it to a few, you approach too near a " regal government: If you ſuffer the elections to be carried by bribery, that were baſe " and diſhonourable. It is my opinion, therefore, *that all of the firſt claſs of the people* " *ſhould be intitled to the privilege of ſtanding candidates for judicial offices*; but I think it ad- " viſeable that their number ſhould be augmented. It is well known that neither the " people of *Rhodes*, nor any other free State, were ever diſſatisfied with the judgments of " their courts, where rich or poor, juſt as it fell out, were promiſcuouſly joined together " in all conſultations, even of the greateſt, as well as the ſmalleſt importance. But, as to " the election of magiſtrates, the law enacted by *C. Gracchus*, when Tribune of the people, " is by no means to be deſpiſed: *That, out of the five claſſes, promiſcuouſly, thoſe centuries* " *who were to give their ſuffrages ſhould be choſen by lot.* When the people are thus re- " duced to an equality, and ſuperiority of fortune no longer gives ſuperior claim to dig- " nity and honour, the only contention, that can then remain, will be, who ſhall ſurpaſs

" each other in virtue and merit. Theſe remedies, which I have preſcribed, will, I ap-
" prehend, prove a very eaſy and effectual cure for the evils attending riches. For our
" admiration, or deſire of any objects, ariſes from the uſe and advantage we propoſe from
" them; it is from the hopes of *gain* that men are prompted to iniquitous courſes: Take
" away that incitement, and you will find no man alive will be any longer a villain, when a
" villain can be no longer a gainer. But, whilſt the temptation to riches remains, avarice,
" like a ſavage beaſt of the deſart, is unſufferably outrageous and cruel: Which way ſoever
" ſhe flies, ſhe lays waſte whole towns and countries; confounds all things, human and
" divine, without diſtinction: Nor walls nor armies are able to obſtruct her imperious vio-
" lence; ſhe falls upon all in her way, robs all ſhe meets, robs them of their reputa-
" tion, their chaſtity, their children, parents, and country: All become the prey of this
" univerſal plunderer. And yet there is a remedy for this mighty evil: Take away all
" eſteem and honour from riches, and virtue will inſtantly recover her vigour, and be
" able to triumph over the rage of this devouring peſtilence.

" But, though all men, whether friends or enemies, allow this to be true, yet, ſuch
" is the factious ſpirit of the nobility, that you muſt expect violent oppoſition from that
" quarter. This is the grand obſtruction you will meet with; if you can remove that, by
" guarding yourſelf againſt their dark deceit and baſe ſtratagems, all the reſt of your way
" will be ſmooth and eaſy. Baſe ſtratagems I may juſtly call them, for, were they influenced
" by any virtuous principle, it would prompt them rather to emulate than envy the wor-
" thy. But as ſloth and indolence, and dulneſs and invincible ſtupidity, preſs heavy up-
" on them, the only efforts they can make are clamorous complaints and invidious re-
" proaches againſt that high renown, which they look upon as a tacit reflection on
" their own infamous reputations. But what neceſſity is there to ſay any more about
" them? You want not to be informed of their characters. You are no ſtranger to *M. Bi-*
" *bulus*, the man who, by irreſiſtible courage and great abilities, forced his way to the
" conſular dignity! Yes—You muſt doubtleſs be ſenſible of this, becauſe you know him
" to be a creature ſcarce endowed with the faculty of ſpeech; who has, indeed, a heart
" diſpoſed to any villainy, but not a head to contrive and execute it! What is there to be
" apprehended from ſuch a man as this, a man to whom the very conſulſhip, the higheſt
" office in the State, was the higheſt diſgrace. And, as to *L. Domitius*, what magnani-
" mity can there be in him, when every part of his body is defiled with ſome foul vice,
" ſome deteſtable crime or other; his tongue with falſhood and lyes, his hands with blood,
" his feet with ignominious flight; and his pollutions, in other reſpects, are ſo abomi-
" nably ſhameful, that even the bare mention of them would be an unpardonable inde-
" cency? *Cato is the only man amongſt them who has any ſort of merit:* The dexterity of
" his parts, his eloquence, his artifice and penetration, are no contemptible qualifica-
" tions: But they are no other than what may be acquired by *Grecian* diſcipline. The
" nobler qualifications, fortitude, vigilance, and unwearied induſtry, are not to be
" learned from the *Greeks*. For can a people, who had neither vigour nor ſpirit to de-
" fend the liberty of their own country, be qualified to inſtruct others in thoſe arts and
" accompliſhments, that are neceſſary for the ſupport of empire? *As to the reſt of the fac-*
" *tion*, they are a ſet of noblemen ſo utterly inſignificant, ſo exceſſively dull and ſenſeleſs,
" that, like ſtupid ſtatues, their names and titles are their only ornaments.—As for *L.*
" *Poſthumius* and *Favonius*, they appear to me not unlike the additional lading, which is
" taken into a large ſhip, above the ordinary burden: If ſhe arrives ſafe at her port, it
" may be of uſe; but had the mariners met with tempeſtuous weather, thoſe goods would
" have been firſt thrown over-board, as they were of the leaſt value." [What *Salluſt* ſays here of the *nobles* agrees very well with the character *Cicero* gives, in his letters to *Atticus*, of the *Honeſt* or the *Fiſhpondmen*; but the picture he draws of *Cato* is very unlike that which he has given us of the ſame man in his hiſtory of *Catoline*'s conſpiracy. There *Cato is put upon an equality with* CÆSAR *in noble birth, eloquence, greatneſs of ſpirit and glory: And ſimplicity of life, regular conduct, and invincible ſtrictneſs, are mentioned as his acknowledged virtues. He contended not,* it is ſaid, *in wealth with the wealthy, nor with the factious in practices of faction; but in bravery he yielded not to the moſt courageous; nor in temperance to the moſt reſerved; nor in purity of morals to the moſt innocent: He aimed not ſo much to appear, as to be a virtuous man; and, the leſs he courted renown, the more it followed him.* *Salluſt*, when he wrote

wrote the conſpiracy of *Cataline*, had not, probably, been exaſperated by perſecutions, or had retired from all public buſineſs, and was perfectly at his eaſe: Whereas, in this epiſtle, his language is that of a lately provoked enemy. *Cicero ad Att.* vii. 15. ſpeaks of *Favonius* and *Poſthumius*, as vain weak men, of importance only in their own conceit: *Uni Favonio leges ab illo nobis imponi non placebat; ſed is haud auditus in concilio.—Poſthumius autem, de quo nominatim Senatus decrevit, ut ſtatim in Siciliam iret, Fuffanoque ſucederet, negat ſe ſine Catone iturum: Et ſuam in Senatu operam auctoritatemque magni æſtimat.* This *Poſthumius* is probably the ſame man whom *Cicero* mentions, in another letter to *Atticus*, ix. 2. as having joined *Cæſar* before *Pompey* left *Italy:* And this circumſtance ſeems to prove that this epiſtle of *Salluſt* was written upon the rupture between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and before the former was maſter of *Brunduſium.*]

" Having thus given you my judgment *concerning the reſtitution of the plebeian power,* " *and the reformation of their manners*; I will now point out to you the ſteps which it will " be adviſeable to take, *with regard to the Senate.*

" No ſooner was my age and reaſon ripe for application, but I turned my thoughts to " literature, rather than the exerciſe of arms and riding: And, as nature had given me " greater ſtrength of mind than body, I choſe to inure the moſt able and vigorous part " to labour and fatigue; and, in the purſuit of this courſe, the obſervations I have " made, in my conſtant application to ſtudy, and the informations of men, as well as " books, have thoroughly convinced me that all empires and ſtates in the world have " proſpered and flouriſhed, as long as they purſued wiſe and wholſome counſels: But, " when partiality, fear, and voluptuouſneſs corrupted thoſe counſels, their ſtrength ſoon " began to decline: Then they loſt their dominion, and, at laſt, their liberty.

" I confeſs it is my ſettled opinion, that whoever is placed in an eminent ſtation, and " has a greater ſhare of property in any State, is ever found to be moſt concerned for its " ſecurity and preſervation. As to others, they have but one motive to engage their at- " tention, their *liberty*. But the man who, by virtue and bravery, has acquired riches, " fame, and dignity, has thoſe additional incitements. And therefore, whenever he " ſees any dangers threatening the State, the apprehenſion alarms his mind, rouſes all his " thoughts and cares, and excites his utmoſt pains and labour; his liberty, his glory, his " property are at ſtake, and he will defend them. His vigilance is ſeen in all places, his " activity in every quarter: For, the more flouriſhing his circumſtances are, when the con- " ſtitution is ſecure, the more anxious, the more reſolute and vigorous, will be his endea- " vours, when he apprehends it to be in danger. Theſe conſiderations convince me, " that, in a conſtitution, where the people are to put in execution the determinations of " the Senate, as the body does the dictates of the mind, prudence and policy are indiſ- " penſable qualifications in the Fathers; ſagacity and penetration talents unneceſſary in " the People.—Our anceſtors, though oppreſſed with grievous wars, held out with un- " wearied induſtry, after infinite loſſes, and when their money was exhauſted. Such was " their magnanimity, that neither the formidable ſtrength of their enemies, nor the emp- " tineſs of their treaſury, nor any unproſperous events could ſubdue their invincible " ſpirit. The acquiſitions they made by virtue they did not part with but with life: " And they owed their ſucceſs, not ſo much to their courage in the field, as to the wiſ- " dom, the boldneſs, and the conſtancy of their counſels. For, in thoſe happy days, " all the members of the Commonwealth, firmly cemented together, acted as one man; " had no other views but her welfare; entered into no cabals but againſt the public ene- " my; and every individual exerted his abilities both of mind and body, not to aggran- " diſe himſelf, but his country. Far different are the practices which prevail in this age; " for now a ſet of noblemen, enervated with indolence and ſloth, who never faced an ene- " my in battle; unexperienced in war, unacquainted with military toils and hardſhips, " trained up to faction only within the walls of the city; arrogantly uſurp ſovereign au- " thority over all the nations upon earth: Whilſt the Fathers, whoſe ſalutary counſels have " hitherto preſerved the State in all her difficulties, are driven, like the waves of the ſea, " this way or that, by arbitrary impulſe; one day enact laws, the next repeal them, juſt " as it ſuits the caprice, the reſentments, and arrogance of theſe lordly oppreſſors; for " that alone is allowed to be the rule to eſtimate public good or evil.

But

" But if now, in your regulations, *you reſtore to the Senators their common privileges and* " *equal liberty*, or *contrive for them ſome ſecret method of giving their ſuffrages*, then would " the exorbitant power ſome of the nobility poſſeſs ſoon be diminiſhed, and the Com- " monwealth would riſe again and proſper. But, though an attempt to bring the inte- " reſt and influence of the whole body upon a level may be thought impracticable, ſince " ſome of them made their entrance into the world upon the bottom of anticipated ho- " nours and dignity, and a numerous train of clients; whereas the generality of others, " Senators, not by deſcent but creation, cannot have, in all reſpects, equal influence and " advantages: *Yet they ſhould, at leaſt, be freed from any reſtraint of awe or terror in giving* " *their ſuffrages.* When every one can thus act, as it were, in obſcurity, then the dread " of any man's arrogant power will no longer force him to comply with meaſures preju- " dicial to his own intereſt and liberty. Liberty is a jewel of high eſtimation; the wor- " thy and the unworthy, the coward and the brave, equally love and admire it. But, " admired as it is, we often ſee men, alarmed by the dread of ſuperior ſtrength, tamely " give up that ineſtimable treaſure to the demands of a public robber. Weak and infa- " tuated man! Liberty or bondage is the ſubject of contention; and, whilſt the victory is " yet uncertain, they receive the ignominious yoke; the worſt lot that could have befallen " them, had their reſiſtance been unſucceſsful.

" *Two expedients*, therefore, I would propoſe to confirm the ſenatorial power; *firſt to* " *augment their number*; and then to make is a rule, *that each ſhall give his ſuffrage by* " *tablets.* By the one, every man, being ſkreened under the protection of a veil, will " not be intimidated from acting according to the dictates of his own mind. By the other, " the additional numbers will be an additional ſervice and ſecurity to the State. *For ſuch* " *is our preſent ſituation, that our public deliberations are very ill attended:* Some few are en- " gaged in judicial offices; ſome are taken up with domeſtic concerns or the ſervice of their " friends; but the more general cauſe of their abſence is, not ſo much any other avoca- " tion, as the intolerable arrogance of thoſe lofty oppreſſors, who have uſurped ſuch exor- " bitant power, for *now* ſome of the ancient nobility, with a few of the new-created Se- " nators, whom they have taken in as a farther ſupport to the faction, cenſure, approve, " and decree, by their own abſolute authority; and act, in every inſtance, juſt as their " own arbitrary will inclines them. But, *if you augment the number of Senators*, and *ob-* " *lige them to give their ſuffrages by tablets*, then would thoſe haughty rulers ſoon abate their " arrogance, when they found they muſt ſubmit to the determination of thoſe very men, " over whom they have exerciſed ſuch rigorous, ſuch deſpotic ſway.

" When you have examined theſe expedients, you may, perhaps, aſk me, what num- " ber it is adviſeable to add to the ſenatorial order; and in what manner, and for what " purpoſes, I would adviſe the diſtribution of them into their ſeveral parts and diſtinct of- " fices: And, as I have propoſed the committing the judicial proceedings to the firſt claſs " of the people, in what form they ſhould be diſtributed, and what ſhall be the number " of each different diviſion? It would not be difficult to draw up a particular plan; but " I thought it adviſeable, firſt, to propoſe a general ſcheme, and to have your approba- " tion of *that*, before I proceeded farther. If you think my expedients juſt and true in " general, you will find the reſt very eaſy and obvious. I will not deny, that I have a " ſtrong ambition to ſee the juſtneſs and propriety of theſe regulations confirmed by their " happy conſequences: For, from your ſucceſs and proſperity, I ſhall expect to derive " ſome ſhare of glory and reputation to myſelf. But yet far greater is my deſire, much " more ardent my paſſion, *to ſee the Commonwealth reſtored*, whatever expedients are uſed, " with as much expedition as it can poſſibly be effected. Liberty is a happineſs I prefer " infinitely above the higheſt acquiſitions of fame and glory: And let me intreat, let " me beſeech and exhort you, now that you have raiſed yourſelf to the higheſt mili- " tary renown, and glorioufly triumphed over the warlike nation of the *Gauls*, not to " ſuffer the mighty *Roman* empire, hitherto invincible, to periſh and decay, or be diſ- " ſolved by civil wars or inveterate diſcord. Should ſuch a calamity happen through your " fault, be aſſured, *Cæſar*, that, neither day nor night, will you be free from pungent " remorſe; the ſenſe of ſuch a corroding guilt will ever diſturb your reſt, and your afflicted " mind will be inceſſantly racked with madneſs and deſpair. For I look upon it as an in- " conteſtable truth, that the Deity conſtantly inſpects the actions of all the human race;

" nor will the virtues or vices of any one paſs unregarded; but, agreeably to the diffe-
" rent nature of them, they will be followed by a different retribution. Theſe may not,
" indeed, be the immediate effects, but they are the conſtant expectation of every man,
" ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of his actions.

" Imagine now that the Genius of *Rome*, attended by your anceſtors, were to accoſt you
" at this important criſis: You would hear them delivering their ſentiments in the follow-
" ing ſtrain: *Remember*, CÆSAR, *that it is from us you derive your deſcent, from a race of*
" *virtuous and valiant heroes. We gave thee exiſtence in this flouriſhing city, to be the ſupport*
" *of our dignity, a ſtrength to our eſtabliſhment, and a terror to our adverſaries. And, when*
" *from us you received your life, you received, with it, all the acquiſitions, which were the*
" *fruits of our infinite toils and perils, a country the moſt powerful and extenſive, a place and*
" *family the moſt illuſtrious in that country; to all which, we took care to add many excellent*
" *accompliſhments, joined to an affluent fortune, acquired with honour; in ſhort, all the felici-*
" *ties that adorn a ſettled peace, all the rewards that crown a ſucceſsful war. Think not that,*
" *in return for theſe extenſive obligations, we require from thee any undertaking inconſiſtent with*
" *virtue and probity. No—what we expect at thy hands* IS THE RESTORATION OF FAL-
" LING LIBERTY. *Accompliſh* THIS, *and every corner of the univerſe will inſtantly be*
" *filled with the applauſe of ſuch a virtuous atchievement. What! though you have already*
" *given many illuſtrious proofs of great abilities, both in your civil and military capacity, yet*
" *in this,* CÆSAR, *thou art not ſingular; there are many brave, magnanimous ſpirits, who*
" *have arrived to the ſame degree of glory. But, if you would ſurpaſs all others, ariſe now*
" *and reſcue, from the brink of ruin, this moſt renowned, this mighty Empire. Then, indeed,*
" *wilt thou riſe to matchleſs greatneſs, and ſhine in unrivalled luſtre! But ſhould a different*
" *fate attend this State, ſhould it periſh through the malignity of the diſtemper that afflicts it;*
" *who ſees not that univerſal wars, deſolation, and ſlaughter will attend her fall? But if*
" *you feel a generous ardour to do the moſt acceptable ſervice to us and to your country, aſſert*
" *the liberty of the Commonwealth, and ſave the ſinking State: Then will ſucceeding ages view*
" *thee exalted above all the human race, and, even after death, with ſingular felicity, ga-*
" *thering freſh laurels of praiſe. For it ſometimes happens that the clouds of adverſe fortune*
" *caſt a ſhade on living grandeur, and oftentimes the blaſts of envy check its growth. But,*
" *when the hero yields to fate, malice and detraction expiring with him, his merit becomes more*
" *and more conſpicuous, and daily riſes to higher degrees of fame and glory.*

" Thus, *Cæſar*, I have preſented you with a brief plan of ſuch regulations as, I ap-
" prehend, will contribute moſt to the public good, and your own intereſt. But, what-
" ever ſcheme you think proper to purſue, I beſeech the immortal gods that it may have
" a proſperous event, and that both you and your country may reap the fruits of your
" ſucceſsful endeavours."

The ſecond Epiſtle of SALLUST *to* C. JULIUS CÆSAR, *concerning the Regulation of the Commonwealth.*

" IT heretofore prevailed, as an eſtabliſhed truth, that kingdoms and empires, and
" whatever other objects men eagerly purſue, were only the gifts of fortune; ſince they
" were often capriciouſly beſtowed upon the undeſerving, and never enjoyed by any, with-
" out a ſenſible diminution and decay. But experience has convinced us that *Appius* the
" poet was not miſtaken when he ſaid, *that every man is the architect of his own fortune.*
" In you, eſpecially, *Cæſar*, is this maxim verified; in you, who have ſo far ſurpaſſed
" all others, that ſooner were men wearied in celebrating your glorious actions, than you
" in performing them. But ſtill, as in the finiſhed works of architecture, ſo in the ac-
" quiſitions of heroic virtue, the utmoſt attention is required; if they are neglected, their
" beauty will ſoon be impaired; or, for want of care to ſupport them, the nobleſt ſtruc-
" tures may fall to ruin. For it is not without reluctance that any man ſubmits to
" the ſovereign authority of another; and, however juſt and mild he may be in the exer-
" ciſe of ſuch power, ſtill we are apt to be under apprehenſions of oppreſſion from him
" whoſe ſituation enables him to oppreſs when he pleaſes. Nor are ſuch apprehenſions
" without foundation; for thoſe who get the reins of government into their hands are, in

5. " their

" their conduct, generally influenced by an abſurd maxim, *that, the more baſe and degene-*
" *rate the people are, the more ſecure is the power of the Sovereign.* But far different ought
" to be your meaſures, *Cæſar*; and, as you yourſelf are virtuous and brave, who are to
" give laws, it is highly expedient to make the people ſo, who are to receive them. *For*
" *the worſt of men are always found moſt impatient under the reſtraints of government.*

" Indeed, when I conſider, that the exerciſe of your power, in the courſe of the war,
" has been more gentle than that of others in the times of peace; when I ſee your victo-
" rious troops demanding the gratification of plundering the conquered; and when I
" conſider, that the conquered are your fellow-citizens; I muſt confeſs that theſe difficul-
" ties, which you have to encounter in ſettling your conqueſts are greater than any, be-
" fore you, have met with. But out of theſe difficulties you muſt reſolve to extricate
" yourſelf, and ſettle the Commonwealth upon a firm eſtabliſhment for the future; an
" undertaking to be effected, not ſo much by the force of arms, or by triumphs over ene-
" mies, as by a method much more noble as well as difficult; by the wholſome inſtitu-
" tions of laws, and the ſanctions of diſcipline and peace. An affair, therefore, of ſuch
" high importance, calls upon all, not only thoſe of eminent abilities, but alſo thoſe who
" are leſs diſtinguiſhed, to communicate their ſentiments, and offer the beſt advice in
" their power: For it is my opinion, *that the future happineſs or miſery of Rome entirely*
" *depends upon the methods you take in ſettling your victories.*

" That this great end may be more eaſily and effectually accompliſhed, I beg your at-
" tention to a few things, which occur to my thoughts upon this occaſion.

" You have been engaged, illuſtrious General, in a war againſt *an eminent adverſary, a*
" *man of immenſe wealth and boundleſs ambition; but more diſtinguiſhed by his fortune than*
" *any prudence and ſagacity in his conduct.* Amongſt his adherents, *ſome few followed his*
" *arms, whoſe enmity to you had no other foundation, than the injuſtice they had done you:*
" *Others were drawn to his party by the tye of affinity, or ſome perſonal obligation. Not one of*
" *them had any ſhare in his power; for, could he have ſubmitted to a participation of dominion,*
" *the whole world would not have felt the ſhock of a devouring war. The reſt of his party,*
" *the vaſt multitudes of the common people, that were in his camp, were drawn thither, not*
" *ſo much by their own judgment, as by the prevailing example of others, whom they looked*
" *upon as more diſcerning than themſelves.*" [The evidence of theſe truths we have already
ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory.] " In this juncture, a ſet of wretches, whoſe infamous
" luxury had left nothing unpolluted, encouraged by malicious reports, with the hopes of
" ſeizing the Commonwealth, came over to your camp; and there, without any reſerve,
" threatened death and rapine, and all the miſeries of unreſtrained licentiouſneſs, to thoſe
" who engaged in neither party. But many of them, when they found you would nei-
" ther cancel their debts, nor ſuffer your fellow-citizens to be treated as public enemies,
" withdrew from your camp. Some few of them, indeed, ſtill remained, imagining they
" ſhould enjoy greater eaſe and ſecurity there, than they could in the city: So terrible
" an apprehenſion had they of the power and rage of creditors. It is almoſt incredible
" what numbers, and what men of high rank and diſtinction went over to *Pompey* alſo up-
" on the very ſame motives; and, during the whole courſe of the war, adhered to him,
" as a ſacred and inviolable ſanctuary to people under ſuch difficulties and diſtreſſes.

" Now, as the ſucceſs of your arms has made you the arbiter of war and peace; that
" you may put ſuch an end to the one, as may be a demonſtration of your regard to your
" fellow-citizens, and make the other as honourable and laſting as poſſible; conſider well
" what are the moſt adviſeable ſteps for the regulation of your own conduct; ſince it is on
" *You* only that this affair intirely depends. It is my opinion, that the rigid exerciſe of
" power tends rather to render it vexatious and uneaſy, than firm and laſting; nor is it
" poſſible for any man to make himſelf an object of dread to the many, but, at the ſame
" time, a reciprocal dread of the many muſt recoil upon himſelf. And to be in ſuch a
" ſituation is to be eternally involved in a ſtate of warfare on all ſides perilous: For, to
" whatever quarter you betake yourſelf, no ſecurity is to be found, ſurrounded as you
" are with continual dangers, and alarmed with terrible apprehenſions. Very different is
" the ſituation of thoſe, whoſe power is tempered with mildneſs, and moderated by
" humanity and benevolence! Every thing around them appears fair, flouriſhing, and
" happy; and the very enemies of the nation ſhew them more favour and eſteem than

" thoſe of a contrary character meet with from their own citizens. And can any one ſay, " that I am prompted to give this advice by a partial regard to the conquered party, or " a ſiniſter view to detract from the glory of your triumphs? No doubt I deſerve this " cenſure, for declaring that ſuch treatment as foreign nations, nations naturally our foes, " have met with from us, and our anceſtors, ought not to be denied to our fellow-citizens, " and that we *Romans* ſhould not, like ſavage barbarians, inſiſt upon the retaliation of blood " and ſlaughter.

" Have they then forgot the reproaches they lately caſt upon *Pompey*, and upon *Sylla*'s " cruel uſe of victory? How *Domitius*, *Carbo*, and *Brutus*, with *ſeveral others*, were " ſlain; that they fell not, when under arms in the field; not in the heat of battle, by " the common calamity of war; but, after that was over, even when they were ſuppli- " cating mercy, they were moſt inhumanly murdered by *Pompey*. Have they forgot how " the people of *Rome* were, like ſo many cattle, butchered in the field of *Mars*? Bloody " and inhuman has been the uſe other conquerors, before you, have made of their vic- " tories! Dreadful were the ſcenes of private ſlaughters, unexpected maſſacres, women " flying into the boſoms of their children, and children into the boſoms of their parents, " and, in all quarters, our habitations plundered and demoliſhed! The very men who " acted this bloody part would now perſuade you to purſue the ſame meaſures: As if the " only motive of the war had been, whether *you* or *Pompey* ſhould have an arbitrary power " of oppreſſing mankind; as if you had not reſtored the Commonwealth, but ſeized it " as a prey of your ſucceſsful arms; and as if the flower of our army, and the choiceſt " of our veteran troops, took up arms againſt brethren and parents, and ſome even againſt " their own offspring, from this motive only, that the moſt abandoned of men might, " from the calamities of others, procure means to indulge their inſatiable appetites, or " that their enormous lives might reflect diſhonour on the worthy men engaged in the " ſame cauſe, and ſo ſtain the glory of their conqueſts. I venture to ſpeak thus, becauſe " I am perſuaded you are no ſtranger to the conduct of every individual amongſt them, and " how far they obſerved the rules of moderation, even when the event of the war was un- " certain; and how ſome of them gave ſuch a looſe to debauchery and licentious feſtivity, " in the very field of battle, as men of their years could not have indulged themſelves in, " without a blemiſh to their reputation, even in time of peace and tranquillity.

" I ſee no occaſion to ſay any more of the diſpoſition of military affairs.

" As to the eſtabliſhing of peace, ſince that is the great point you and your friends " have in view; conſider, in the firſt place, I beſeech you, the nature of the affair now " under deliberation: For thus, by diſtinctly ſeparating the arguments on both ſides, you " will, of courſe, open a way to right meaſures. I own, when I reflect with myſelf, " that whatever had a beginning has naturally a determined period, I am perſuaded, that, " whenever the fatal deſtruction of *Rome*'s empire approaches, it can only happen when " her citizens are harraſſed with inteſtine wars: In that critical juncture, when their " ſtrength is worn out and their ſpirits exhauſted, they will fall a prey to ſome foreign " Prince or State. But, were it poſſible to preſerve harmony amongſt ourſelves, the whole " world, all the nations of the earth in confederacy, would not be able to diminiſh or " ſhake this mighty empire. Therefore, to ſecure all the advantages of unanimity, and to " remove and prevent all the miſchiefs of diſſenſions and diviſions, is the great point " that requires your perpetual attention. The beſt way to effect this is to give a check " to the faſhionable vices of licentious profuſeneſs and rapine; not by reinforcing thoſe " obſolete laws, which the depravity of the times has rendered contemptible; *but by ob-* " *liging every man to live within the bounds of his fortune.* For now a prevailing cuſtom " has taught the *Roman* youth to look upon it as a laudable and gallant behaviour to " ſquander away, not only their own, but other mens fortunes; and to deny themſelves, " or their dependents, no ſort of gratification whatſoever. This they call manly conduct, " this, true greatneſs of ſoul; whilſt modeſty paſſes for ſtupidity; and moderation, as the " quality of an abject, inactive ſpirit. Poſſeſſed with ſuch notions, when once engaged " in a profligate courſe, they run on with unbridled fury; and no ſooner do their old ſup- " plies fail them, but they fall with impetuous violence upon our allies, ſometimes upon " our fellow-citizens, diſturb the order and tranquillity of government, and, by any means " whatſoever, would raiſe a new fortune to repair the ruins of the old one.

" Since,

" Since, therefore, this is the preſent ſituation of our affairs, it ſeems to me abſolutely " neceſſary to cruſh the power of the uſurers, that every man may take upon him the ma- " nagement of his own affairs. To effect this, the only true and natural method would " be to oblige the magiſtrates, in their judicial proceedings, to promote rather the inte- " reſt of the people in general, than to favour the narrow intereſt of the creditors, and " to eſtabliſh their glory and reputation upon their endeavours to add ſtrength to the Com- " monwealth, and not on ſuch meaſures as tend to diminiſh it.

" I am very ſenſible what diſguſt the firſt advances in this reformation will give, to " thoſe eſpecially, who, after victory, expected rather greater latitude to their licentious " inclinations, than any ſtricter diſcipline and reſtraints. But, if you regard more the " true intereſt of the Commonwealth, than the looſe deſires of theſe men, you will pre- " vent their outrageous intentions, and ſettle both them and us, and all our allies, in a " firm ſtate of peace and tranquillity. But, if the youth are permitted to go on in their " preſent purſuits, then will *Cæſar*'s exalted glory ſoon fall to the ground; and *Rome* it- " ſelf will fall with *Cæſar*. Give me leave to add, that it is, with a view of procuring " peace, that men of ſenſe and underſtanding enter into war; and, under all the toils " and hardſhips attending it, they are ſupported by the proſpect of future tranquillity. If " this great end be not effectually accompliſhed, what does it avail, whether you con- " quer, or are conquered?

" Wherefore, in the name of the immortal gods, take upon you the care and protection " of the Commonwealth, and bravely puſh through all difficulties, with your wonted vi- " gour and reſolution. For either you, *Cæſar*, can heal the wounded State, or it will " be in vain for any other to attempt the cure. And what is that we now require at your " hands? You are not called to bloody executions, to cruel and rigorous proceedings; " methods which would ſooner depopulate the State, than correct its manners; but only " to give a check to the baſe practices and licentious debauchery of the *Roman* youth. " This, this only, is the true notion of clemency; to prevent ſuch vices as deſerve the " puniſhment of expulſion; to put a ſtop to extravagant follies, and the purſuits of falſe " pleaſures; and to eſtabliſh union and harmony in the State.

" I muſt confeſs here, I am ſenſible, that the greatneſs of this important undertaking " raiſes doubts and fears in other men; but to me it gives the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſuc- " ceſs: For matters of *ſmall* moment are below the notice of ſo *exalted* a genius. *Great* " indeed is the taſk, and *great* will be the reward, if you accompliſh it!

" Now one grand point, which demands your attention, is, that the People, whoſe " minds are at preſent corrupted with gifts of corn, and other public largeſſes, apply " themſelves to their reſpective occupations. Such an application would divert their " thoughts from giving any diſturbance to the government: The youth alſo ſhould be " taught to turn their purſuits from riotous expence, and the thirſt of riches, to a courſe " of induſtry and the ſtudy of virtue. And this great end you will accompliſh, by put- " ting an effectual ſtop to the uſe which men now make of money, and ſtripping that fruit- " ful ſource of evils of the eſteem it has gained in the world. For, whenever I have ex- " amined by what ſteps illuſtrious heroes roſe to the height of renown, by what means any " people enlarged their conqueſts, and to what cauſes the ruin of mighty Kingdoms and " States was to be aſcribed; in either caſe I always diſcovered the ſame good or evil cauſe, " conſtantly producing the ſame good or evil effects: And that the ſucceſsful were always " ſuch as held riches in contempt; the unſucceſsful ſuch as coveted and admired them. " Nor, indeed, is there any poſſible method to riſe to glory and immortal fame, but by ſub- " duing the thirſt of riches and ſenſual pleaſures, and giving a free ſcope to the exerciſe of " the mind; not fondly ſoothing and gratifying the demands of unreaſonable and corrupt " inclinations; but by inuring it to labour and patience, to wholſome diſcipline and va- " liant exploits. A man may raiſe a pompous palace in the town, or villa in the country; " he may furniſh them with magnificent hangings and ſtatues, with other expenſive orna- " ments, and thus make every thing in them conſpicuous, but himſelf; yet, from the " richneſs of ſuch decorations, he is ſo far from deriving any honour or glory, that he " himſelf caſts a blemiſh upon their luſtre. And, as for ſuch as are ſo abandoned, that they " paſs not a day without twice overcharging their ſtomachs, not a night without diſho- " nouring their bed with polluted embraces; when once the mind, deſigned by nature to

" govern

" govern and controul, is thus become a ſlave to degenerate paſſions, in vain will they at-
" tempt to rouſe her up to exerciſe, when her vigour is decayed, and her faculties im-
" paired. Men of this character, having neither ſpirit nor abilities, muſt unavoidably
" confound and deſtroy themſelves and every ſcheme they engage in. Now theſe and all
" other evils which afflict the State, together with the high value and eſteem that is ſet up-
" on riches, would be effectually cured, if neither the offices of magiſtracy, nor any other
" things, which are the objects of mens eager purſuits, can hereafter be obtained by the
" influence of money. *Proper care ſhould, at the ſame time, be taken, that Italy and the*
" *provinces be put in a more ſecure ſituation*; an affair which requires no great penetration
" to accompliſh: The ſame remedy will anſwer, where the evil is the ſame; for there too,
" as well as in the city, the public ravagers have plundered and ſeized every thing they
" met with, forſaking their own habitations, and, in violation of all juſtice and equity,
" poſſeſſing thoſe of other people. It is no leſs neceſſary to put a ſtop to that *unjuſtifiable*
" *partiality*, which has hitherto prevailed in our army, *where ſome of the people have been*
" *forced to bear the fatigue of warfare for thirty years, whilſt others have been entirely excuſed*
" *from the ſervice.* It is likewiſe my opinion, *that the corn, which has hitherto been uſu-*
" *ally the reward of the worthleſs and inactive, ſhould be ſent to our municipal towns and co-*
" *lonies, and there diſtributed to the ſoldiers, when they return home after their diſcharge from*
" *ſervice.*

" I have now, as briefly as the caſe would admit, laid before you ſuch regulations as
" appear to me moſt conducive to the good of the Commonwealth, as well as your own
" reputation and glory: And, I apprehend, it will not be improper for me to add a word
" or two in relation to this my undertaking. There is ſcarce any man who does not be-
" lieve himſelf furniſhed with all the faculties that make up a true and diſtinguiſhing judg-
" ment; or, at leaſt, endeavours to make the world believe ſo: but, certainly, all men
" in general have ſo violent a propenſity to blaſt and condemn the performances of others,
" that the faculties of ſpeech are too ſlow, to utter the quick ſuggeſtions of their hearts.
" That I have laid myſelf open to ſuch men is a conſideration, that does not, in the leaſt,
" afflict me. Had I been ſilent on ſuch an occaſion, I ſhould have been leſs able to have
" borne the reflection. For, whether you purſue the methods I have pointed out, or
" others occur, which may be thought more adviſeable, ſtill I have given the beſt advice
" I was capable of, and contributed my utmoſt aſſiſtance towards the regulation of the
" Commonwealth.

I have nothing more to do, but to follow you with my earneſt wiſhes, that whatever
" meaſures you purſue may be attended with approbation, and crowned with ſucceſs by
" the immortal gods."

CHAP. XI.

CÆSAR's *grand deſigns for the good of the* Roman *Empire. His death and character.*

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, Dictator II.
Conſul V. with
M. ANTONIUS.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

ON the opening of the new year, *Cæſar* entered into his fifth conſulſhip, in partnerſhip with *M. Antony*: He had promiſed it all along to *Dolabella*, but, contrary to expectation, took it at laſt to himſelf[z]. This

Middl. p. 221.

[z] There were ſixteen Prætors this year, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of whom were *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and ſix Ediles. Beſides the two curule and the two plebeian Ediles, *Cæſar*

This was contrived by *Antony*, who, jealous of *Dolabella*, as a rival in *Cæſar*'s favour, had been ſuggeſting ſomewhat to his diſadvantage, and labouring to create a diffidence of him in *Cæſar*; which ſeems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, *Cæſar*'s guarding himſelf ſo particularly, when he paſſed by his villa. *Dolabella* was ſenſibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the Senate, where, not daring to vent his ſpleen on *Cæſar*, he entertained the aſſembly with a ſevere ſpeech againſt *Antony:* Which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till *Cæſar*, to end the diſpute, promiſed to reſign the conſulſhip to *Dolabella*, before he went to the *Parthian* war. But *Antony* proteſted, that, by his authority as Augur, he would diſturb that election, whenever it ſhould be attempted [a]; and declared, without any ſcruple, that the ground of his quarrel with *Dolabella* was, for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife *Antonia*, the daughter of his uncle [b]; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to colour his divorce with her, and his late marriage with *Fulvia* the widow of *P. Clodius*.

V. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Philip. ii. 32.

Cæſar, ſays *Plutarch*, being born for great atchievements, and paſſionately fond of glory, his continual ſucceſs was no inducement to him to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but became a ſpur to animate him to greater enterpriſes. He grew inſenſible to preſent glory, that he might ſeek freſh honour; and, becoming, in a manner, his own rival, he was ambitious by new enterpriſes and exploits to efface the ſplendor of his former ones. He had always entertained the thoughts of avenging the death of *Craſſus*, his friend and partner in power; and no ſooner had he put an end to the *African* war, than he openly declared his intention

Plut. in Cæſ.

Cæſar had inſtituted two more, called *Cereates*, who were to have the inſpection of corn and all kinds of grain for the proviſion of the city.

[a] This proves, by the way, that *Cæſar* kept up the uſual forms in the election of magiſtrates.

[b] *Cicero* relates, as an aggravating circumſtance, that *Antony* made this diſhonourable declaration in the preſence of his uncle and father-in-law *Antonius:* Omnibus eum [C. Antonium patrem Antoniæ uxoris tuæ] contumeliis oneraſti, quem patris loco, ſi ulla pietas in te eſſet, colere debebas; filiam ejus, uxorem tuam, ejeciſti, alia conditione quæſita et ante perſpecta: [*Cicero* inſinuates, that he was already in good terms with *Fulvia*, and had determined to marry her] Non eſt ſatis: *Probri inſimulaſti pudiciſſimam fœminam: Quid eſt, quod addi poſſit? contentus eo non fuiſti. Frequentiſſimo Senatu kalendis Jan. ſedente Patruo, hanc tibi eſſe cum Dolabella cauſam odii dicere auſus es, quod ab eo ſorori & uxori tuæ ſiuprum oblatum eſſe comperiſſes. Quis interpretari poteſt, impudentiorne, qui in Senatu: an improbior, qui in Dolabellam: An impurior, qui Patruo audiente: An crudelior, qui in illam miſeram, tam ſpurcè tam impiè dixeris? Phil.* ii. 38. *Dio*, in a ſpeech, which he has compoſed for *Cicero* againſt *Calenus*, makes his orator reproach *Antony* with his unkind behaviour to *C. Antonius*, whom he neither recalled from baniſhment during *Cæſar*'s adminiſtration, nor after his death. Thus the genuine *Cicero* and the perſonated *Cicero* contradict one another. Many obſervations of the ſame kind may be made, which evidently prove, that the long invectives which we find in the *Greek* hiſtorian are either the production of his own imagination, or copied from very inaccurate memoirs.

Y.R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ. to retrieve the honour of the Empire, and made preparations for this expedition, which the people greatly approved of. After his return from *Spain*, he ſent his legions before him into *Macedonia*, intending, before he led them into the Eaſt, to chaſtiſe the *Daci*, who had made inroads upon the *Roman* territory; and, after he had vanquiſhed the *Parthians*, he propoſed to go by *Hyrcania* to the borders of the *Caſpian* ſea, to paſs Mount *Caucaſus*, and return, through *Scythia*, *Germany*, and *Gaul*, into *Italy*, extending and ſecuring on all ſides, in his progreſs, the frontiers of the *Roman* empire. As this expedition could not be executed in leſs than two or three years, he appointed Conſuls and other magiſtrates for the two following, leſt, in his abſence, the elections for theſe offices might raiſe diſturbances in the city. *A. Hirtius* and *C. Vibius Panſa* were elected Conſuls for the next, and *D. Brutus* and *Munacius Plancus* for the following year.

The neceſſary preparations for ſo grand an enterpriſe did not divert his attention from the works of peace: Various deſigns, all uncommonly great, employed his thoughts. He laid the foundations of two magnificent edifices for the ornament of the city; a temple to *Venus*, which, for grandeur, would have exceeded every thing in the world of that kind; and a theatre of immenſe extent; both which were afterwards completed by *Auguſtus*. He undertook to rebuild and repair ſeveral towns in *Italy*, to drain the *Pomptine* marſhes, which render, to this day, the air of that part of *Italy* very unwholſome; to diſcharge the lake *Fucinus*; to dig a new bed for the *Tiber* from *Rome* to the ſea, in order to facilitate the navigation of that river; to form a port at *Oſtia*, capable of receiving the firſt-rate ſhips; to make a cauſey over the *Appenine* mountains from the *Adriatic* ſea to *Rome*; to rebuild *Corinth* and *Carthage*, whither he had tranſported colonies of *Roman* citizens, a project alſo perfected by *Auguſtus*; to cut through the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, to ſave the ſeamen the trouble and danger of navigating round the *Peloponneſus*; and to take an exact geographical map of the whole *Roman* empire, with all its roads, and the diſtances of the towns. He alſo employed the learned *Varro* to collect a library of all the *Greek* and *Latin* authors, which he intended for the uſe of the public, and which was placed by *Auguſtus* in the temple of *Apollo* on Mount *Palatine*. In fine, he formed the deſign of abridging the collection of *Roman* laws, and, out of that immenſe and extravagant bulk into which they had ſwelled, to draw together in a ſmall compaſs the beſt and moſt neceſſary.

Thus was *Cæſar* continually looking round him from his dictatorial chair, how beſt to acquit himſelf of his duty, and to ſuſtain the dignity of his office; filling up the greateſt poſts of truſt and honour with men of eminence, courage, and capacity; relying entirely, without any guards, upon the affections of the people, when a dire conſpiracy was formed againſt his life, which deprived mankind of the benefit of ſuch univerſal benevolence, and was as fatal to thoſe who engaged in it.

We are told by the ancient hiſtorians, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, who have evidently taken their accounts from *Pompeian* memoirs, that *Cæſar*'s uſual prudence intirely failed him at once; and, as if the height to which he was mounted had turned his head and made him giddy, he ran mad after the appellation of *King*; and, when he was actually poſſeſſed, in quality of *Dictator*, *Emperor*, and *Maſter of Manners*, of all the power of the Empire, was not ſtill content without a title, which could add nothing to him but envy and popular odium. The proofs of this heavy charge lie in the following facts: On the *26th* of *January*, returning with the pomp of an *ovation*, decreed him by the Senate, from Mount *Albanus*, where he had celebrated the *Feriæ Latinæ*, amidſt the acclamations of the people, he was ſaluted *King* by ſome in the throng, and, at the ſame time, a royal diadem with a crown of laurel was fixed upon one of his ſtatues. The multitude, ſays *Plutarch*, was ſilent, and ſeemed abaſhed, and *Cæſar* was forced to anſwer, *My name is Cæſar, not King:* And it was remarked that he paſſed on with an air of ſullenneſs and diſſatisfaction, as one diſappointed of his expectations. *Epidius Marullus* and *Cæſetius Flavus*, two Tribunes of the People, ordered the diadem to be taken down, and committed to priſon the man who had put it round the head of the ſtatue, declaring that they would alſo puniſh thoſe who had dared to ſtyle him *King*; for that *Cæſar* refuſed and abhorred that title. *Cæſar*, ſays *Suetonius*, was much concerned that the mention of his advancement to the royal dignity had been made with ſo little ſucceſs, or, as he pretended, that he had been thus deprived by the Tribunes of the honour of refuſing it: *He accuſed them before the Senate of a deſign to raiſe a ſedition againſt him, by perſuading the city, that he really affected to be a King*; but, when the Senate was going to paſs the ſevereſt ſentence againſt them, he was content with depoſing them from their magiſtracy, and expelling them from the Senate. From that day, adds *Suetonius*, he was never able to wipe away the ſcandal of affecting the name of *King* [c].

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Dio, 44.

But the Dictator's intentions are ſuppoſed to have been clearly manifeſted by *Antony*'s bold attempt a few days after, on the *15th* of *February*, when the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was celebrated. *Cæſar*, in his triumphal robe, being ſeated upon his golden chair in the Roſtra, to ſee the diverſion of the running, *Antony*, then Conſul, in the midſt of the ſport, at the head of the *Luperci*, made him the offer of a royal diadem, and eſſayed ſeveral times to put it upon his head. *Cæſar* as often rejected it, and at laſt ſent it away to the Capitol, proclaiming, that *Jupiter* was the *only King of the Romans:* And *Antony* had it entered into the public acts, "that, by the command of the People, as Conſul,

[c] Is not this a ſtrange inference? *Cæſar* charges the two Tribunes with a deſign of making him odious, and raiſing a ſedition, by perſuading the city, that he really affected the royal title: The Senate condemns the Tribunes as guilty of this crime: Therefore *Cæſar* moſt certainly affected the royal title.

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" he had offered the name of King to *Cæſar*, *perpetual Dictator*, and " that *Cæſar* would not accept of it [d]."

Notwithſtanding ſo public and ſolemn a refuſal of the royal diadem, *Cæſar* is ſuppoſed to have ſtill proſecuted the ſcheme of getting himſelf called *King*, and to have had recourſe to the miniſters of religion, in order to gain his end. A prophecy was found in the *Sibylline* books, warning the *Romans*, " that the *Parthians* could never be conquered but " by a King :" And it was whiſpered, that *L. Cotta*, one of the Guardians of theſe books, was appointed to lay the oracle before the Senate, and to propoſe that, ſince their moſt mortal enemies could not be vanquiſhed but by a King, *Cæſar* ſhould have that title conferred upon him. But this was no more than a rumour, according to *Cicero*, *Suetonius*, and *Dio* [e]. It is hard to believe that *Cæſar* either laid ſo much ſtreſs

[d] *Cæſar*, it is ſaid, was angry with the Tribunes *Marullus* and *Flavus for depriving him of the honour of refuſing the crown :* If ſo, and if we muſt believe that the offering of the crown on the feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was not a mere frolic of *Antony*'s, but a thing concerted between him and *Cæſar*; then I do not ſee what abſurdity there is in ſuppoſing, that *Cæſar* took this means to retrieve his honour, and make a public and ſolemn declaration, *that he did not affect the kingly title*, in contradiction to the invidious rumours ſpread by his enemies.

Middl. p. 225.

[e] Dr. *Middleton* gives us this rumour for certain fact, and tells us, that *Cæſar*'s impatience to be *a King* accelerated his fate, and puſhed on the nobles, who had conſpired againſt his life, to the immediate execution of their plot; that they might ſave themſelves the ſhame of being forced to concur in an act which they heartily deteſted: And the two *Bruti*'s, in particular, the honour of whoſe houſe was founded in the extirpation of *kingly government*, could not but conſider it as a perſonal infamy, and a diſgrace to their very name to ſuffer the reſtoration of it.—Now, to my apprehenſion, there is in theſe facts and rumours no proof of *Cæſar*'s having affected the *royal* title. It is quite improbable in itſelf, and it is not to be admitted, but upon the ſtrongeſt evidence, that ſo great a man as *Cæſar* ſhould lay ſo much ſtreſs upon a title; which, ſo far, it is owned, from being an honour to him, ſeemed rather a diminution of his dignity: And I cannot but approve of our late Poet Laureat's reaſoning on this accuſation: " It

Cibber, p. 215.

" has never been proved, *that the offering* " *the crown to* CÆSAR *was a previouſly concerted expedient between him and Antony to* " *feel the pulſe of the People :* To ſhorten the " queſtion then, let us ſuppoſe all this to " be fact, and ſee what will come out of it; " not more than this, ſure, *that Cæſar had* " *a mind to be King, provided it could be* " *with the conſent of the People; but, when he* " *found it was diſagreeable to them, he troubled* " *himſelf no farther about it.* And why ought " we not, with equal reaſon, to believe, " that, in *Cæſar*'s refuſing the crown, he " was as much governed by his *affection* to " the People, as by his *fear* of them? If " we allow then that *Cæſar* would not have " been diſpleaſed, had the People called " upon him to be King, it is as much as " we can, in conſcience, charge him with. " But, *if it is inſiſted, that he had ſet his* " *heart upon the title, it will be taking too* " *much from the intrepidity of* CÆSAR *to ſuppoſe he would not, at any hazard, have gratified his ambition.* When he had once " made himſelf maſter of the *Roman* world, " could there be any great difficulty in his " giving what name he pleaſed to his office? " It is not eaſy, therefore, to conceive, that " the ſolid ſenſe of *Cæſar* could be very " anxious about a title, which neither the " want, nor the acquiſition of, could leſſen " the glory, or add to the honour of his " ſtation. The power of it he was ſecure " of, and no title could enlarge it. But take " the power from the regal title, and it will " ſignify no more than the word King in a " dictionary. And, tho' a great deal of ſtreſs " has been laid upon this point, as the moſt " unpardonable mark of *Cæſar*'s ambition, " I cannot ſee why his deſire, or his indiffe- " rence to be a *King*, gives him a jot more

" or-

ſtreſs upon an empty, odious title, or that *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and their aſſociates were excited by theſe facts to conſpire againſt his life. Other motives will account more naturally for the conſpiracy: Thoſe of the *Pompeian* faction, who engaged in this conſpiracy, were under the influence of an animoſity which *Cæſar*'s clemency could not diſarm; thoſe of his own party who entered into it were guided by an inſatiable avarice, which no rewards could ſatisfy; the hopes of plunder, by throwing the State again into confuſion, had weight with many; and, in relation in particular to *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the loſs of liberty was leſs afflicting to them, than that they muſt depend upon a *Superior* for preferment; a grievance which *Cæſar* could not ſoften by laying them under the greateſt obligations. *Caſſius*, it is thought, was the firſt contriver of the deſign [f], and imparted his thoughts to ſome of his friends before he communicated them to *Brutus*; but, upon their telling him that it was of the greateſt importance to have a man of *Brutus*'s reputation and credit [g] at the head of the enterpriſe, and that they would

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Sen. de Ira, iii. 30.

" or leſs to anſwer for: For, if his bring-
" ing order into ſo diſtracted a State will
" not excuſe his making himſelf *perpetual*
" *Dictator*, his being made a *King* could
" not have been at all a better or worſe
" reaſon for deſtroying him."

[f] *C. Caſſius* was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient and honourable families of the Republic. He is ſaid to have ſhewn a remarkable inſtance, when a boy, of his high ſpirit and love of liberty; for he gave *Sylla*'s ſon *Fauſtus* a box on the ear for bragging, among his ſchool-fellows, of his father's greatneſs and abſolute power; and when *Pompey* called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared, in his preſence, *that, if Fauſtus ſhould dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow.* In his later years he was converted from *Stoiciſm* to be a follower of *Epicurus*; maintaining, that the pleaſure, which his maſter recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of juſtice and virtue. While he profeſſed himſelf, therefore, an *Epicurean*, he lived like a *Stoic*; was moderate in pleaſures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He married *Tertia*, the ſiſter of *Brutus*, with whom he was ſtrictly united in friendſhip and politics. We have ſeen his gallant behaviour againſt the *Parthians* after *Craſſus*'s death, and his conduct in the civil war. The ancient hiſtorians give him the character of a brave, witty, and learned man; but paſſionate, fierce, and cruel: And they have aſſigned very frivolous reaſons of diſguſt, as the motives of his killing *Cæſar*: *That Cæſar* took *a number of lions from him, which he had provided for a public ſhew; that he would not give him the conſulſhip; that he gave* BRUTUS *the more honourable prætorſhip in preference to him.* Middl. p. 229.

[g] *M. Junius Brutus* pretended to derive his name and deſcent in a direct line from that firſt Conſul *L. Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquin*, and gave freedom to the *Roman* people; and *Atticus* paid him the compliment to draw up his genealogy. But *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, and other writers, do not allow him this illuſtrious original; becauſe, for upwards of two hundred year, the *Roman* hiſtory mentions none but a Plebeian of that name, who was one of the firſt Tribunes of the people; and, when afterwards the *Brutus*'s were raiſed to the firſt dignities of the State, they were looked upon as a new race of people. However, at the time we are ſpeaking of, as this family had enjoyed, for two centuries, the firſt honours and poſts of the State, it is no wonder that the opinion favourable to the pretenſion of *Brutus* prevailed. He was now one-and-forty years old, being born in the conſulſhip of *L. Cornelius Cinna* III. and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, A. U. 668; Which fully confutes, as Dr. *Middleton* obſerves, the vulgar ſtory of his being commonly believed to be *Cæſar*'s ſon: Since he was but fifteen

years

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not otherwiſe engage in it, he immediately made him privy to it. *Brutus* entered into it readily; and we are told, that he was ſpurred on by ſeveral billets and inſcriptions, reproaching him with his inaction. In one left upon his prætorian tribunal, was written, *You are aſleep, Brutus, you are no true Brutus.* Upon the pedeſtal of the ſtatue of the elder *Brutus* were found the following words: *Would thou couldſt come to life again!* and under the ſtatue of *Cæſar*: *Brutus, for having expelled the Kings, was made the firſt Conſul; and this man, for having expelled the Conſuls, is now become our King.* *Caſſius* and *Brutus* admitted to the number of ſixty accomplices; the chief of whom were *Trebonius*, *Decimus Brutus*, *Q. Ligarius*, *Servius Galba*, *C.* and *P. Servilius Caſca*, *Tillius Cimber*, and *Minucius Baſilus*. *Plutarch*, among many other improbable circumſtances, relates, that the conſpirators had thoughts of letting *Antony* into the ſecret, who was upon very good terms with ſeveral of them; but that *Trebonius* oppoſed it, telling them that he had ſounded *Antony* at *Narbonne*, when *Cæſar* was on his return from the *Spaniſh* war, and that he very well underſtood his meaning, but did not ſeem inclined to engage with him; though he was ſure he had inviolably kept his ſecret [h]. The ſame author adds, that though *Brutus* did not think it ſafe to truſt *Cicero* with the deſign of the conſpiracy, on account of his want of reſolution, he yet mentioned it to his wife *Porcia* [i].

Suet. in Cæſ.

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years younger than *Cæſar* himſelf: whoſe familiarity with his mother *Servilia* cannot be ſuppoſed to have commenced till many years after *Brutus* was born; or not till *Cæſar* had loſt his firſt wife *Cornelia*, whom he married when he was very young, and always tenderly loved; and whoſe funeral oration he made when he was *Quæſtor*, and conſequently *thirty years old*. *Brutus*, having loſt his father when very young, was trained, with great care, by his uncle *Cato*, in all the ſtudies of polite letters, eſpecially of eloquence and philoſophy. He had excellent parts and equal induſtry, and acquired an early fame at the bar, where he pleaded ſeveral cauſes of great importance, and was eſteemed the moſt eloquent and learned of all the young nobles. His manner of ſpeaking was correct, elegant, and judicious, yet wanting that force and copiouſneſs which are required in a conſummate orator. But philoſophy was his favourite ſtudy; in which, though he profeſſed himſelf of the more moderate ſect of the *old Academy*, yet, from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the ſeverity of the *Stoic*. Whether he was a man of ſo much mildneſs, ſuch ſtrict probity, and conſummate virtue, as *Plutarch* pretends, his actions muſt evince. His credit, at this time, was due to his birth, his alliances, his talents, perhaps too his riches, which he increaſed with great application and induſtry. See Vol. III. n. 568.

[h] *Cicero*, Phil. ii. 14, affirms, that *Antony* aſſented to *Trebonius*'s propoſal —*Si interfici Cæſarem voluiſſe crimen eſt, vide, quæſo, Antoni, quid tibi futurum ſit, quem et Narbone hoc conſilium cum C. Trebonio cepiſſe notiſſimum eſt, et ob ejus conſilii ſocietatem cum interficeretur Cæſar tum te à Trebonio vidimus ſevocari. Ego autem (vide quam tecum agam non inimicè) quod benè cogitaſti aliquando, laudo: Quod non indicaſti, gratias ago: Quod non feciſti, ignoſco.*

[i] *Plutarch* tells a very pretty tale upon this occaſion, and we find it alſo in *Dio*. *Brutus*, having undertaken the management of ſo hazardous an enterpriſe, on which depended the liberty of *Rome*, and the fortunes of many virtuous and noble families, was ſo far maſter of himſelf as to preſerve an air of ſerenity during the day and in public; but, when he retired to his family, and during the night, he could not maintain the ſame ſhew of inward peace and tran-

The Conſpirators had debated whether they ſhould kill him in the *Campus Martius*, in the eyes of all the people, while he was taking their votes, at the election of the magiſtrates; or in the *Via Sacra*, or at the entrance of the Theatre, or in the Senate-houſe; and at length they determined on the laſt place, as the moſt proper, and fixed on the *ides of March* as the time when they would execute their deſign. They did not doubt but that the Senate would applaud the act when done, and even aſſiſt, if there was occaſion, in doing it[k]; and there was a circumſtance which particularly encouraged them, that it happened to be *Pompey*'s Senate-houſe, in which their attempt was to be made; and where *Cæſar* would conſequently fall at the feet of *Pompey*'s ſtatue, as a ſacrifice to the manes of that *Ariſtocratic* Chief. They took it alſo for granted that the People would be generally on their ſide; yet, for their greater ſecurity, *D. Brutus* gave orders to arm his gladiators that morning, as if for ſome public ſhew; that they might be ready, on the firſt notice, to ſecure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any ſudden violence; and *Pompey*'s theatre, which adjoined to the Senate-houſe, being the propereſt place for the exerciſe of the gladiators, would cover all ſuſpicion that might ariſe from them. The only deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided, was, whether they ſhould not kill *Antony* alſo and *Lepidus*, together with *Cæſar*; eſpecially *Antony*, who was Conſul, and the more likely to create freſh

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Plut. in Cæſ. App. ii. 499. 502. Dio, 247, 248.

tranquillity; and *Porcia* (his new wife, who had robbed *Claudia* of his heart) could eaſily perceive, that his breaſt laboured with ſome great deſign, ſome agoniſing care, which he endeavoured to conceal. As ſhe loved him tenderly, ſhe was deſirous to ſhare with him his care and trouble; but, before ſhe ventured to put any queſtion to him, ſhe reſolved to make a very extraordinary trial of her own conſtancy. She took a ſmall knife, and, having ſent her women out of the room, thruſt it into her thigh. The wound bled copiouſly, and the violent pain was quickly ſucceeded by a fever. *Brutus* was in the utmoſt conſternation, and knew not what to think. Then *Porcia*, in the extremity of her ſufferings, thus addreſſed him: "*Brutus*, I am *Cato*'s daughter, and was "given you not merely to ſhare your bed "and table as a miſtreſs, but to partake of "your good or ill fortune. Your beha-"viour to me hitherto has been irreproach-"able. But how can I ſerve you, or in "what manner can I prove my ſenſe of your "goodneſs, unleſs in aſſiſting you to ſup-"port a latent uneaſineſs, which diſturbs "your reſt? Why then am I denied your "confidence? Women, indeed, have no "great reputation for ſecrecy: But a good "education and ſuitable company have "great influence on the diſpoſitions and "tempers, even of women: And who has "a better right to make a merit of theſe "advantages, than *Cato*'s daughter and "*Brutus*'s wife? However, I rely not on "any pre-conceived opinion of my reſolu-"tion, but have, by experiment, convinced "myſelf that pain cannot ſubdue my cou-"rage." She then pointed to the wound ſhe had given herſelf, and declared, that ſhe had no other motive for putting herſelf to that torture, than to make a trial of her conſtancy. *Brutus*, tranſported with admiration, lifted his hands to heaven, and implored the immortal gods to crown his enterpriſe with ſucceſs, that he might live to be a huſband worthy of ſuch a wife: And immediately let her into the whole ſecret of the conſpiracy.

[k] If the conſpirators thought ſo, then *Cæſar* had not filled up the Senate with a very great number of *Gauls* and other *Barbarians*.

danger

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danger to the Commonwealth. *Caſſius*, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing them; but the two *Brutus's* as warmly oppoſed and finally over-ruled it: They alledged, that to ſhed more blood than was neceſſary would diſgrace their cauſe, and draw upon them an imputation of cruelty [l]; and of acting, not as patriots, but as partiſans of *Pompey*; not ſo much to free the city, as to revenge themſelves upon their enemies, and get the dominion of it into their own hands. But what weighed with them moſt was a vain perſuaſion that *Antony* would be tractable, and eaſily reconciled, as ſoon as the deed was over.

As theſe intrigues could not be conducted ſo ſecretly as not to give ſome cauſe of ſuſpicion, *Cæſar*, if we believe *Plutarch*, received information of the nightly meetings of the Conſpirators; and one day, when he was cautioned to be upon his guard againſt *Antony* and *Dolabella*, he anſwered, *It is not thoſe plump, jolly, curled fellows that I am afraid of; it is of the pale, meagre ones:* Under which deſcription he glanced at *Caſſius* and *Brutus*. *Brutus*, in particular, adds the ſame hiſtorian, appeared formidable to him, on account of his courage, ſeverity, and natural impetuoſity: But, when he reflected on his *probity* and *honour*, his apprehenſions diſappeared; and, when he was adviſed not to truſt him too far, *What*, ſaid he, clapping his hand to his breaſt, *do you think that Brutus will not ſtay till this debilitated carcaſe has finiſhed its career! Cæſar* had reſolved to truſt to fortune, and was often heard to ſay that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it; that he had lived long enough, and that, by his death, the Empire would be a greater loſer than himſelf. The very night before his aſſaſſination, being at ſupper in *Lepidus*'s houſe, he maintained, that the moſt eligible death was that which was leaſt expected.

Suet. 81. Plut. in Cæſ.

In the morning of the fatal day, we are told, that *Cæſar*, finding himſelf indiſpoſed, was inclined to put off the aſſembly; to which he is ſaid by *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* to have been likewiſe moved by many prodigies that had lately happened, and a dream that his wife *Calpurnia* had that very night, in which ſhe ſaw him ſtabbed in her boſom [m]: but *D. Brutus*, by rallying

[l] *Cicero* often laments, in his letters, this *fatal miſtake*, Ep. Fam. x. 28. Melm. xiii. 7. "Would to heaven you had invited *me* "to that noble feaſt, which you made on "the *ides of March*: No remnants, moſt "aſſuredly, ſhould have been left behind. "Whereas the part you unluckily ſpared "gives us ſo much perplexity, that we find "ſomething to regret even in the godlike "ſervice which you and your illuſtrious aſſo-"ciates have lately rendered to the Repub-"lic. To ſay the truth, when I reflect that "it is owing to the favour of ſo worthy a "man as yourſelf, that *Antony* now lives to "be our general bane; I am ſometimes in-"clined to be a little angry with you for "taking him aſide, when *Cæſar* fell."

[m] *Suetonius*'s account of the prodigies is as follows, c. 81. "*Cæſar* had warning "given him of his approaching fate by ſe-"veral plain prodigies. A few months be-"fore, when ſome of the colony which he "had ſettled at *Capua* were pulling down "ſome old ſepulchres, and were the buſier "in that work, becauſe they found ſome "veſſels of antique workmanſhip, a table "of

rallying thoſe fears as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging that his abſence would be interpreted as an affront to the aſſembly, drew him out againſt his will to meet his deſtined fate. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

M. Brutus and *Caſſius* appeared according to cuſtom in the Forum, ſitting in their prætorian tribunals to hear and determine cauſes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they ſat with the ſame calmneſs, as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of *Cæſar*'s coming out to the Senate called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act. *Plutarch*, who never fails to give us every circumſtance, that can make his relation more intereſting, whether it be founded on good authority or not, tells us, that, when *Cæſar* came out of his houſe, a ſlave endeavoured to get near and ſpeak to him; but, not having been able to pierce the crowd that attended him, he went into the houſe and deſired *Calpurnia* to ſecure him till *Cæſar*'s return, becauſe he had ſomething to communicate to him of the greateſt importance. In the way to the Senate-houſe, *Artemidorus*, a *Greek* phi- Plut. in Cæſ.

" of braſs was diſcovered in a monument " wherein *Capys*, the founder of *Capua*, was " ſaid to be buried, with an inſcription in " *Greek* words and letters, to this effect: " *That, whenever the bones of Capys came to* " *be uncovered, a deſcendant from* Iulus *would* " *be ſlain by the hands of his relations, and his* " *death revenged by dreadful devaſtations* " *throughout all Italy.* And this account, " leſt any one ſhould think it an idle ſtory, " *comes from Cornelius Balbus, an intimate* " *friend of* CÆSAR." [An excellent reaſon why it ſhould not be a forgery to raiſe the ſpirits of the veterans, and juſtify, in the eyes of the lower ſort, the vengeance of *Cæſar*'s death.] " A few days before his death " ſome horſes, which, upon his paſſing the " *Rubicon*, he had conſecrated and turned " looſe to graze without any keeper, would " take no food, and wept plentifully.—The " Soothſayer *Spurinna* warned him, as he " was ſacrificing, to look to himſelf, otherwiſe ſome miſchief would befal him before the ides of *March* were over.—The " day before the ſaid ides, birds of ſeveral " kinds, from a neighbouring grove, purſuing a wren, that flew into *Pompey*'s Senate-houſe, with a ſprig of laurel in his " bill, tore it there to pieces.—The night " before the day of his being ſlain, he " dreamed that he was got above the clouds " and ſhaking hands with *Jupiter*: And his " wife *Calpurnia* fancied in her ſleep that " the top of the houſe was coming down, " and her huſband ſtabbed in her boſom; " and immediately the chamber-doors flew " open."

Cicero, de Div. l. i. 52. l. ii. 16, relates one of the moſt remarkable prodigies ſaid to have happened at this time: " that, as " *Cæſar* was ſacrificing, a little before his " death, with great pomp and ſplendor, in " his triumphal robes and golden chair, the victim, which was a fat ox, was found to " be *without a heart*: And, when *Cæſar* " ſeemed to be ſhocked at it, *Spurinna*, the " Haruſpex, admoniſhed him to beware, " leſt, through a failure of *counſel*, his life " ſhould be cut off, ſince the heart was the " ſeat and ſource of them both. The next " day he ſacrificed again, in hopes to find " the entrails more propitious: But the liver " of the bullock appeared to *want its head*, " which was reckoned alſo among the direful omens." Theſe facts, which are ridiculed by *Cicero*, were probably invented after *Cæſar*'s death. If they really happened, they were contrived by *Cæſar*'s friends, and the heart and head of the liver conveyed away by ſome artifice, to give them a better pretence of inforcing their admonitions, and putting *Cæſar* upon his guard, againſt dangers which they really apprehended, from quite different reaſons than the pretended denunciations of the gods. *Suetonius* writes, that on this, or a like occaſion, *Cæſar*'s anſwer was, *that the entrails ſhould be more favourable when he pleaſed, and that it ought not to be looked upon as an ill omen, if a beaſt wanted a heart.*

loſopher,

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loſopher, put into his hands a paper containing a circumſtantial account of the whole plot, and ſaid to him: *Read this, and loſe no time, for it concerns you much.* This man, who aſſiſted ſeveral of *Brutus*'s friends in the proſecution of their ſtudies, had made ſeveral diſcoveries; but *Cæſar*, ſurrounded as he was by his courtiers, could not read the contents, and entered the Senate-houſe with the paper in his hand. Many circumſtances gave the Conſpirators great alarms, and put their fortitude to the teſt. An acquaintance of *Caſca* came up to him and ſaid, *You thought to be very ſecret, but Brutus has acquainted me of the whole affair.* Juſt as *Caſca* was going to make a reply which would have diſcovered all, the other added: *What then, my Friend, are you on a ſudden grown rich enough to ſtand for the Edileſhip! Caſca* ſhuddered at the danger he had eſcaped. *M. Brutus* himſelf had a moſt violent ſhock: Word was brought him that his dearly beloved *Porcia* was at the point of death: For, as the moment of her huſband's hazardous enterpriſe drew near, ſhe was ſeized with a deadly panic. *Brutus*, however, ſhewed himſelf a true deſcendant of that hero who ſacrificed his own children to the liberty of his country, and the ſame ſpirit over-ruled now in him every other affection. In fine, *Cæſar* arrives; and, as he came out of his litter, *Popilius Lænas*, a Senator, made up to him and talked with him with much earneſtneſs, and the Dictator ſeemed to give much attention to what he delivered. This *Popilius*, a little time before, had been with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and ſaid to them, *I wiſh your deſign may ſucceed, and I adviſe you not to defer it; for there are ſeveral private accounts of it.* The Conſpirators did not doubt, therefore, but that they were diſcovered and betrayed. An univerſal conſternation reigned among our intrepid aſſaſſins; they looked at each other, and agreed by ſigns not to wait till they were ſeized, but to ſtab themſelves in order to avoid the ignominy of a public execution; and already *Caſſius* and ſome others had laid their hands to their poniards; when *Brutus*, obſerving that the geſture and attitude of *Popilius* was rather that of a ſupplicant than an accuſer, perceived his error, and, by the ſerenity of his countenance, made the others underſtand that they had nothing to fear. At length *Popilius* kiſſed the Dictator's hand and withdrew.

Plut. in Cæſ.

Cæſar went forward, and a number of the Conſpirators ſurrounded and conducted him to the Curule chair: Whilſt two of them, *Decimus* and *Trebonius*, ſtopped *Antony* at the door of the Senate-houſe. As ſoon as he had taken his place, *Tillius Cimber*, who was to begin the attack upon his perſon, advanced nearer than the reſt, as if he had ſome favour to requeſt of him; and, laying hold of his gown, drew it over his ſhoulders, which was the ſign agreed upon. *This*, ſaid *Cæſar*, *is plain violence:* And he had ſcarcely pronounced theſe words, when he was wounded a little below the throat by one of the *Caſca's*. He ſeized the aſſaſſin's arm and ran it through with his *ſtyle* for writing; and, endeavouring to ruſh forward, was ſtopped by another wound, which was

afterwards judged to be the only mortal one he received. Finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides with drawn daggers at him, he wrapped up his head in his toga, and ſpread it alſo before over his legs, that he might fall the more decently; and ſo received three and twenty wounds, fetching a groan only on receiving the firſt, without uttering ſo much as one word [n]. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 40ſt Conſ.

Thus fell *Cæſar*, in the *56th* year of his age: A man, who, conſidered as a Stateſman and a Captain, may juſtly challenge the firſt place in the regiſters of mankind. He was formed to excel in peace as well as in war; was provident in council, fearleſs in action, and executed what he had once reſolved on with an amazing celerity. With the greateſt nobleneſs of birth, of perſon, and of countenance [o], he joined every great quality that can exalt human nature, and give a man the aſcendant in ſociety. He was open, ſincere, great and magnanimous in all his behaviour; faithful to his friends, and zealous to promote their intereſts [p]; generous and liberal even to profuſion to his dependents; and was diſtinguiſhed for the moſt ſingular humanity and clemency in the midſt of the greateſt provocations and examples of cruelty and revenge [q]. He was magnificent, polite, and, in reſpect of

[n] *Plutarch* ſays, that upon receiving the firſt wound, he turned upon *Caſca* in a fury, ſaying, *Wretch, what are your deſigns?* And that, notwithſtanding his loſs of blood, and the many daggers pointed at him, he raged amongſt them like a lion: But, when *M. Brutus* came upon him, he ſaid in *Greek: What, art thou one of them too, thou,* MY SON BRUTUS.

[o] He is ſaid to have been tall, of a fair complexion, round-limbed, pretty full-faced, with eyes black and lively; and very healthful, except, that, towards the end of his life, he was ſubject to ſudden ſwoonings, and to be frightened in his ſleep. He was alſo ſurpriſed twice with the falling ſickneſs in the midſt of buſineſs. In the care of his perſon, he was ſo very nice, that he had not only the hair of his head cut, but likewiſe had the hair in the other parts of his body taken up by the roots; and he is alſo ſaid to have been very particular in his dreſs; for he uſed the *latus clavus* with fringes about his hands, and looſely girded about him with an effeminate air. *Suet.* 45. *See alſo Vol. III. p.* 301.

[p] *Suetonius*, 71, 72, gives us the following inſtances of his attachment and zeal for his friends and clients.—When he was but a young man, he defended the cauſe of *Maſſintha*, a noble youth, againſt King *Hiempſal*, with ſo much keenneſs, that in the courſe of the pleading he ſeized *Juba*, the King's ſon, by the beard; and, upon his client's being declared tributary to *Hiempſal*, he immediately took him by force from thoſe who were leading him away, and kept him concealed in his houſe for a long time; and, when he went, at the expiration of his prætorſhip, for *Spain*, he carried him off with him in his litter, amidſt the confuſion produced by thoſe who were taking leave of him. When he came to have the whole power of the Commonwealth in his hands, he advanced ſome of his friends, though of very mean extraction, to the higheſt poſts in the government; and, when he was reflected upon for it, openly declared, *that, had he been aſſiſted by robbers and cut-throats, in the defence of his honour, he would have made them the ſame requital.*

[q] He could not find it in his heart to do any harm to *Cornelius Phagita*, who had trepanned him in the night, with a deſign to carry him to *Sylla*; and out of whoſe hands he did not eſcape, without much difficulty, and a great bribe. *Philemon*, his Secretary, who had promiſed his enemies to poiſon him, he cauſed to be put to death, but without torture. *Suet.* 74.

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natural endowments, learning, and eloquence, ſcarce inferior to any man[r]. He was a moſt munificent patron of wit and learning, whereſoever he found them; and, from his love for thoſe talents, would eaſily pardon ſuch as had employed them againſt him[s]. In

[r] His orations were admired for two qualities, which are ſeldom found together, *ſtrength* and *elegance*. *Cicero* ranks him among the greateſt orators that *Rome* ever bred; and *Quintilian*, X. 1, ſays, *that he ſpoke with the ſame force with which he fought; and, if he had devoted himſelf to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero.*——His Commentaries, in *Cicero*'s judgment, are *plain, neat*, and *beautiful*; and he adds, *in thus preparing his materials for ſuch as ſhould write his hiſtory, he may perhaps have encouraged ſome inferior geniuſes to undertake it, who might think to ornament it more; but has diſcouraged all men of ſenſe from meddling with it.* Nor was he maſter only of the politer arts, but converſant alſo with the moſt abſtruſe and critical parts of learning; and, among other books which he publiſhed, he addreſſed two books to *Cicero*, *On the analogy of language*, or the art of ſpeaking and writing correctly. *Philoſophy* alſo, and *poetry* ſometimes employed his leiſure; and *Suetonius* mentions a poem of his, called *Iter*, or, *the Journey*, which he wrote on his way to the *Spaniſh* war.

[s] Though *C. Memmius* had publiſhed ſome very abuſive ſpeeches againſt him, and he had anſwered them with equal ſharpneſs, yet he afterwards aſſiſted him with his vote and intereſt, when he ſtood for the conſulſhip. When *C. Calvus*, who had written ſome ſcandalous epigrams upon him, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation by the interceſſion of friends, *he wrote the firſt letter*; and when *Catullus*, for a like offence, came to beg his pardon, *he invited him to ſupper*. He alſo bore, with great moderation, a libel of *Aulus Cæcina* againſt him. This man, whoſe genius and eloquence are much extolled, was ſtill in exile in the year 707; and, to make amends for the invective he publiſhed againſt *Cæſar*, he employed himſelf in drawing up a work in which he mentioned him with honour; and, while his friends were earneſtly ſoliciting his pardon, he ſent to *Cicero* his performance, begging him to intereſt himſelf particularly in his cauſe. (*Ad Fam.* vi. 7. *Melm.* ix. 30.) "Your judicious obſervation, ſays he, has enabled you to penetrate into the receſſes of *Cæſar*'s heart; and you are acquainted with all the moſt probable methods of prevailing with him: So that each ſucceſsful ſtep that ſhall be made in this affair, from its commencement to its concluſion, muſt proceed altogether from you. I am ſenſible likewiſe that you have great intereſt with *Cæſar*, and ſtill greater with all his favourites. I doubt not then of your effecting my reſtoration, if you will exert yourſelf for that purpoſe.—With regard to the book my ſon will deliver to you, I intreat you either not to ſuffer it to be publiſhed, or to correct it in ſuch a manner, that it may not appear to my diſadvantage." *Cicero*'s anſwer is much to *Cæſar*'s honour: (*Ad Fam.* vi. 5. *Melm.* ix. 32.) —— "I have read your performance, and ſtill continue to read it, with much attention; as I ſhall preſerve it with the greateſt fidelity. Your affairs, indeed, of every kind, are my principal concern; and I have the pleaſure to ſee them every day appear with a more and more favourable aſpect. You have many friends, who contribute their good offices for this purpoſe; of whoſe zeal your ſon, I am perſuaded, has already acquainted you, as well as of his own hopes, that their endeavours will prove effectual. In regard to what may be collected from appearances, I do not pretend to diſcern more than, I am perſuaded, you ſee yourſelf: But, as you may reflect upon them, perhaps, with greater diſcompoſure of mind, I think it proper to give you my ſentiments concerning them. Believe me then, it is impoſſible, from the nature and circumſtances of public affairs, that either you, or your companions in adverſity, ſhould long remain under your preſent misfortunes: Yes, my friend, it is impoſſible that ſo ſevere an injury ſhould continue to oppreſs the honeſt advocates of ſo good a cauſe. But my hopes are particularly ſtrong with reſpect to yourſelf: Not merely in conſideration of your rank and virtues, (for theſe you poſſeſs in common with many others) *but particularly from your ſingular learning and genius. The*

man,

In all the military qualifications he had no ſuperior; and no General ever acquired to ſuch a degree the eſteem and affection of his ſoldiers. In riding, in throwing the javelin, and in every exerciſe, he poſſeſſed a ſingular dexterity; and he was able to endure fatigue beyond all credibility. He uſed to march commonly at the head of his troops, bare-headed, both in foul and fair weather; and to ſwim over the rivers which obſtructed his way. In his expeditions he was daring, but cautious; and never marched an army without uſing every poſſible precautions againſt ſurpriſes. He was never diſcouraged from any enterpriſe, nor retarded in the proſecution of it, by ill omens: He engaged in battle, not only after previous deliberation, but often on a ſudden, when opportunities offered, after a march, or in ſtormy weather, when nobody could imagine he would move: And on all occaſions he behaved with the greateſt intrepidity and reſolution; inſomuch, that the ſerenity of his countenance was, often, in the moſt imminent dangers, the chief ſupport of the courage of his troops. Juſt and impartial to his officers and ſoldiers, he treated them with an equal ſeverity and indulgence; when the enemy was near, exacting the ſtricteſt diſcipline; but, on other occaſions, excuſing them from all duty, and leaving them to revel at pleaſure. His ſoldiers, he uſed to boaſt, did not fight the worſe for being perfumed. In his ſpeeches to them, he called them always *Comrades*; and he ornamented their arms with gold and ſilver, that they might make the finer appearance, and be the more tenacious of them in battle. He loved them to that degree, that, when he heard of the diſaſter of his troops under *Titurius Sabinus*, he neither cut his hair nor ſhaved his beard, till he had revenged it upon the enemy; by which means he inſpired them with a mutual affection for his perſon, and an invincible bravery. They never mutinied during the whole courſe of the *Gallic* war; and, when they were guilty of it during the *civil* war, we have ſeen how quickly he brought them back to their duty, by his authority. In his civil capacity he was directed by great and extenſive views: The acts of his conſulſhip, which the Ariſtocracy ſo vigorouſly oppoſed, were all wiſe and tending to the public good: And, when he was maſter of the Empire in quality of Perpetual Dictator, he diſcovered in all his undertakings the moſt general benevolence.

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When we contemplate the virtues of this great man, and think of the great deſigns he had formed, it is impoſſible not to regret his death; and when we call to mind, that, of thoſe who were the leaders in the conſpiracy againſt him, ſome had been indebted to him for their lives,

"*man, in whoſe power we all of us are,*
"*holds theſe ſhining qualities in much eſteem:*
"*And, I am well aſſured, you would not have*
"*remained even a ſingle moment in your preſent ſituation, if he had not imagined himſelf wounded by thoſe talents he admires.*
"His reſentment, however, ſeems daily
"cooling; and it has been intimated to
"me, by ſome of his moſt particular friends,
"that you will undoubtedly find advantage
"in the high opinion he has conceived of
"your abilities."

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and others had been loaded by him with honours; we cannot but charge them with the baſeſt ingratitude for having killed their benefactor. But *Cicero* was of a different opinion: He ſaid, "*That the* "*public was the more indebted to them on theſe accounts; and that, as to the* "*kindneſs of giving them their lives, it was the kindneſs only of a robber,* "*who had firſt done them the greater wrong: That, if there had been any* "*ſtain of ingratitude in the act, they could never have acquired ſo much* "*glory by it; and though he wondered indeed at ſome of them for doing it,* "*rather than ever imagined, that they would have done it; yet he admired* "*them ſo much the more, for being regardleſs of favours, that they might* "*ſhew their regard to their country.*" And he tells his friend *Atticus*, "that he was preſent at the death of *Cæſar* in the *Senate*; *where he had* "*the pleaſure to ſee the tyrant periſh as he deſerved.*"

Middl. p. 240.

Ad Att. xiv. 14.

Theſe ſentiments have been well combated by a judicious author; and I cannot do better than tranſcribe what he has ſaid upon the occaſion:

Cibber, p. 219.

"Who can ſee *Cæſar* fall with this *Ciceronian* ſtain upon him? Had "this expreſſion come from the mouth of a malignant *Caſſius*, little had "it ſurpriſed us; but from the mild morality of a *Cicero*, that *Cicero* "too, who, when under his protection, had looked on him in ſo different a view; when, not only his eloquence, but his excellent poetry "had been inſpired with the praiſes of this very *tyrant* whom now he "vilifies and depreciates. In this light, I ſay, it calls for farther expoſ- "tulation. Whence then theſe jarring ſentiments? Was *Cicero* or "*Cæſar* altered, that the one could give, or the other merit, ſuch diffe- "rent terms of praiſe or cenſure? *Could that Cæſar deſerve to periſh as a* "*tyrant*, whom *Cicero* had allowed to have taken up arms *with no other* "*view than to defend himſelf from injuries?* or could ſuch an inſult from "*Cicero* be due to the aſhes of a man, whoſe clemency he had ſo lately "taſted, and ſo gratefully had celebrated? If *Cicero* then was a flatterer "when he offered theſe praiſes to *Cæſar*, why are we not equally to diſ- "believe him, when he blackens or loads him with invectives? *Cæſar*, "with all his imputed tyranny, is, in every part but power, ſo unlike "the hideous wretch we call a tyrant, that the name finds no reception "among the viſible virtues it here injuriouſly breaks in upon. Every "act and motion of him ſo rejects the infamy, that he ſeems *a Genius* "*rather formed to lead a ruined people into happineſs, than to drive them* "*into ſlavery.*

"Were we to look upon *Cæſar* as a fierce uſurper, who, with an un- "warning violence, had ſeized upon the public liberty, and had torn "to pieces the happineſs and quiet of a well-ſettled government, then, "indeed, might the *pleaſure Cicero* conceived in ſeeing him periſh be "allowed to flow from the laudable paſſion of a *Patriot*. But, as hiſtory "has not ſet *Cæſar* in quite ſo deteſtable a light, nor yet the injured

" liberty of *Rome* in ſo clear a one, why may we not look with a com- Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43.
" plaining eye upon this Patriot *pleaſure* of *Cicero?*——

" Was *Cæſar* an enemy to his country, becauſe he was Dictator; 408 Conf.
" and, upon the ground of his ambition, ſhall we juſtify the Conſpira-
" tors, and pronounce that he deſerved the fate which befel him? His Cibber, p. 222.
" ambition might have gone beyond the ambition of others, who
" were viſible candidates for the tyranny complained of; yet the public,
" at leaſt, were, or might have been, gainers in their preference of ſo
" meritorious a maſter, who, though his *will* gave laws to the *Roman*
" world, yet his laws were no reproach to his *will.* Nor could even the
" Conſpirators ſay they would have governed better than *Cæſar* did, when,
" out of themſelves, he had choſen the principal magiſtrates. What
" then did *Cæſar* take from them that was ſo dear to them, unleſs it
" were *the liberty of ſo frequently breaking thoſe wholſome laws which their*
" *wiſer anceſtors had made for their ſecurity? All the real hardſhips they*
" *ſuffered from him was the loſs of that little care they took to ſee them*
" *obeyed*; and could the redreſs of this grievance be a new grievance?
" When particular men grew too big for the *old* laws, was it not rather
" a remedy than a diſeaſe, that *Cæſar*, by giving *new laws*, grew too
" ſtrong for the ſtouteſt of theſe Republican tyrants? If their own ad-
" miniſtration could have kept them within bounds, they had not
" wanted a *Cæſar* to repair the fences they had broke through: In this
" then *Cæſar* leſs deſerved to be called the wolf than the ſhepherd.

" *The crime complained of in Cæſar is not of the ſame kind of treaſon as* Id. p. 244.
" *that of a ſubject, who ſeizes on the throne of his lawful Prince, and then*
" *ſteps into it himſelf. No, Cæſar*" [ſuppoſing him an *uſurper* for hav-
ing accepted, from the Senate and people, of the dictatorſhip] " *uſurped*
" *only upon uſurpers, upon a corrupted government, under which the Roman*
" *liberty had long groaned, even before the Triumvirate had inſulted it*; for,
" in the diffuſed tyranny of many, *Cæſar*, at worſt, made but one in
" ſcarce leſs than a hundred; and, when thoſe licentious rulers were re-
" duced to three, (of which it is true *Cæſar*, in his own defence,
" ſtill thought fit to make *one*, and found at laſt he had no other way
" to be intirely ſafe, than by being the *only one*) *he had juſt as good a*
" *right to take the reins of government from the other two, as the united*
" *three had to take them from hundreds.*——

" But, alas! to the lawleſs and the tumultuous, ſo dear had been the Id. p. 223.
" headſtrong liberty of confounding, ſo ſweet were the acquiſitions of
" party violence and prevalent corruption, that the dull dreaming peace
" and ſurfeiting plenty, which *Cæſar* had reſtored to them (becauſe
" *Cæſar*, it ſeems, had no *right* to beſtow them) were to paſs rather for
" injuries than bleſſings, and equally deſerving an exemplary revenge
" or puniſhment. Admitting now we were to receive all this as unde-
" niable reaſon, and that *Cæſar*, with all his benefits and great qualities,
" was ſtill a grievance, becauſe he was thought, or called ſo; *yet, where*

" *ſhall*

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" *ſhall we find thoſe honeſt, injured Romans*, who had this abſolute and unqueſtionable right to complain that he had either offered violence to their virtue or their innocence? *Was it the uncorrupted magiſtrates, the Senate, or the people, or the collective body of them all*, that inſpired theſe Patriot conſpirators to revenge the general injury? It could not, ſure, be *the legal government*; that had long, long before, been torn to pieces by a ſucceſſion of civil broils and factions, of which the uſurpations of *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, and a train of ſuch pious menders of the ſtate, had been too flagrant inſtances.—Had he *injured the people?* Neither; he had aſſerted and recovered their rights, and had charmed them with his magnanimity, for which they loved, and therefore more willingly obeyed him.—But might not theſe ſervices be purely political? Were they not all outſide; with no other view in his heart, than firſt to make fools, and then ſlaves of them? But why this inſinuation? why this preſumptuous imputation upon a juſt action? or why ſo hard a reſtraint upon virtue, that ſhe is never to act when any incidental benefit to the agent, beyond the merit of the deed, may be joined to it? Muſt the public too be ſufferers, becauſe a private account may be found in relieving them? This may be an argument with thoſe who will ſuffer none to do good to the public but themſelves, and that in their own way too. But the laws of virtue are more favourable; they tolerate all actions of public ſpirit, nor ſuffer them to be diſcountenanced, though ſure that ſuch an imputation were to lie upon the duty or the merit of them. *Hard were the fate of Cæſar, if ſuggeſtions might invalidate his virtue! No, ſuggeſtions ſhall not ſo much as caſt a ſhade over the Conſpirators; their private paſſions, their blind revenge, their ingratitude and their envy, need not the weak aſſiſtance of inſinuated guilt to piece and patch out a complaint againſt them.* The caſe of *Cæſar* and of his aſſaſſins can never be decided, if any evidence leſs than fact is admitted on either ſide.—Let us hear, then, *what the Senate has to complain of.* What, all ſilent! Has *Cæſar* made it up with *them* too? Is he to be acquitted by a *volenti non fit injuria?* Have they with *open eyes* compounded with his tyranny, and made the empire of the world *his purchaſe?* This indeed were a moſt enormous corruption! Sure they could not but impeach him for it! No, they rather choſe to load him with honours and unlimited power, found their liberties ſafer in his lap than in their own unruly hands, ſtyled him *Imperator*, with the higher diſtinction of *Father of his Country.* Such was *their* reſentment, ſuch their grievances, and ſuch their remedy. Was then this mighty work of their own hands, this monument of power, erected only to teſtify and commemorate, or to redreſs and heal their calamities? *For healed they certainly were, till, from the freſh wounds of Cæſar, broke forth a worſe calamity, a fatal civil war, that never ended till Roman Liberty was no more.* Where then ſhall we find theſe yet undiſcovered

Cibber, p. 224.

" ſuffer-

" ferings from *Cæſar, unleſs in the dark, vindictive boſoms of the Conſpi-* Y. R. 709.
" *rators?* There, indeed, we ought to ſuppoſe them more grievouſly ty- Bef. Chr.
" rannical, becauſe ſo dreadful, ſo vaunted, a vengeance reſented them. 43.
" And yet it has never been known, that their particular complaints were 708 Conſ.
" diſtinguiſhed by any greater hardſhip than what was offered in com-
" mon to the reſt of the quieted *Roman* people.

" Were we to give up all that is aſked of us, that *Cæſar*, to the eyes
" of *Brutus* and his aſſociates, appeared a tyrant; even in that view
" can we juſtify the aſſaſſins? Have laws, either divine or human, or- Cibber, p.
" dained *aſſaſſination* to be the puniſhment of any crime whatſoever? 231.
" Were the Conſpirators to be at once the judges and the executioners?
" Nor do we find that any public act had deputed them to be the public
" avengers: The greateſt of them were but *ſelf-commiſſioned*, and in that,
" at beſt, but *a ſort of ſecret uſurpers of the public authority.*

" And yet ſo farther unfortunate is their cauſe, *that of all people theſe* Id. p. 226.
" *were leſs qualified for ſo high an office than (from the higheſt to the loweſt)*
" *were the moſt offended Romans.* For, though obligations and favours
" ſo lately accepted from him could not make them *grateful*, they might,
" at leaſt, have made them *merciful* to *Cæſar*. But, alas! ſo it was,
" the provinces he had aſſigned to ſome, and the greateſt poſts of dig-
" nity to others, had availed him nothing. *The arrogant preſumption of*
" *being generous, juſt, and gentle to his foes and fellow-citizens, was, to*
" *their jealous honour, ſuch a ſtinging provocation, ſuch a triumph of ſmiling*
" *pride and inſolence, as could never be forgiven or got over, but by the de-*
" *termined death of the diſtributor. What a Tyrant! What Patriots!*
" *Were not this enough to make our judgment ſicken, when ſo bold, ſo weak,*
" *ſo wicked a cauſe is before us?* But let us not too haſtily give ſentence.
" Perhaps, the warmer advocates for liberty, the Patriot abhorrers of
" *Cæſar*, may think it a narrowneſs of mind in us to ſuppoſe his plau-
" ſible acts of benevolence and bounty ought to have excited a ſenſe of
" gratitude in the *uncorrupted* ſpirit of a *Roman*; and that it is more a
" call for our admiration, than our reproach, that theſe valiant cham-
" pions of the public rather choſe to plunge their daggers in his heart,
" in ſcorn of his obligations, than to be meanly merciful at the price of
" their honour. And yet, methinks, *the heroic ſpirit of theſe Patriots*
" *had not been leſs brave or noble, had it previouſly refuſed theſe bribes of*
" *Cæſar; the ſcorn ſhould have preceded the acceptance, but the pride was*
" *debaſed that came after it.* Then, too, with a better grace, they might
" have drawn their daggers, not upon their acknowledged benefactor,
" but their enemy avowed.

" But however, though we cannot eaſily get over this weakneſs of Id. p. 227.
" thinking them *ungrateful*, yet if we are ſtill ſo juſt as to allow this
" animated enterpriſe, or this glorious vengeance, (if we muſt call it ſo)
" the utmoſt merit it can lay claim to, if we conſciouſly confeſs (for
" ſure they can aſk no more of us) *that to ſacrifice our private intereſts*

" *to*

V. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 45. 48 Conf.

" *to the public good is the higheſt merit that human virtue can aſpire to.* Yet " let *the public good* (the declared motive of the Conſpirators) *be at leaſt* " *as viſible to us as the ſacrificed intereſt*; let us be ſure we are within " ſight of the one, and not blinded by the other: Firſt, let us be mo- " rally convinced that the *death of Cæſar could be the cure* of all the pub- " lic complaints; that it was as infallible, as it was the only one to " which the redreſs of this injured liberty was limited: For, if the Re- " public was in no wiſe relieved by it, how unſkilful or how inhuman " muſt have been the application of ſo violent a remedy? *What then* " *ſhall we call it but a more deſperate act of tyranny than ever Cæſar, in* " *all his courſe of ambition, committed?*

Cibber, p. 231.

" *If, indeed,* BRUTUS *could have eradicated or ſubdued the whole* ROMAN " *ambition, or have turned faction into virtue,* then, perhaps, liberty might " have aroſe from this particular ſacrifice; but, from ſo unprofitable an " expedient *to expect the cure of a national contagion, by putting only one in-* " *fected perſon to death; how wild! how vain! how inviſible the hope!* " And, though we ought not to judge of attempts by their ſucceſs or " failure, yet, when the hope of ſucceſs has ſo ill a foundation, what " but an imaginary caſtle could be built upon it? Nay, the very people, " whoſe cauſe theſe Conſpirators pretended to aſſert, choſe rather, by " their compaſſionate clamours for vengeance on the murderers of *Cæ-* " *ſar*, to ſuſpend their liberty, than to enjoy it by a baſe and cruel con- " nivance at their eſcape. Strong, very ſtrong, muſt have been the Re- " publican grievances, when they rather choſe to be ſettled ſlaves their " own way, than to feel, (as they had done) in ſo many violent magiſ- " trates, ſo many galling, griping, grinding maſters. A provocation " which, in later governments, has ſhewn us, that revenge may be " ſometimes ſweeter than liberty.

" To proceed then, let it be clear to us *that under the cauſe of Liberty* " *were concealed no private paſſions, no ſtimulating pride, no lurking envy,* " *that moulded this conſpiracy to the dreadful form it came out in:* For, as " hiſtory ſet a mark of more than ſuſpicion on their principal, as *Caſſius* " was more known to have hated the perſon than the tyranny of *Cæ-* " *ſar*, it will add but very little to the honour of their cauſe to ſay his " accomplices were *impoſed* upon, or that the artful management of this " turbulent ſpirit had made it a darling point of glory to break through " their bonds, both of private and of public gratitude, in clearing their " way to the heart of *Cæſar*. However pompous the pretence might " be, it will be hard to prove, that it had either conſcience, honour, " or the moſt diſtant hope of honeſt, luſty Liberty to build upon.

Id. p. 229.

" But now we are to ſtand a ſtronger oppoſition; the honour and in- " tegrity of a *Brutus* now riſes to diſarm our mercy for *Cæſar*, and to " vindicate his death. *If Brutus thought no ties, not even the love that* " *Cæſar bore him, were of equal value to the cauſe of Liberty; if Brutus* " *choſe to make his friend and benefactor fall a victim to the public juſtice;*

" *if*

" *if ſuch a man of ſo immaculate a character was of this Patriot-party,* " *ſhall not the ſanction of ſo great a name hang immortal praiſes on their* " *memory?* Y.R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

" Such, indeed, have been the encomiums which the learned have " ſometimes heaped upon him, and which even the friends of *Cæſar* " have not totally refuſed him."—But, how far we are to be led by the authority of *Brutus*, how far he deſerves theſe high encomiums, the following hiſtory will ſhew. Hitherto he has certainly made no figure as a man of honour and virtue.

CHAP. XII.

The general conſternation of the Senate, Conſul, and People, upon the death of Cæſar. *The treaty between* Antony *and the Conſpirators.* Antony's *artful management. The Conſpirators are obliged to leave* Rome. Antony *gathers an army about him, and diſpoſes of every thing according to his pleaſure.* Sextus Pompey *makes his peace by the mediation of* Lepidus, *and is declared Admiral of the Republic.* Octavius *appears upon the ſtage, is thwarted by* Antony *in every thing, raiſes an army to make good his claim, courts the Senate and* Antony's *enemies, whom he protects.* Antony *ſets out from* Rome *to take poſſeſſion of* Ciſalpine Gaul, *and beſieges* D. Brutus *in* Mutina. *He is followed by young* Octavius, *who, at* Cicero's *motion, is authoriſed by the Senate to raiſe troops, and make war againſt* Antony.

THE Conſpirators had no ſooner finiſhed their work, than *Brutus*, lifting up his bloody dagger, congratulated the Senate, and *Cicero* [t] in particular, on the recovery of their liberty, and eſſayed to Middl. p. 244.

[t] *Middl.* p. 244. " This gave *Antony* a " pretence to charge him afterwards in pub- " lic with *being privy to the conſpiracy, and* " *the principal adviſer of it:* But it is cer- " tain that he was not at all acquainted with " it: For, though he had the ſtricteſt friend- " ſhip with the chief actors, and they the " greateſt confidence in him, yet his age, " character, and dignity rendered him whol- " ly unfit to bear a part in an attempt of " that nature; and to embark himſelf in " an affair ſo deſperate, with a number of " men, who, excepting a few of their Lead- " ers, were all either too young to be truſted, " or too obſcure even to be known by him. " He could have been of little or no ſervice " to them in the execution of the act, yet of " much greater in juſtifying it afterwards to " the city, for having had no ſhare in it, nor " any perſonal intereſt to make his authority " ſuſpected. *Theſe were the true reaſons,* " *without doubt, why Brutus and Caſſius did* " *not impart the deſign to him.* Had it been " from any other motive, as ſome writers " have ſuggeſted; or had it admitted any " interpretation injurious to his honour; he " muſt have been often reproached with it " by *Antony* and his other adverſaries of " thoſe times, who were ſo ſtudious to in- " vent and propagate every calumny that " could depreſs his credit." [Surely *Cicero* was known for a coward, and *Plutarch* is in the right to ſay this was a good reaſon not to make him privy to the deſign.] " I can- " not, however, entirely acquit him of be- " ing in ſome degree acceſſary to the death of

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Phil. ii. 12.

make a ſpeech to them upon the occaſion; but the Senators, ſeized with aſtoniſhment at ſo daring an attempt, after they had been mute ſpectators of the deed, ruſhed out of the Senate-houſe, and *Cicero* with them; as if they were all afraid of the ſame fate. *Antony*, who had indeed ſome reaſon to be apprehenſive, took refuge in a neighbouring houſe; and, throwing off all the marks of his conſular dignity, ſtole away to his own, where he ſtrongly barricaded himſelf. The Conſpirators, diſappointed by the timid behaviour of the Senators, addreſſed themſelves to the People, and, marching out in a body, with *a cap*, the ſign of liberty, *carried before them on a ſpear*, proceeded in a calm and orderly manner through the Forum, where, in the firſt heat of joy, ſeveral of the young nobility, who had borne no part in the conſpiracy, joined themſelves to the company with ſwords in their hands, out of an ambition to be thought partners in the act; but they afterwards paid dear for that vanity, and were involved in the ruin it drew upon all the reſt. *Brutus* deſigned to have ſpoken to the people from the *Roſtra*; but, perceiving them to be in too great an agitation to attend to ſpeeches; being uncertain too what turn the popular humour might take, and knowing there were great numbers of *Cæſar*'s old ſoldiers in the city, who had been ſummoned from all parts to attend him to the *Parthian* war; he thought proper, with his accomplices, to take refuge in the *Capitol*, which he ſeized on by the aſſiſtance of *Decimus*'s gladiators, on pretence of returning thanks to *Jupiter*. The dead body of *Cæſar* was left in the Senate-houſe, where, after it had been viewed by thoſe

Plut. in Cæſ.

Appian, 503. Dio, p. 250. Plut. in Cæſ. et Brut.

" of *Cæſar*; for it is evident, from ſeveral " of his letters, that he had an expecta- " tion of ſuch an attempt, and from what " quarter it would come; and not only ex- " pected, but wiſhed it: He propheſied ve- " ry early, *that Cæſar's reign could not laſt* " *ſix months, but muſt neceſſarily fall, either* " *by violence or of itſelf; and hoped to live to* " *ſee it.* Ad Att. x. 8. " He knew the diſ- " affection of the greateſt and beſt of the ci- " ty: Which they expreſſed with great free- " dom in their letters, and with much more " we may imagine in their private conver- " ſation: He knew the fierce and haughty " ſpirit of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and their im- " patience of a maſter; and cultivated a " ſtrict correſpondence with them both at " this time, as if for the opportunity of ex- " citing them to ſome act of vigour. On " the news that *Atticus* ſent him, of *Cæ-* " *ſar*'s image being placed in the temple of " *Quirinus*, adjoining to that of the goddeſs " *Salus, I had rather*, ſays he, *have him the* " *comrade of Romulus, than of the goddeſs of* " *Safety*, ad Att xii. 15: referring to *Ro-* " *mulus*'s fate of being killed by the Sena- " tors. In another letter (*ad Att.* xiii. 40.) " it ſeems to be intimated, that *Atticus* and " he had been contriving, or talking at leaſt " together, how *Brutus* might be ſpirited " up to ſome attempt of that kind, by ſet- " ting before him the fame and glory of his " anceſtors: *Does Brutus then tell us*, ſays " he, *that Cæſar brings with him glad ti-* " *dings to honeſt men? Where will he find* " *them, unleſs he hangs himſelf? But how ſe-* " *curely is he now intrenched on all ſides?* " *What uſe then of your fine invention*; *the* " *picture of old Brutus and Ahala, with the* " *verſes under, which I ſaw in your gallery?* " *Yet what, after all, can he do?* One can- " not help obſerving, likewiſe, in his pieces " addreſſed about this time to *Brutus*, how " artfully he falls into a lamentation of the " times, and of the particular unhappineſs " of *Brutus* himſelf in being deprived by " them of all the hopes and uſe of his great " talents; putting him in mind at the ſame " time of his *double deſcent* from anceſtors " who had acquired immortal glory by deli- " vering *Rome* from ſervitude." See the concluſion of his treatiſe *on famous Orators*.

who had the curioſity and courage to venture in, it was put into a litter by three of his ſlaves, and carried to his houſe, one arm dangling out of the window. The Conſpirators, being ſecure in the *Capitol* from any immediate violence, ſummoned the people thither in the afternoon; and *Brutus*, in a ſpeech to them which he had before prepared, juſtified his conduct, explained the motives of it, and, in a pathetic manner, exhorted them to exert themſelves in the defence of their country, and to maintain the liberty now offered to them againſt all the abettors of the late tyranny. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſt.

When the Senators ſaw that all was calm, ſeveral of them ventured up to the Capitol in the evening, and *Cicero* among the reſt; who tells us that his advice was, "that *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, as Prætors, ſhould call "the Senate into the Capitol, and proceed to ſome vigorous decrees "for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity:" But *Brutus* and his accomplices were for proceeding calmly, and with all due reſpect to the authority of the Conſul; and, having conceived hopes of *Antony*, propoſed ſending a deputation to him, to exhort him to meaſures of peace [u]. *Antony*, who had no thoughts of peace, but whoſe buſineſs it was by diſſimulation to gain time, profeſſed a ſincere inclination to it, and ſeemed to have no other deſire than to ſee the Republic ſettled again on its old baſis; and he pretended that he had brought *Lepidus* into the ſame meaſures. *Lepidus* was at this time in the ſuburbs of *Rome* at the head of a legion, ready to depart for the government of *Spain*, which together with a part of *Gaul*, had been aſſigned him by *Cæſar*. In the night, therefore, after *Cæſar*'s death, he brought his troops into the field of *Mars*, and, ſenſible of his ſuperiority, began to think of making Ad Att. xiv. 10.

[u] This is looked upon as a falſe ſtep, and *Cicero*, in his ſecond *Philippic*, c. 35, and in his letters to *Atticus*, xiv. 10, ſays he remonſtrated againſt it, nor could be prevailed with to bear a part in it: He ſays, he told them plainly, "that there could be no ſafe "treaty with him; that, as long as he was "afraid of them, he would promiſe every "thing; but, when his fears were over, he "would be like himſelf, and perform no-"thing: So that, while the other conſular "Senators were going backwards and for-"wards in this office of mediation, he ſtuck "to his point, and ſtaid with the reſt in "the Capitol, and did not ſee *Antony* for the "two firſt days." But it muſt be conſidered, 1. That, were it poſſible to bring things about by peaceable meaſures, that way undoubtedly was the beſt. 2. That *Antony* and *Lepidus* had really more ſtrength in their hands than the Senate, and, if provoked to exert it, might very eaſily deſtroy them all, or force them to fly out of the city. 3. That, among the other Senators, *Dolabella*, who claimed the conſulſhip, went up alſo to the Capitol, and there appeared very zealous for a reconciliation. 4. It was not poſſible to foreſee the events that followed, and *Brutus* and his friends had particular reaſons to entertain a better opinion of *Antony*. Dr. *Middleton* tells us, p. 254. "*Cæſar* had uſed him roughly on ſeveral "occaſions, and they knew his reſentment "of it, and that he had been engaged by "*Trebonius*, on *Cæſar*'s laſt return from "*Spain*, in a deſign againſt his life: And, "though he did not perform that engage-"ment, yet they thought it an obligation, "as well as a proof of his continuing in the "ſame mind that he had not diſcovered it: "Which was the reaſon for their ſparing "him when *Cæſar* was killed, and of *Tre-"bonius*'s taking him aſide, on pretence of "buſineſs, leſt his behaviour on that occa-"ſion might provoke them to kill him too."

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ. himſelf maſter of the city, and taking immediate revenge on the Conſpirators: And *Dio* ſays, that by break of day he harangued the people againſt them. What *Lepidus* propoſed might eaſily have been put in execution, but *Antony* diverted him from that deſign, and managed him agreeably to his own views. His authority and forces he made uſe of to harraſs and terrify the oppoſite party till he had driven the Conſpirators out of the city: And, when he had ſerved his purpoſes with him at home, he contrived to ſend him to his government to keep the provinces and Commanders abroad in due ſubjection to them; and that, by being ſtationed with his army in *Gaul*, he might be ready for any event which ſhould require his help in *Italy*. *Antony*, to render their union the firmer, and at the ſame time to humour his vanity, gave his daughter in marriage to *Lepidus*'s ſon, and aſſiſted him to ſeize the *High-prieſthood*, vacant by *Cæſar*'s death, without regard to the ordinary forms of election.

Middl. p. 253. The next day paſſed in mutual aſſurances from both ſides of their diſpoſition to concord and amity: And *Plutarch* ſays, that *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ventured down into the Forum, and were heard with ſilence and reſpect from the Roſtra: But that *L. Cornelius Cinna*, one of the Prætors, beginning to ſpeak and accuſe *Cæſar*, they broke out into ſuch a ſudden rage that the Conſpirators thought fit to withdraw again into the Capitol: Where *Brutus*, expecting to be beſieged, diſmiſſed the moſt eminent of thoſe who had followed him thither, not thinking it juſt that thoſe, who were not partakers of the deed, ſhould ſhare in the danger.

Plut. in Brut. *Antony* ſummoned the Senate on the third day to adjuſt the conditions of the agreement with the Conſpirators, and confirm them by ſome ſolemn act. *Antony*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero* are ſaid to have made ſtudied orations much to the ſatisfaction of the houſe. *Cicero* moved the aſſembly in the firſt place, after the example of *Athens*, to decree a general amneſty, or act of oblivion for all that was paſſed, to which they unanimouſly agreed. *Antony* ſeemed to be all goodneſs, talked of nothing but of healing meaſures; and, for a proof of his ſincerity, moved, "that the Conſpirators ſhould be invited to take part in their deliberations, and ſent his ſon as an hoſtage for their ſafety:" Upon which they all came down from the Capitol: And *Brutus* ſupped with *Lepidus*; *Caſſius* with *Antony*.

There were ſeveral things however very artfully propoſed and carried by *Antony* on pretence of public concord, of which he made afterwards a moſt pernicious uſe; particularly a decree *for the confirmation of all Cæſar's acts*; which propoſition was ſupported by all thoſe who either were actually in office, or were named to be magiſtrates of the following years. But this motion was ſuſpected by many, who oppoſed it for

Philip. i. 1. ſome time, calling upon *Antony* to explain it, and to ſpecify how far it was to extend: He aſſured them, that no other acts were meant than what were known to every body, and entered publicly on *Cæſar*'s regiſter:

ter: They aſked, if any perſons were to be reſtored from exile? He ſaid, only one, and no more: Whether any immunities were granted to cities or countries? He anſwered, none; and conſented that it ſhould paſs with a reſtriction, propoſed by *Servius Sulpicius*, that no grant, which was to take place after the *Ides of March*, ſhould be ratified. This was generally thought ſo reaſonable, and *Antony*'s ſeeming candour made ſuch an impreſſion, that thoſe who ſaw the miſchief of it durſt not venture to oppoſe it: Eſpecially, as there was a precedent for it in the caſe of *Sylla*; and as it was ſuppoſed to relate chiefly to the veteran ſoldiers, whom it was not poſſible to oblige, or keep in good humour, without confirming the privileges and poſſeſſions which *Cæſar* had granted to them. In favour of the Conſpirators, it was added, *that this was enacted for the ſake of the public tranquillity*. In fine, it was reſolved that *Cæſar*'s funeral ſhould be ſolemnized at the public expence. All this had been agreed to before by *Brutus*: Though *Caſſius* had oppoſed the laſt article, and *Atticus* had warned his friends of the dangerous conſequences of it, maintaining that all was loſt, if the tyrant received thoſe honours. *Dolabella*, whom *Cæſar*, upon his intended expedition to *Parthia*, had deſigned and nominated to the conſulſhip, now ſeized the enſigns of that office; and, though *Antony* had proteſted againſt that deſignation, and reſolved to obſtruct its effect, he now quietly received him, and acknowledged him as his collegue.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Ad Att. xiv. 10. & xiv.

The day following *Antony* received the thanks of the Senate for his prudent and peaceable behaviour; and ſome hiſtorians tell us, that the greateſt provinces of the Empire were decreed to the Conſpirators; to *Brutus*, *Macedonia*; to *Caſſius*, *Syria*; to *Trebonius*, *Aſia*; to *Tullius Cimber*, *Bithynia*; and that *D. Brutus* was confirmed in the government of *Ciſalpine Gaul*. This would have been putting into the hands of the Conſpirators the chief forces of the Empire; and, if ſo, it is hard to imagine that *Antony* had at this time any view of raiſing a civil war. But *Syria* and *Macedonia* were not decreed to *Caſſius* and *Brutus* till *Antony* was declared a public enemy.

App. B. Civ. l. iii.

This calm was but of ſhort duration; for, *Cæſar*'s will being opened at the houſe of *Antony*, it was found that *Cæſar* made his ſiſter's grand-children his heirs; young *Octavius* for the three quarters of his eſtate, and *Q. Pedius*, with *L. Pinarius*, for the remaining quarter. In the concluſion he adopted *Octavius*. Several of the Conſpirators were named tutors to his ſon, in caſe he had one; and, in failure of his firſt heirs, *D. Brutus* was named to the ſucceſſion of his eſtate. He bequeathed his gardens near the *Tiber* to the public, and three hundred ſeſterces to every *Roman* citizen; which greatly contributed to awaken the people's affection towards him. They declared, that a man ſo generous, and who had given ſuch proofs of his tenderneſs to his fellow-citizens, could not be a tyrant; and the favourable ſentiments they entertained of him manifeſted themſelves ſoon after at his funeral.

A lit-

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

A little temple, all glittering with gold, was built in the form of that dedicated to *Venus the Mother*, before the Roſtra; and in this temple his body was placed, on an ivory bed, covered with a gold and purple cloth. At his head roſe a trophy, upon which hung the robe in which he was killed. At the ſame time, in the *Campus Martius*, near the ſepulchre of *Julia*, was raiſed a pile for the burning of his body, whither all thoſe who in great numbers had brought perfumes to burn with it were directed to carry them. When all was ready, *Antony* mounted the Roſtra, and ordered a herald to read the ſeveral decrees of the Senate, which declared *Cæſar*'s perſon ſacred, and accumulated all human and divine honours upon him: He then commanded him to read the oath that all the Senators had taken, not only not to attempt any thing againſt his life, but to defend it at the expence of their own; and he added a few words ſuited to the occaſion [x]. When he had done ſpeaking, the body was carried down from the bed of ſtate into the Forum by the magiſtrates, and thoſe who had borne offices under the deceaſed. The people, moved at the ſight of this melancholy ſpectacle, and inflamed by verſes adapted to raiſe compaſſion, which were induſtriouſly ſpread among them, would not ſuffer the body to be carried further, or to the field of *Mars*; but would have it burnt, ſome in *Pompey*'s Senate-houſe, where he had been killed; others in the temple of *Jupiter*. In this tumult, two armed men came up to the body, and ſet fire to what covered it. The mob upon this immediately pulled up the ſeats of the judges, the counters of the bankers and ſhopkeepers, and gathered all the wood they could lay their hands on. The muſicians threw into the fire the cloaths they had prepared for the ceremony; the veteran ſoldiers their arms; the women their ornaments; and the flame became ſo violent, according to *Appian*, that the houſe of *L. Bellienus* was intirely conſumed. From the funeral, the mob ran with firebrands to ſet fire to the houſes of the Conſpirators, who had great difficulty to prevent them, notwithſtanding the preparations they had made againſt ſuch an attack. *Helvius Cinna*, one of the Tribunes, and a particular friend to *Cæſar*, was torn in pieces by the rabble, being miſtaken, unluckily, for the Prætor *L. Cornelius Cinna*, who had extolled the act of killing *Cæſar*, in a ſpeech from the Roſtra; and, fixing his head upon a pike, they carried it about the town. This ſo alarmed all thoſe who had any ſimilitude of name with any of the Conſpirators,

Suet. in Cæſ. 84, 85.

Val. Max. ix. 9. Plut. Cæſ. et Brut. Dio, p. 267.

[x] *Dio* has given us a long oration of his own compoſition, and *Appian* writes, that *Antony* not only unfolded before the people *Cæſar*'s garment, pierced by the daggers of the Conſpirators, and ſtained with his blood; but alſo ſhewed a waxen image, with all the wounds marked upon it, which, in order to excite compaſſion, and ſpirit them up to revenge, he twirled about before them in relating his hero's aſſaſſination. But, though it muſt be allowed that *Antony* did make a ſhort funeral oration, yet it does not ſeem probable that he acted the part which *Appian* and *Dio* make him act. *Suet. in Cæſ.* *l.* 44. *Cicero*, in a letter to *Atticus*, reflects upon him in no other reſpect, than for his calling *Cæſar*, *clariſſimum virum*.

that

that *Caius Caſca* thought fit, by a public advertiſement, to ſignify the diſtinction of his *perſon* and *principles* from *Publius Caſca*, who gave the firſt blow to *Cæſar* [y]. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

This

y "We are not to imagine, however, as "it is commonly believed, that theſe vio- "lences were owing to the general indig- "nation of the citizens againſt the murde- "rers of *Cæſar*; excited either by the ſpec- "tacle of his body, or the eloquence of *An- "tony*, who made the funeral oration; for "it is certain that *Cæſar*, through his whole "reign, could never draw from the people "any public ſignification of their favour; "but, on the contrary, was conſtantly mor- "tified by the perpetual demonſtrations of "their hatred and diſaffection to him. The "caſe was the ſame after his death: The "memory of his tyranny was odious, "and *Brutus* and *Caſſius* the real favourites "of the city; as appeared on all occaſions, "wherever their free and genuine ſenſe "could be declared, in the public *ſhews* and "*theatres*; which *Cicero* frequently appeals "to as a proper encouragement to all ho- "neſt men to act with ſpirit and vigour in "the defence of their common liberty. "What happened therefore at the funeral "was the effect of artifice and faction; the "work of a mercenary rabble; the greateſt "part ſlaves and ſtrangers, liſted and pre- "pared for violence, againſt a party un- "armed, and purſuing pacific counſels, and "placing all their truſt and ſecurity in the "juſtice of their cauſe. *Cicero* calls it a "conſpiracy of *Cæſar*'s freedmen, who "were the chief managers of the tumult; "in which the *Jews* ſeem to have borne a "conſiderable part; who, out of hatred "to *Pompey* for his affront to their city "and temple, were zealouſly attached to "*Cæſar*; and, above all other foreigners in "*Rome*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ex- "preſſions of their grief for his death; ſo "as to ſpend whole nights at his monu- "ment." *Midd. p.* 256.

The whole ſubſequent hiſtory is a confutation of what is here aſſerted. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were the favourites of a part of the nobility, but could have no admirers among the people; though indeed all conſiderate men were deſirous of peace upon any terms. *Appian, Bell. Civ. l.* iii. expreſsly contradicts what *Cicero* ſays of the popular favour ſhewn at *Brutus*'s plays: *He relates, that, when ſome bribed to that purpoſe, cried out, that Brutus and Caſſius ſhould be recalled, there was ſuch an uproar among the people, that the plays ceaſed till ſuch time as thoſe who demanded their return were ſilent.* And indeed this was the proper occaſion for the people to ſhew their favour; and, had they ſhewn it with any unanimity, *Brutus*'s return would have been a conſequence of it. *Cicero*'s account to *Atticus* of the *Cæſarians* is as follows: "*Hirtius* warmly loves the "man whom *Brutus* ſtabbed; he, and all "the reſt, are perpetually lamenting the "miſerable end of ſo great a man; and de- "claring that the Republic is ruined by it. "They ſay that all his acts will be made "void, as ſoon as the people's fears are o- "ver; and that clemency was his ruin; "ſince, if it had not been for that, he "could not have periſhed in ſuch a manner." *Ad Attt.* xiv. 22. And this is a proper place to preſent the reader with an excellent letter of a very worthy man, of *Matius* to *Cicero*. *Ep. Fam.* xi. 28.

"YOUR letter gave me great plea- "ſure, by letting me ſee that you retain "ſtill that favourable opinion of me, which "I had always hoped and wiſhed; and, "though I had never indeed any doubt of "it, yet, for the high value that I ſet upon "it, I was very ſollicitous that it ſhould re- "main always inviolable. I was conſcious "to myſelf, that I had done nothing which "could reaſonably give offence to any ho- "neſt man; and did not imagine therefore "that a perſon of your great and excellent "accompliſhments could be induced to take "any without reaſon, eſpecially againſt one "who had always profeſſed, and ſtill con- "tinued to profeſs, a ſincere good-will to "you. Since all this then ſtands juſt as I "wiſh it, I will now give an anſwer to thoſe "accuſations, from which you, agreeably to "your character, out of your ſingular good- "neſs and friendſhip, have ſo often defen- "ded me. I am no ſtranger to what has "been ſaid of me by certain perſons ſince "*Cæſar*'s death: They call it a crime in "me, that I am concerned for the loſs of "an intimate friend, and ſorry that the man "whom I loved met with ſo unhappy a "fate: They ſay, that our country ought "to be preferred to any friendſhip, as if

"they

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

This was a clear warning to the Conſpirators, how little reaſon they had to expect any ſafety in the city, without a guard for their defence. *M. Bru-*

" they had really made it evident, that his " death was of ſervice to the Republic; " but I will not deal craftily: I own my- " ſelf not to be arrived at that degree of " wiſdom; nor did I yet follow *Cæſar* in " our late diſſenſions, but my friend; " whom, though diſpleaſed with the thing, " I could not deſert; for I never approved " the civil war, or the cauſe of it; but " took all poſſible pains to ſtifle it in its " birth. Upon the victory therefore of a " familiar friend, I was not eager either to " advance, or to enrich myſelf; an advan- " tage which others who had leſs intereſt " with him than I abuſed to great exceſs. " Nay, my circumſtances were even hurt by " *Cæſar*'s law, to whoſe kindneſs the greateſt " part of thoſe who now rejoice at his " death, owed their very continuance in the " city. I ſollicited the pardon of the van- " quiſhed with the ſame zeal as if it had " been for myſelf. Is it poſſible therefore " for me, who laboured to procure the " ſafety of all, not to be concerned for the " death of him, from whom I uſed to pro- " cure it? Eſpecially when the very ſame " men, who were the cauſe of making him " odious, were the authors alſo of deſtroy- " ing him. But I ſhall have cauſe, they " ſay, to repent, for daring to condemn " their act. Unheard of inſolence! that it " ſhould be allowed to ſome to glory in a " wicked action, yet not to others, even to " grieve at it without puniſhment. But " this was always free, even to ſlaves, to " fear, rejoice, and grieve by their own " will, not that of another; which yet theſe " men, who call themſelves the authors of " liberty, are endeavouring to extort from " us by the force of terror. But they may " ſpare their threats; for no danger ſhall " terrify me from performing my duty and " the offices of humanity; ſince it was al- " ways my opinion, that an honeſt death " was never to be avoided, often even to be " ſought. But why are they angry with " me, for wiſhing only that they may repent " of their act? I wiſh that all the world " may regret *Cæſar*'s death. But I ought, " they ſay, as a member of civil ſociety, to " wiſh the good and ſafety of the Republic. " If my paſt life and future hopes do not al- " ready prove that I wiſh it, without my " ſaying ſo, I will not pretend to evince it " by argument. I beg of you therefore in " the ſtrongeſt terms to attend to facts rather " than to words; and if you think it the moſt " uſeful to one in my circumſtances, that " what is right ſhould take place; never " imagine that I can have any union or " commerce with ill-deſigning men. I " acted the ſame part in my youth, where " to miſtake would have been pardonable; " ſhall I then undo it all again, and re- " nounce my principles in my declining " age? No, it is my reſolution to do no- " thing that can give any offence; except " it be when I lament the cruel fate of a " dear friend and illuſtrious man. If I " were in different ſentiments, I would " never diſown what I was doing; leſt I " ſhould be thought not only wicked for " purſuing what was wrong, but falſe and " cowardly for diſſembling it. But I un- " dertook the care of the ſhews, which " young *Cæſar* exhibited for the victory of " his uncle: This was an affair of private, " not of public duty; it was what I ought " to have performed to the memory and " honour of my dead friend; and what I " could not therefore deny to a youth of the " greateſt hopes, and ſo highly worthy of " *Cæſar*. But I go often alſo to the Con- " ſul *Antony*'s to pay my compliments; yet " you will find thoſe very men go oftener " to aſk and receive favours, who reflect " upon me for it, as diſaffected to my coun- " try. But, what arrogance is this? When " *Cæſar* never hindered me from viſiting " whom I would; even thoſe whom he did " not care for; that they who have depri- " ved me, of him ſhould attempt by their ca- " vils to debar me from placing my eſteem " where I think proper. But I am not a- " fraid, that either the modeſty of my life " ſhould not be ſufficient to confute all falſe " reports of me for the future, or that they, " who do not love me for my conſtancy to " *Cæſar*, would not chuſe to have their " friends reſemble me, rather than them- " ſelves. For my own part, if I could have " my wiſh, I would ſpend the remainder of " my days in quiet at *Rhodes*; but, if any " accident prevent me, will live in ſuch a " man-

M. Brutus and *Caſſius* retired immediately to *Lanuvium*, fifteen miles from *Rome*: *D. Brutus*, *Trebonius*, and others, ſtaid behind ſome time longer, and demanded a guard for themſelves and their accomplices. But *Antony* informed them by *Hirtius*, that the ſoldiers and the populace were ſo enraged, that he did not think it poſſible for any of them to be ſafe. He alſo aſſured *Hirtius* that he could not conſent to let *Decimus* take poſſeſſion of the province to which he was nominated. *Antony* was ſenſible that, if the Conſpirators had a firm footing in *Italy*, and gained any increaſe of power, it would be impoſſible for him and his party to maintain their ground againſt the nobles. His aim was therefore to amuſe them, and neither ſuffer them to remain in the city, nor drive them to deſperate meaſures, till he had collected a ſufficient force to cruſh them. *Decimus*, in the deſponding humour he was in, thought that under the preſent difficulties the moſt prudent ſtep he could take for the common intereſt, was to requeſt an *honorary legation* for each of the Conſpirators, in order to give ſome decent colour to their leaving *Rome*. *Hirtius* accordingly promiſed to obtain this for them; but, in caſe he ſucceeded, it was thought, that it would not be long *'ere they ſhould be declared public enemies, and ſentenced to baniſhment.* *Decimus* adviſed, therefore, his Confederates, as the moſt prudent ſtep in the preſent conjuncture, *to ſubmit to fortune, and retire to Rhodes, or to ſome other ſecure part of the world*, where they might adjuſt their meaſures to public circumſtances, and wait at leaſt to ſee how far the news of *Cæſar*'s death would have influence to ſtrengthen the ſeveral parties of *Sextus Pompey*, who was in arms in *Spain*; or of *Cæcilius Baſſus*, who was raiſing commotions in *Aſia*. He took courage, however, and went and put himſelf in poſſeſſion of his province of *Ciſalpine Gaul* without the leave of the Conſul. *Trebonius*, in the mean time, ſtole away privately to *Aſia*, and *Tillius Cimber* to *Bithynia*; and, ſoon after this diſperſion of ſome of the Chiefs of the conſpiracy, *Cicero* with ſeveral other Senators retired from *Rome*[z].

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ. Cic. Fam. xii. 5. Melm. xii. 5. Ibid.

" manner at *Rome*, as always to deſire, that " what is right may prevail. I am greatly " obliged to our friend *Trebatius*, for giving " me this aſſurance of your ſincere and " friendly regard for me, and for making " it my duty to reſpect and obſerve a man " whom I had eſteemed always before with " inclination. Take care of your health, " and preſerve me in your affection."

[z] *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, was in *Rome* when *Cæſar* was killed, and was lodged in his houſe: She had intended to accompany him into the Eaſt, in order to preſerve her influence over him, which was very great. But, being terrified by the accident of his death, and the diſorders which followed it, ſhe preſently left the city. However, before her departure, ſhe laboured to get her ſon by *Cæſar* acknowledged as ſuch at *Rome*, and declared the heir of her kingdom; as he was the year following by *Antony* and *Octavius*. She had a conference upon this ſubject with *Cicero* in *Cæſar*'s gardens, where the haughtineſs of her behaviour gave him no ſmall offence. Knowing his taſte and character, ſhe made him the promiſe of ſome preſent very agreeable; and thus diſobliged him the more by not performing it: He does not tell us what it was; but, from the hints, which he drops, it ſeems to have been

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Antony, as ſoon as the Conſpirators were gone, reſumed his maſk, and, as if the late violences had been accidental only, and the ſudden tranſport of a vile mob, profeſſed the ſame moderation as before, and affected to ſpeak with the greateſt reſpect of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. He readily procured for them a decree to abſolve them from the laws, which forbid the Prætors to be abſent from the city above ten days: And, by ſeveral other ſeaſonable acts, propoſed by him to the Senate, appeared to have nothing ſo much at heart as the public concord. Among other decrees, he offered one, which was prepared and drawn up by himſelf, "*to abliſh for ever the name and office of a Dictator:* This ſeemed to be a ſure pledge of his good intentions, and gave an univerſal ſatisfaction to the Senate, who paſſed it, as it were, by acclamation, without even putting it to the vote; and decreed the thanks of the houſe for it to *Antony*.

About the ſame time the mob, headed by the impoſtor *Marius* (who was now returned to *Rome*) and the freedmen of *Cæſar*, had erected an altar in the Forum on the ſpot where his body was burnt; with a pillar of *Numidian* marble twenty feet high, inſcribed, *To the Father of his country*.

been ſtatues and curioſities from *Egypt* for the ornament of his library. When therefore ſhe was obliged to apply to him by her miniſters for his aſſiſtance in her affair, he refuſed to be concerned. "The ſlight of "the Queen, ſays he, gives me no pain. "... I ſhould be glad to hear what fur- "ther news there is of her, and her young "*Cæſar*. .... I hate the Queen: Her "agent *Ammonicus*, the witneſs and ſponſor "of her promiſes to me, knows that I have "reaſon: They were things only proper for "a man of letters, and ſuitable to my cha- "racter; ſo that I ſhould not ſcruple to pro- "claim them from the Roſtra. Her other "agent *Sara* is not only a raſcal, but has "been rude to me. I never ſaw him at my "houſe but once, and, when I aſked him "civilly, what commands he had for me, "he ſaid that he came to look for *Atticus*. "As to the pride of the Queen, when I ſaw "her in the gardens, I can never think of "it without reſentment: I will have no- "thing, therefore, to do with them: They "take me to have neither ſpirit, nor even "feeling left." *Ad Att.* xiv. 8. 20. xv. 15. *Middl.* p. 262.

It was during his retirement at this time, that he compoſed his treatiſe, *on the nature of the gods*, addreſſed to *Brutus*; his diſcourſe on *divination*, or the *foreknowledge and predi-ction of future events*; *and the ſeveral ways by which it was ſuppoſed to be acquired or communicated to man*; thoſe *on the advantages of old-age*, *on friendſhip*, and *on fate*; and it was at this time, probably, that he finiſhed his tranſlation of *Plato*'s famous dialogue, called *Timæus*, *on the nature and origin of the univerſe*. He was employing himſelf alſo upon a work of a different ſort, which had been long upon his hands, *a hiſtory of his own times*, or rather of his own conduct: Full of free and ſevere reflections on thoſe who had abuſed their power to the oppreſſion of the Republic, eſpecially *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*. This he calls his *anecdote*; a work not to be publiſhed, but to be ſhewn only to a few friends, in the manner of *Theopompus*, an hiſtorian famed for his ſevere and invective ſtyle. *Atticus* was urging him to put the laſt hand to it, and continue it down through *Cæſar*'s government: But he choſe to reſerve this laſt part for a diſtinct hiſtory, in which he deſigned to vindicate, at large, *the juſtice of* killing a tyrant. *Dio* ſays, that he delivered this book, ſealed up, to his ſon, with ſtrict orders not to read or publiſh it, till after his death: But, from this time, he never ſaw his ſon, and left the piece, probably unfiniſhed; though ſome copies of it afterwards got abroad, from which his commentator *Aſconius* has quoted ſeveral particulars. *Middl. p.* 291.

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Here they performed daily ſacrifices, and the humour of worſhipping at this new altar ſpread ſo faſt among the meaner ſort and the ſlaves, as to endanger the peace and ſafety of the city. But *Antony* had their Chief committed to priſon, where he was ſtrangled without any form of law: And his body in an ignominious manner was dragged through the ſtreets. • By this meaſure, *Antony* gained freſh credit with the Conſpirators; inſomuch that *Brutus*, together with *Caſſius* and other friends, had a *perſonal conference* with him about this time, which paſſed to mutual ſatisfaction. By theſe arts he hoped to amuſe the Conſpirators, and induce them to lay aſide all vigorous counſels; and thus prevent them from furniſhing themſelves with troops and money, which would put them in a condition to act offenſively [a].

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43 408 Conſ. Philip. i. 2.

Antony, having thus put his affairs into the beſt train that he could, and appointed the *1ſt of June* for a meeting of the Senate, in order to deliberate on the State of the Republic, took the opportunity of that interval to make a progreſs through *Italy*, for the ſake of viſiting the quarters of the veteran ſoldiers, and engaging them to his ſervice by all ſorts of bribes and promiſes. The government of the city, in his abſence, devolved to *Dolabella*, whoſe conduct gave great ſatisfaction to the Senate. The death of *Marius* had not put a ſtop to the mode of ſacrificing at *Cæſar*'s column: The multitudes which continued to flock to the place, fired with a kind of enthuſiaſtic rage, ran furious about the ſtreets, committing all ſorts of outrage and violence againſt the ſuppoſed friends of liberty. This was open rebellion, and called for a remedy; which *Dolabella* effectually applied by demoliſhing the pillar and altar, paving the area they ſtood upon, and ſeizing the authors of the diſorders; whom he proceeded againſt with great ſeverity, cauſing ſuch of them as were free to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* rock, and the ſlaves to be crucified. This, we are told by *Cicero*, gave an univerſal joy to the city: The whole body of the people attended the Conſul to his houſe; and in the theatres gave him the uſual teſtimony of their thanks by the loudeſt acclamations [b].

[a] *Ad Att.* xiv. 16. With the ſame view he wrote an artful letter to *Cicero* to deſire his conſent to the reſtoration of *S. Clodius*, the chief agent of *P. Clodius*, who had been ſeveral years in baniſhment for outrages committed in the city; chiefly againſt *Cicero* himſelf, on whoſe account he was condemned. *Antony*, by his marriage with *Fulvia*, the widow of *P. Clodius*, became the protector of all that family, and the tutor of young *Publius*, her ſon; which gave him a decent pretence of intereſting himſelf in this affair. *Middl.* p. 260.

[b] In a letter on this occaſion to *Atticus*, *Cicero* ſays, "O my admirable *Dolabella*! "I now call him mine; for, believe me, I "had ſome doubt of him before. The fact "affords matter of great ſpeculation: *To "throw them down the rock; to crucify; de-"moliſh the pillar; pave the area*; in ſhort, "it is heroic. He has extinguiſhed all ap-"pearance of that regret for *Cæſar*, which "was ſpreading every day ſo faſt, that I "began to apprehend ſome danger to our "tyrant-killers: But I now agree with you "and conceive better hopes." *Ad Att.* xiv. 15.

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Antony, in his progreſs through *Italy*, having drawn great numbers of the veterans towards *Rome* to be ready for any purpoſe his affairs ſhould require, found himſelf above controul, and began immediately to act with leſs reſerve. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* continued ſtill near *Lanuvium*, being yet irreſolute what meaſures they ſhould take: They kept themſelves quiet and retired, expecting what time and chance would offer, and waiting particularly to ſee what humour the Conſuls would be in at the next meeting of the Senate, with regard to themſelves and the Republic; and, ſince they were driven from the diſcharge of their Prætorſhip, they contrived to put the people in mind of them, from time to time, by their edicts, in which they made the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of their pacific diſpoſition; declared that their conduct ſhould give no handle for a civil war; and that they would ſubmit to a perpetual exile, if it would contribute in any manner to the public concord; being contented with the conſciouſneſs of their act, as the greateſt honour which they could enjoy. Their preſent deſign was to come to *Rome* on the *1ſt of June*, and to take their places in the Senate, if it ſhould be thought adviſeable; or to preſent themſelves at leaſt in the *Roſtra* and try the affections of the people, for whom *Brutus* was preparing a ſpeech. But now the conduct of *Antony* began to open *Brutus*'s eyes, and convince him of the miſtake of his pacific meaſures; and he thought it time, therefore, in concert with *Caſſius*, to require an explicit account of the Conſul's intentions, and expoſtulate with him gently in the following letter:

Veſl. Pat. ii. 62. Ad. Att. xiv. 20. et xv. 1.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to M. ANTONIUS, Conſul.

Ep. Fam. xi. 2. Middl. p. 288.

"IF we were not perſuaded of your ſincerity and good-will to us, "we ſhould not have written this to you; which, out of the kind diſ- "poſition that you bear to us, you will take without doubt in good part. "We are informed that a great multitude of veteran ſoldiers is already "come to *Rome*, and a much greater expected there on the *1ſt of June*. "If we could harbour any ſuſpicion or fear of you, we ſhould be un- "like ourſelves: Yet, ſurely, after we had put ourſelves into your power "and, by your advice, diſmiſſed the friends, whom we had about us, "from the great towns, and that not only by public edict, but by pri- "vate letters, we deſerve to be made acquainted with your deſigns; "eſpecially in an affair which relates to ourſelves. We beg of you, "therefore, to let us know what your intentions are with regard to us. "Do you think we can be ſafe in ſuch a crowd of veterans? who have

"O the brave act of *Dolabella!* What a "proſpect does it give us? I never ceaſe "praiſing and exhorting him—Our *Brutus*, "I dare ſay, might now walk ſafely through "the Forum, with a crown of gold upon "his head: For who dare moleſt him, when "*the rock or the croſs* is to be their fate? And "when the very loweſt of the people give "ſuch proofs of their applauſe and appro- "bation?" *Ad Att.* xiv. 16. See alſo his letter to *Dolabella*, Ep. Fam. ix. 14. which is in the higheſt ſtrain of compliment.

"thoughts,

" thoughts, we hear, even of rebuilding the altar; which no man can Y. R. 709.
" deſire or approve who wiſhes our ſafety and honour. That we had no Bef. Chr.
" other view from the firſt but peace, nor ſought any thing elſe but the 43.
" public liberty, the event ſhews. Nobody can deceive us but you; 408 Conſ.
" which is not certainly agreeable to your virtue and integrity: But no
" man elſe has it in his power to deceive us. We truſted and ſhall
" truſt to you alone. Our friends are under the greateſt apprehenſions
" for us: For, though they are perſuaded of your integrity, yet they
" reflect that a multitude of veterans may ſooner be puſhed to any vio-
" lence by others, than reſtrained by you. We deſire an explicit an-
" ſwer to all particulars: For it is ſilly and trifling to tell us, that the
" veterans are called together, becauſe you intend to move the Senate in
" their favour in *June*: For who do you think will hinder it, when it
" is certain that we ſhall not? Nobody ought to think us too fond of
" life: When nothing can happen to us, but with the ruin and confu-
" ſion of all things."

The aſſembly on the 1*ſt of June* was compoſed intirely of thoſe who were either devoted to *Antony*, or quite indifferent how affairs ſhould turn. *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, the Conſuls elect, did not appear, and *Cicero* alſo abſented himſelf. He had moved towards *Rome* in the end of *May*; but, having received an account that the town was filled with veterans, who talked deſperately againſt thoſe who did not favour them; that *Antony* came thither, attended by a ſtrong body of them; that all his views were bent on war, and that he deſigned to transfer the province of *Gaul* from *Decimus Brutus* to himſelf *by a vote of the People*; he determined not to venture to the Senate, but withdrew again from the city. The major part of the Senate followed his example, and fled out of the city for fear of ſome violence, leaving the Conſuls, with a few of their creatures, to make what decrees they pleaſed. *Antony* repreſented, that his life was in danger on account of the ſeveral decrees he had paſſed and executed in favour of the Republic, and demanded a guard; which was no ſooner granted him, than he inliſted the veterans he had brought to *Rome*, and, inſtead of a moderate guard, formed to himſelf a little army of ſix thouſand old ſoldiers. The day following he obtained a decree which had been propoſed before and deferred till the 1*ſt of June*, *to give the cogniſance and execution of the acts of Cæſar to the Conſuls*. This decree put every thing into his hands; for, being maſter both of *Cæſar*'s papers, and of his Secretary *Faberius*, by whoſe hand they were written, he had an opportunity of forging and inſerting, at pleaſure, whatever he found of uſe to him; which he practiſed without any reſerve or management, recalling from baniſhment the exiles, and ſelling publicly, for money, whatever immunities were deſired by countries, cities, Princes, or private men, on pretence that they had been granted by *Cæſar*, and entered into his books. The impoſture was ſo groſs in ſome inſtances, that he made *Cæſar* mention things which had happened

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ſince his death. He granted the freedom of the city to all *Sicily*, pretending that *Cæſar* had publiſhed a law to this effect in an aſſembly of the people, though nobody had ever heard of it: He freed the rich towns of the iſland of *Crete*, and enacted that, after *Brutus*'s proconſulſhip, it ſhould become a province: He reſtored to King *Dejotarus* all his dominions, though every body knew that *Cæſar* hated no man ſo much as *Dejotarus*; but the bargain was made in *Fulvia*'s apartments for the ſum of ten millions of ſeſterces by the King's agents at *Rome*. *Antony*, immediately after *Cæſar*'s death, by ſeizing upon the ready money he had left, and which *Calpurnia* delivered up to him, had preſently amaſſed an infinite ſum: For though, at the time of *Cæſar*'s death, he owed, as *Cicero* told him, forty millions of ſeſterces [c]; yet, within leſs than a fortnight after, he had paid the whole debt. But he ſoon made himſelf maſter of a much larger ſum, by ſeizing on the public treaſury, which *Cæſar* had depoſited, for the occaſions of the government, in the temple of *Opis*, amounting to ſeven hundred millions of ſeſterces, or above five millions and an half of our money. The uſe he made of it was to purchaſe ſoldiers, and he was now in a condition to outbid any competitor: But the firſt purchaſe, which he made with it, was of his collegue *Dolabella*, who had been long oppreſſed with the load of his debts, and whom, by a part of this money, and the promiſe of a farther ſhare in the plunder of the Empire, he drew intirely from *Cicero* and the party of the nobles into his own meaſures. This was an acquiſition worth any price to him; the general inclination both of the city and country, we are told, being clearly againſt him. The town of *Puteoli*, one of the moſt conſiderable in *Italy*, had lately choſen the two *Brutus's* and *Caſſius* for their patrons, and there wanted nothing but a Leader, it is ſaid, to arm the whole Empire againſt him. *Dolabella* ſeemed to be that very perſon, till bribed, as *Cicero* ſays, by the force of money, *he not only deſerted, but overturned, the Republic.*

80,725 l.

322,916 l.

5,651,037 l. Arb.

On the *5th of June* commiſſions were granted ſeverally to *Brutus* and *Caſſius* to buy up corn in *Aſia* and *Sicily*. The ſituation of theſe Leaders of the Republican party, was, at this time, very diſagreeable; they were ſtripped of the power of their offices, ſuffered a kind of exile, and even depended upon *Antony* for their ſafety. Their friends, therefore, at *Rome* had been ſolliciting the Senate for ſome extraordinary employment to be granted to them, to cover the appearance of a flight, and the diſgrace of living in baniſhment, when inveſted with one of the firſt magiſtracies of the Republic. This was the ground of the commiſſion juſt mentioned to buy corn; which ſeemed, however, to be below their character, and contrived as an affront to them by *Antony*, who affected ſtill to ſpeak of them always with reſpect. But their friends thought any thing better for them than to ſit ſtill in *Italy*; where their perſons were expoſed to danger from the veteran ſoldiers, who were all

Middl. p. 295.

[c] Tu autem quadringenties HS. quod idibus Martiis debuiſti, quonam moderante kalendas Aprilis debere deſiſti. *Phil.* ii. 37.

now in motion: And that this employment would be a ſecurity to them for the preſent, and afford an opportunity of providing for their future ſafety, by enabling them to execute, what they were now meditating, a deſign of ſeizing ſome provinces abroad and arming themſelves in defence of their party; which was what their enemies were moſt afraid of, and charged them with publicly, in order to make them odious. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

On the 26*th of June*, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* held a ſelect Council of their friends, at *Antium*, to which *Cicero* was particularly invited. There were preſent, among others, *Favonius*, *Servilia*, *Porcia*, *Brutus*'s wife, and his ſiſter *Tertulla*, the wife of *Caſſius*. *Cicero*, being aſked his opinion, adviſed, "that *Brutus* ſhould go to *Aſia*, and undertake the affair of "the corn: That the only thing to be done at preſent was to provide "for their ſafety: That their ſafety was a certain benefit to the Repub-"lic. . . . . Here *Caſſius* interrupted him, and, with great fierceneſs "in his looks, proteſted that he would not go to *Sicily*, nor accept, as "a favour, what was intended as an affront; but would go to *Achaia*, "—*Brutus* ſaid, that he would go to *Rome*, if *Cicero* thought it proper "for him—but *Cicero* declared it impoſſible for him to be ſafe there;— "but, ſuppoſing, ſays he, I could be ſafe: Why then, ſays *Cicero*, I "ſhould adviſe it by all means, as the beſt thing you could do, and "better than any province.——After much diſcourſe and complaining "for the loſs of opportunities, for which *Caſſius* laid all the blame on "*D. Brutus*, *Cicero* ſaid, that, though that was true, it was in vain to "talk of what was paſſed; and, as the caſe then ſtood, he ſaw nothing "left but to follow his advice,—to which, at laſt, they all ſeemed to "agree, eſpecially when *Servilia* [d] undertook, by her mediation, to get "the affair of the corn left out of their commiſſion; and *Brutus* con-"ſented that the plays and ſhews, with which he was to entertain the "city ſhortly as Prætor, ſhould be given by proxy in his abſence." *Cicero* took his leave, *pleaſed with nothing*, he ſays, *but the conſciouſneſs of having done his duty: For, as to the reſt, he gave all for loſt; found the veſſel not only broken, but ſhattered to pieces; and neither prudence, reaſon, nor deſign in what they were doing: So that, if he had any doubt before, he had none now, but longed to get abroad as ſoon as poſſible.* Ad Att. xiii. 11 and 12.

There was now great expectation of the *ſhews* and *plays* which *Brutus*, as Prætor of the city, was going to exhibit, according to annual cuſtom,

[d] *Servilia*, though ſiſter to *Cato*, had been one of *Cæſar*'s miſtreſſes: In the civil war he gave her ſeveral rich farms out of his *Pompeian* confiſcations; and, according to *Suetonius in Cæſ.* 50, bought a ſingle jewel for her at the price of about 50,000 l. She was a woman of ſpirit and intrigue, in great credit with the *Cæſarean* party, and at this very time poſſeſſed the eſtate and villa of *Pontius Aquila*, one of the Conſpirators. *Cicero* reckons it among the ſolœciſms of the time, *that the mother of the tyrant-killer ſhould hold the eſtate of one of her ſon's accomplices*; (ad Att. xiv. 21.) yet ſhe had ſuch a ſhare in all the counſels of *Brutus*, that it made *Cicero* the leſs inclined to enter into them, or to be concerned with one whom he could not truſt: *When he is influenced ſo much*, ſays he, *by his mother's advice, or, at leaſt, her intreaties, why ſhould I interpoſe myſelf?*" Ad Att. xv. 10. Middl. p. 297.

in

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

in honour of *Apollo*, on the 3*d* of *July*; and all people were attentive and impatient to ſee in what manner they would be received. The ſucceſs of them anſwered all the hopes of *Brutus* and his friends; for they were received with great applauſe by all ranks, though *Antony*'s brother-in-law *Caius*, as the next Prætor in office, preſided at them. One of the plays was *Tereus*, a tragedy of *Accius*; which, having many ſtrokes in it on the characters and acts of tyrants, was infinitely clapped by the people. This gave great pleaſure to *Brutus*, who remained about a month longer in *Italy*, making preparations for his voyage.

Sextus Pompeius about this time made propoſals towards an accommodation. After the battle of *Munda*, he had been obliged to fly from *Corduba*, and hide himſelf in the mountains of *Celtiberia*: Here he remained ſome time in diſguiſe; but *Cæſar* had no ſooner left *Spain*, than, gathering together a number of his ſcattered ſoldiers, he dared to appear again in arms, and made war ſucceſsfully againſt two of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants, *Carinnas* and *Pollio*. Upon the news of *Cæſar*'s aſſaſſination, numbers flocked to him, and he ſaw himſelf again at the head of ſeven legions, with which he appeared in open campaign, and ſtormed ſome towns. The ſum of his demands was, that all who had the command of armies ſhould diſmiſs them. This propoſal was contained in the letter which he addreſſed to the Conſuls; but to *Libo*, his father-in-law, to whom he incloſed this public letter, he ſignified at the ſame time that, unleſs his father's eſtate and houſe at *Rome* were reſtored to him, he would agree to nothing. This overture from *Pompey* was procured chiefly by the management of *Lepidus*; who, having the province of *Spain* aſſigned to him, where *Pompey* was very ſtrong, had no mind to be engaged in a war at ſuch a diſtance from *Rome*, and drawn off from attending to the main point in view, the event of affairs in *Italy*: For which purpoſe, on pretence of the public quiet, he made the offer of a treaty and honourable terms to *Pompey*; and that, on condition of laying down his arms, and quitting the province, he ſhould be reſtored to all his eſtates and honours, and have the command of the whole naval power of *Rome*, in the ſame manner as his father had it before him: All which was propoſed and recommended to the Senate by *Antony* himſelf; where, to preſerve a due reſpect to *Cæſar*'s acts, by which *Pompey*'s eſtates had been confiſcated, it was decreed, "that the ſame ſum, "for which they had been ſold, ſhould be given him by the public, to "enable him to purchaſe them again." This amounted to ſeven hundred millions of ſeſterces, above five millions and an half of our money, excluſive of his jewels, plate, and furniture; which, being wholly embezzled, he was content to loſe. On theſe terms, ratified by the authority of the Senate, *Pompey* actually quitted *Spain*, and came to *Marſeilles*; where, in his quality of Admiral, he made naval preparations, with which he ſoon after ſeized upon *Sicily*. The project was wiſely concerted by *Lepidus* and *Antony*; for, while it carried a ſhew of moderation

Middl p. 305. Ad Att. xvi. 11.

Philipp. v. 13 & 14. Ibid. xiii. 4 & 5.

Appian, p. 528. Dio, l. 45.

5,651,037l. Arb. Philip. xiii. 5.

and diſpoſition to peace, it diſarmed a deſperate enemy, who was in condition to give great obſtruction to their deſigns, and diverſion to their arms, at a time when the neceſſity of their intereſts required their preſence and whole attention at home, to lay a firm foundation of their power in the heart and center of the Empire. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

A little before this time, a new actor, the young *Octavius*, left by his uncle *Cæſar*, the heir of his name and eſtate, appeared upon the ſtage, who, though hitherto unnoticed, ſoon made a diſtinguiſhed figure upon it, and became the object of general attention. He had attended *Cæſar* in the *Spaniſh* war; after which he was ſent to *Apollonia*, a celebrated academy or ſchool of learning in *Macedonia*, there to wait for him in his way to the *Parthian* war, in which he was to ſerve in quality of Maſter of the Horſe. As ſoon as the news of his uncle's death was ſpread in thoſe parts, all the officers of the troops quartered there made him a tender of their ſervices. *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* were of opinion that he would do right to accept of them; and, in all appearance, if he had followed their advice, all the veterans would have repaired to him, and, in the confuſed and unſettled ſtate of things in *Italy*, he would eaſily have made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, and forced *Antony* to join him. But he thought this too raſh an undertaking, before he had founded the diſpoſitions of the citizens and ſoldiers. The ſole pretenſion, therefore, that he avowed at preſent, was to aſſert his right to the ſucceſſion of his uncle's eſtate, and to claim the poſſeſſion of it. This was thought an attempt by many too hardy and dangerous for a mere boy, not 19 years complete; for the ariſtocratical party had great reaſon to be jealous of him, leſt, with the inheritance of the eſtate, he ſhould graſp at the power of his uncle; and *Antony* ſtill more, who had deſtined that ſucceſſion to himſelf, and even ſeized the effects, leſt, by the advantage of that wealth, *Octavius* might be in a condition to make head againſt him. His mother *Atia*, therefore, and her huſband *Philip*, out of concern for his ſafety, preſſed him, by letters, *to ſuſpend his claim for a while*, and not aſſume an invidious name, before he could ſee what turn the public affairs would take. But, on the other ſide, there were many about him conſtantly puſhing him on to throw himſelf upon the affections of the city and the army, before his enemies had made themſelves too ſtrong for him. The remonſtrances of theſe laſt had weight with him; and, incited by his natural ambition, he reſolved without delay to paſs over into *Italy*. On his landing at *Brunduſium*, he was received by the ſoldiers with great demonſtrations of attachment to his cauſe; and the veterans ſettled in *Italy* came from all parts to meet him, complaining of *Antony*'s indolence in revenging the death of his great friend and benefactor. He croſſed the country to join his mother and father-in-law, who were at *Cumæ*; where *Cicero* alſo was at this time, as well as *Balbus*, *Hirtius*, and *Panſa*. On the 18*th* of *April*, he arrived at *Naples*; whither *Balbus* went the next morning to

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

receive him, and returned the ſame day to *Cicero*, near *Cumæ*, having conducted *Octavius* to the adjoining villa of his father-in-law *Philip*. *Hirtius* and *Panſa* preſented him to *Cicero*, to whom he made the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, *that he would be governed implicitly by his advice.* His domeſtics gave him the name of *Cæſar*; for the young man was determined to riſk all his hopes on the credit of this name; but *Philip* continued to call him *Octavius*, and ſo did *Cicero:* Who, ſpeaking of him to *Atticus*, ſays, "*Octavius* is ſtill with us, and treats me with the "greateſt reſpect and friendſhip . . . . *it is not poſſible for him to make a* "*good citizen, there are ſo many about him who threaten the death of our* "*friends: they declare, that what they have done can never be forgiven.*" On his arrival near *Rome*, he was met by crowds of his father's and his own friends, and conducted by them in pomp into the city. Before he diſmiſſed them, he deſired that they would attend him the next morning into the Forum; and he then went to *C. Antonius*, who, in *Brutus*'s abſence, executed the functions of *Prætor Urbanus*, claimed in a legal manner his father's ſucceſſion, and had his claim entered into the public regiſter. From the Prætor's tribunal, he went to *Pompey*'s gardens, where the Conſul *Antony* reſided. After the firſt compliments, *Octavius* having demanded of the Conſul to be put in poſſeſſion of the money and other effects *Cæſar* had left, in order to be able to diſcharge the legacies of the will: *Antony* gave him but a very ſhort audience, telling him, *that he was young, and did not know what he was about; that the title he aſſumed of heir and executor to Cæſar's will was a burden too great for his ſhoulders.* The Conſul took likewiſe all poſſible means to prevent *Octavius* from getting his adoption confirmed by the people in an aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, as the law required. He alſo oppoſed the young man in another ſcheme, that of getting into the tribuneſhip in the place of *Helvius Cinna*, killed by the mob at *Cæſar*'s funeral.

Ad Att. xiv. 12. April 22.

Appian.

Suet. Oct. 10.

Octavius, ſeeing that *Antony* openly declared againſt him, made his court to the people; and, being produced into the Roſtra by one of the Tribunes, made a ſpeech to them; which he ſeconded by what was like to pleaſe the inferior part of the city much better, a promiſe of not only paying them what *Cæſar* had bequeathed them by his will, but of adding to it, and treating them with public ſhews and plays in honour of *Cæſar*'s victories. He courted alſo the Senate, who ſhewed him on their part the more regard in proportion as *Antony* became more and more formidable: "*Octavius*, ſays *Cicero* in a letter to *Atticus*, I per- "ceive, has parts and ſpirit, and ſeems to be affected, as we could wiſh, "towards our heroes; but how far we may truſt his age, name, ſuc- "ceſſion, education, is a matter of great deliberation. His father-in- "law, who came to ſee me at *Aſtura*, thinks, *not at all.* He muſt be "cheriſhed, however, if but for nothing elſe, yet to keep him at a diſ- "tance from *Antony*. *Marcellus* acts nobly, if he inſtils into him a "good diſpoſition towards our friends. He ſeemed to be much influ-

Ad Att. xv. 12.

" enced by him, but to have no confidence in *Panſa* and *Hirtius*: His " natural diſpoſition is good, if it does but hold." Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43.

On the 20*th* of *July*, juſt after the ſhews given by *Brutus*, came on thoſe in honour of *Venus Mater*, and in memory of *Cæſar*'s victories; which *Octavius* undertook at his own expence, as thoſe who had been charged with the management of them durſt not venture to exhibit them after his death. In theſe ſhews *Octavius* brought out the *golden chair*, which, among the other honours decreed to *Cæſar* when living, was ordered to be placed in the theatres and *Circus's* on all ſolemn occaſions; but the Tribunes ordered the chair to be taken away [e]. To anſwer the immenſe expence of theſe games, and others, in which he ſoon engaged, he was obliged to ſell not only the ſucceſſion of his father, but his own eſtate, and even that of his mother and *Philip*, his father-in-law, who, ſeeing now that his claim created to him no danger, entered earneſtly into his views. 408 Conſ. Suet. Aug. 10. Dio, 44, 243.

The turn affairs had taken made *Cicero* reſolve to proſecute what he had long been projecting, his voyage into *Greece*, to ſpend a few months with his ſon at *Athens*. He deſpaired of any good from the preſent Conſuls, and intended to ſee *Rome* no more, till their ſucceſſors entered into office; in whoſe adminiſtration he began to place all his hopes. He wrote therefore to *Dolabella* to procure him the grant of *an honorary lieutenancy*; and, leſt *Antony*, an angry man, as he calls him, ſhould think himſelf ſlighted, he wrote to him too on the ſame ſubject. *Dolabella* immediately named him for one of his own Lieutenants, which anſwered his purpoſe ſtill better; for, without obliging him to any ſervice, or limiting him to any time, it left him at full liberty to go where he pleaſed; ſo that he readily accepted it, and prepared for his journey. He provided three little yatchts or gallies to tranſport himſelf and his attendants; but, as there was a report of legions arriving daily from abroad, and of pirates alſo at ſea, he thought it would be ſafer to ſail in company with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who had drawn together a fleet of conſiderable force, which now lay upon the coaſt. He gave ſeveral hints of his deſign to *Brutus*, who received it more coldly than he expected; and ſeemed uncertain and irreſolute about the time of his going. He reſolved therefore to embark without farther delay, though in ſome perplexity to the laſt, about the expediency of the voyage, and jealous of its being cenſured, as a deſertion of his country; but *Atticus* kept up his ſpirits, by aſſuring him conſtantly in his letters, Middl. p. 294. Ad Att. xv. 8. 11. Middl. p. 309. Ad Att. xvi. 14. Ad Att. xvi. 2. & 6.

[e] There appeared, during theſe games, a comet near the great bear for ſeven days together. It roſe about an hour before ſunſet, and was very bright. The people imagined that the appearance of this ſtar was to inform us, that *Cæſar*'s ſoul was received into the number of the immortal Gods. For which reaſon, a ſtar was placed over the head of the ſtatue, which *Octavius* conſecrated ſoon after in the Forum. The ſtar became afterwards the diſtinguiſhing attribute of *Cæſar* in all the monuments erected to his honour, and we find it upon many of his medals.

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that it was generally approved of at *Rome*, provided that he kept his word of returning by the firſt of the new year. He ſailed ſlowly from *Pompeii* along the weſtern coaſt of *Italy* towards *Rhegium*, going aſhore every night to lodge with ſome friend or client. He was at *Velia*, on the coaſt of *Lucania*, on the 19*th* of *July*[f]. From *Rhegium*, or rather *Leucopetra*, a promontory near it, he paſſed over to *Syracuſe*, *on the* 1*ſt of Auguſt*, and ſet ſail the next morning towards *Greece*, but was driven back by contrary winds to *Leucopetra*; and, after a ſecond attempt, with no better ſucceſs, was forced to wait for the opportunity of a fair wind. Here the principal inhabitants of the country came to pay him their compliments; ſome of them freſh from *Rome*, who brought the news of an unexpected turn of affairs there towards a general pacification: "That "*Antony* ſeemed diſpoſed to deſiſt from his pretenſions to *Gaul*, ſubmit to "the authority of the Senate, and make up matters with *Brutus* and "*Caſſius*, who had written circular letters to all the principal Senators, "to beg their attendance in the Senate on the 1*ſt* of *September*; and that "*Cicero*'s abſence was particularly regretted, and even blamed at ſuch "a criſis." This agreeable account of things made him preſently drop all thoughts of purſuing his voyage; in which he was confirmed likewiſe by letters from *Atticus*; who, contrary to his former advice, preſſed him now, in ſtrong and pathetic terms, to come back again to *Rome*. He returned therefore by the ſame courſe which he had before taken, and came back to *Velia*, on the 17*th* of *Auguſt*. *Brutus* lay within three miles of it with his fleet; and, hearing of his arrival, came immediately on foot to ſalute him: "He declared himſelf exceedingly pleaſed with "*Cicero*'s return; owned that he had never approved, though he had "not diſſuaded the voyage; thinking it indecent to give advice to a "man of his experience; but now told him plainly, that he had eſcaped "too great imputations on his character; the one, of too haſty a deſpair and deſertion of the common cauſe; the other, of the vanity of "going to ſee the *Olympic* games. This laſt, as *Cicero* ſays, would have

Ad Att. xvi. 7. Philip. 1.

[f] This was the native place of *Trebatius*; whence he wrote a kind letter to him, dated the 19*th* of *July*, adviſing him by no means to ſell that family eſtate, as he then deſigned, ſituated ſo healthfully and agreeably, and affording a convenient retreat from the confuſion of the times, among a people who intirely loved him. *Ep. Fam.* vii. 20. At this place he began his *treatiſe of Topics*, or the art of finding arguments on any queſtion. It was an abſtract of *Ariſtotle*'s piece on the ſame ſubject; which *Trebatius* happening once to meet with in *Cicero*'s Tuſculan library, had begged of him to explain. He drew it up from his memory, and finiſhed it as he ſailed before he came to *Rhegium*, whence he ſent it to *Trebatius*, with a letter, dated the 27*th*. In the ſame voyage, happening to be looking over his treatiſe on the *Academic philoſophy*, he obſerved the preface of the third book to be the ſame that he had prefixed to his book *on glory*, which he had lately ſent to *Atticus*. It was his cuſtom, it ſeems, to prepare at leiſure a number of different proems adapted to the general view of his ſtudies, and ready to be applied to any of his works, which he ſhould afterwards publiſh; ſo that by miſtake he had uſed this preface twice; he compoſed therefore a new one on ſhip-board for the piece *on glory*. Ad Att. xvi. 6. Middl. p. 310.

"been

" been ſhameful for him in any ſtate of the Republic, but in the pre- Y.R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43.
" ſent unpardonable; and profeſſes himſelf therefore greatly obliged to 408 Conſ.
" the winds for preſerving him from ſuch an infamy, and, like good
" citizens, blowing him back to the ſervice of his country."

Brutus informed him likewiſe of what had paſſed in the Senate on *the 1ſt of Auguſt*, and how *Piſo* had ſignalized himſelf by a brave and honeſt ſpeech, and ſome vigorous motions in favour of the public liberty, in which nobody had the courage to ſecond him: He produced alſo *Antony*'s edict, and their anſwer to it, which pleaſed *Cicero* exceedingly; but, on the whole, though he was ſtill ſatisfied with his reſolution of returning, yet he found no ſuch reaſon for it as his firſt intelligence had ſuggeſted, nor any hopes of doing much ſervice at *Rome*, where he arrived on the laſt of the month.

The Senate met the next morning, to which *Cicero* was particularly Middl. p. ſummoned by *Antony*, but excuſed himſelf by a civil meſſage, as being 315. too much indiſpoſed by the fatigue of his journey. *Antony* took this as an affront, and, in a great rage, openly threatened in the Senate to order his houſe to be pulled down about his ears[g]. The buſineſs of the day was to decree ſome new and extraordinary honours to the memory of *Cæſar, with a religious ſupplication to him as to a divinity*[h]. *Cicero* was determined not to concur in it, yet knew that an oppoſition would not only be fruitleſs, but dangerous; and for that reaſon ſtaid away. *Antony*, on the other hand, was deſirous to have him there, fancying that he

[g] *Plutarch in Cic.* ſays, "that *Antony* ſent "ſoldiers with orders either to bring him, "or ſet his houſe on fire; but, being diſ- "ſuaded from this violence by the interpo- "ſition of the houſe, he was ſatisfied to "make *Cicero loſe his pledge*." The Conſuls had in former times obliged the Senators to lodge certain pledges in their hands, which they were to loſe, if they refuſed obedience to their orders. But *Cicero* had given no pledge to *Antony*, nor was it now the cuſtom; and, though in his firſt *Philippic* he exclaims againſt the injurious treatment he now met with from *Antony*, he muſt be conſidered as complaining only of a paſſionate threat.

[h] *Cicero, Phil.* i. expreſſes himſelf in this manner on the ſubject of this religious ſupplication: "Do you imagine, Conſcript "Fathers, though I had been forced to at- "tend the houſe, that I ſhould have given "my vote for decreeing that parental obſe- "quies ſhould be mixed with public thankſ- "givings; that religious rites, inexpiable, "ſhould be introduced among us: That "ſupplications ſhould be ordered to the "dead? I will not ſay to whom. Had he "been a *Lucius Brutus*, who, with his own "hand, freed his country from regal ſlav- "ery, and, through a ſucceſſion of almoſt "500 years, tranſmitted a repreſentative "capable of being fired with the ſame noble "ſentiments, and performing a like glorious "exploit; never ſhould I have been brought "to conſent to the decree: Shall the dead "be joined in the worſhip due to the im- "mortal Gods, and the man who no where "has a monument of parental obſequies, "be honoured with the rites of public ſup- "plication! This opinion, Conſcript Fa- "thers, I ſhould have delivered, that I "might have been able eaſily to vindicate "myſelf to the *Roman* people, in caſe that "any heavy blow had fallen upon them "through war, through peſtilence, or fa- "mine; part of theſe indeed we already "feel, and more I am afraid now threaten "us. But the immortal Gods, I hope, "will pardon the people of *Rome*, who do "not approve of this decree, and the Se- "nate, who were compelled to grant it."

would

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would either be frightened into a compliance, which would leſſen him with his own party; or, by oppoſing what was intended, make himſelf odious to the ſoldiery. The decree paſſed without any contradiction.

The Senate met again the next day, when *Antony* thought fit to abſent himſelf, and leave the ſtage clear to *Cicero*; who accordingly appeared, and delivered the firſt of thoſe ſpeeches, which were afterwards called *his Philippics.* He opened it with a particular account of the motives of his late voyage and ſudden return; of his interview with *Brutus*, and his regret at leaving him. He then declared that "he came "to ſecond *Piſo*; and, in caſe of any accidents, of which many ſeemed "to ſurround him, to leave that day's ſpeech as a monument of his per-"petual fidelity to his country." After complaining of *Antony*'s injurious treatment of him the day before, and condemning the decree to which they were forced to give their conſent, he returned thanks to *Piſo* for what he had ſaid in that place the month before; wiſhed that he had been preſent to ſecond him; and reproved the other Conſulars for betraying their dignity by deſerting him. As to public affairs, he dwelt much on *Antony*'s abuſe of their decree to confirm *Cæſar*'s acts, and the plundering the temple of *Opis* of thoſe ſums, which might have been of great ſervice to the State. He ſhewed alſo the unreaſonableneſs of two laws, which *Antony* had propoſed: The one *to form a third order of Judges to conſiſt of military men:* And the other by which *thoſe convicted either of riotous or treaſonable practices ſhould be at liberty to appeal to the People.* He then exhorted the two Conſuls to follow the true path to glory, telling them, "that to be dear to our citizens, to deſerve well "of our country, to be praiſed, reſpected, beloved, was truly glorious: "To be feared and hated always invidious, deteſtable, weak, and tot-"tering: That *Cæſar*'s fate was a warning to them how much better it "was to be loved than to be feared: That no man could live happy who "held life on ſuch terms, that it might be taken from him not only with "impunity, but with praiſe."

Antony was greatly enraged at this ſpeech, and ſummoned another meeting of the Senate, for the 19*th*, where he again required *Cicero*'s attendance; but *Cicero* did not think proper to obey the ſummons. The Conſul made a bitter invective againſt him, which he had been preparing ever ſince the laſt meeting, and in which he charged him with every thing his reſentment could ſuggeſt: But chiefly inſiſted on his being not only privy to the murder of *Cæſar*, but the contriver of it, as well as the author of every ſtep which the Conſpirators had ſince taken. *Cicero* aſſures us, that his intention was to inflame the ſoldiers to ſome violence, whom he had placed for that purpoſe about the avenues of the temple of Concord, where the Senate met, and within hearing even of their debates. This determined him immediately to retire from *Rome*, and its neighbourhood, to his furtheſt villa's near *Naples*, where he compoſed his *ſecond Philippic*, by way of reply to *Antony*, not

not delivered in the Senate, as the tenor of it ſeems to imply, but finiſhed in the country, nor intended to be publiſhed, till things were actually come to extremity. The oration is a moſt bitter invective on *Antony*'s whole life, deſcribing it as a perpetual ſcene of lewdneſs, faction, violence, rapine, heightened with all the colours of wit and eloquence. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Brutus and *Caſſius*, during theſe tranſactions, at laſt, clearly ſeeing that *Antony* meditated nothing but war, and that their affairs were growing daily more and more deſperate, left *Italy:* And they took occaſion, a little before their departure, to write the following letter in common to *Antony:* Middl. p. 321.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, Prætors, to ANTONY, Conſul.

" IF you are in good health, it is a pleaſure to us. We have read " your letter, exactly of a piece with your edict, abuſive, threatening, " wholly unworthy to be ſent from you to us. For our part, *Antony*, " we have never done you any injury; nor imagined that you would " think it ſtrange that Prætors and men of our rank ſhould require any " thing, by edict, of a Conſul. But, if you are angry that we have " preſumed to do it, give us leave to be concerned that you would not " indulge that privilege at leaſt to *Brutus* and *Caſſius:* For, as to our " raiſing troops, exacting contributions, ſolliciting armies, ſending ex- " preſſes beyond ſea; ſince you deny that you ever complained of " it, we believe you; and take it as a proof of your good intention: " We do not, indeed, own any ſuch practices; yet think it ſtrange, " when you objected nothing of that kind, that you could not contain " yourſelf from reproaching us with the death of *Cæſar*. Conſider with " yourſelf, whether it is to be endured, that, for the ſake of the pub- " lic quiet and liberty, Prætors cannot depart from their rights by E- " dict, but the Conſul muſt threaten them with arms. Do not think " to frighten us with ſuch threats: It is not agreeable to our character " to be moved by any danger: Nor muſt *Antony* pretend to command " thoſe by whoſe means he now lives free. If there were other reaſons " to diſpoſe us to raiſe a civil war, your letter would have no effect to " hinder it: For threats can have no influence on thoſe who are free. " But you know very well that it is not poſſible for us to be driven to " any thing againſt our will; and for that reaſon, perhaps, you threaten, " that, whatever we do, it may ſeem to be the effect of fear. Theſe " then are our ſentiments: We wiſh to ſee you live with honour and " ſplendor in a free Republic; have no deſire to quarrel with you; " yet value our liberty more than your friendſhip. It is your buſineſs " to conſider again and again what you attempt, and what you can main- " tain; and to reflect, not how long *Cæſar* lived, but how ſhort a time " he reigned: We pray the Gods that your counſels may be ſalutary " both to the Republic and to yourſelf; if not, wiſh, at leaſt, that

" they

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ. "they may hurt you as little as may conſiſt with the ſafety and dignity "of the Republic. *Auguſt* the 4th."

Middl. p. 313. The two Prætors were to ſucceed of courſe to the government of ſome province at the expiration of their office. *Cæſar* had intended *Macedonia* for *Brutus*, and *Syria* for *Caſſius*: But as theſe were two of the moſt important commands of the Empire, and would throw a great power into their hands, at a time when their enemies were taking meaſures to deſtroy them; ſo *Antony* contrived to get two other provinces of an inferior kind decreed to them, *Crete* to *Brutus*, and *Cyrene* to *Caſſius*; and, by a law of the people, procured *Macedonia* and *Syria* to be conferred upon himſelf and his collegue *Dolabella*; in conſequence of which, he ſent his brother *Caius* in all haſte, to poſſeſs himſelf of the firſt, and *Dolabella* to ſecure the ſecond, before their rivals could be in a condition to ſeize them by force, of which they were greatly apprehenſive; taking it for granted that this was the project which *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were now meditating. *Caſſius* had acquired a great reputation in the Eaſt by his conduct in the *Parthian* war, and *Brutus* was highly honoured in *Greece* for his reputation of virtue and love of philoſophy: They reſolved therefore to ſlight the petty provinces which were granted to them, and to try their fortunes in the more powerful ones that *Cæſar* had promiſed them: And with that view had provided the fleets abovementioned, to tranſport themſelves to thoſe countries, which they had deſtined for the ſcene of action; *Brutus* to *Macedonia*, *Caſſius* to *Syria*; where we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to give a farther account of their ſucceſs.

The deſperate ſtate of the party of the Conſpirators, at this time, cannot be better repreſented than by giving the reader a letter of *Cicero* to *Caſſius*: "It gives me great pleaſure to find that my late ſpeech [his firſt Philippic] "has received your approbation. If I could more fre- "quently enforce the ſame ſentiments, the liberties of the Republic "might eaſily be recovered. But that far more deſperate and deteſ- "table ſcoundrel [*Antony*] than he at whoſe death you ſaid, *the worſt of* "*all villains is expired*, is watching for a pretence to begin his mur- "derous purpoſes: And his ſingle view in charging me with having "adviſed the killing of *Cæſar* is merely to excite the veteran ſoldiers "againſt my life. But this is a danger which I am not afraid to hazard, "ſince he gives me a ſhare with you in the honour of that glorious "deed. Hence it is, however, that neither *Piſo*, who firſt ventured to "inveigh againſt the meaſures of *Antony*; nor myſelf, who made a "ſpeech afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, about a month afterwards; "nor *P. Servilius*, who followed my example, can any of us appear "with ſafety in the Senate. For this inhuman gladiator has evidently "a deſign upon our lives, and he hoped to have rendered me the firſt "victim of his cruel vengeance. With this ſanguinary view he entered "the

Ep. Fam. xii. 2. Melm. xii. 24.

" the Senate on the 19*th* of *September*, having ſeveral days before re- Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.
" tired to the villa of *Metellus*, in order to prepare an inflammatory
" ſpeech againſt me. But who ſhall reconcile the ſilent meditations of
" eloquence with the noiſy revels of lewdneſs and debauchery? Ac-
" cordingly, it was the opinion of all his audience, that he could not
" ſo properly be ſaid to have delivered a ſpeech, as to have diſcharged,
" with his uſual indecency, the horrid fumes of his ſcandalous intem-
" perance.

" You are perſuaded, you tell me, that my credit and eloquence will be
" able to produce ſome good effect. And ſome indeed it has produced,
" conſidering the ſad ſituation of our affairs. It has rendered the people
" ſenſible that there are three perſons of *conſular* rank, who, becauſe
" they are in the intereſt of the Republic, and have ſpoken their ſenti-
" ments in the Senate with freedom, cannot attend that aſſembly with-
" out the danger of being aſſaſſinated. And this is all the good you are
" to expect from my oratory. A certain relation of yours [h] is ſo capti-
" vated with his new alliance, that he no longer concerns himſelf in the
" ſucceſs of your games; but, on the contrary, is mortified at thoſe
" peals of applauſe with which your brother [i] was diſtinguiſhed. Ano-
" ther of your family has been ſoftened by ſome grants, which it is pre-
" tended that *Cæſar* had deſigned to confer upon him. This, howe-
" ver, might be borne with patience: But is it not utterly beyond all
" endurance, that there ſhould be a man, who dares openly to avow that
" he ſupports the meaſures of that ſcoundrel *Antony*, with the hopes
" that his ſon will be choſen Conſul, when you and *Brutus* are intitled to
" be Candidates for that office? As to our friend *L. Cotta*, a fatal deſ-
" pair (for ſo he terms it himſelf) has almoſt intirely driven him from
" the Senate. *L. Cæſar*, that firm and excellent patriot, is prevented
" from coming thither by his ill ſtate of health: And *S. Sulpicius*, who
" is a true friend to the cauſe of liberty, and whoſe authority might be
" of infinite ſervice in the preſent conjuncture, is unhappily abſent from
" *Rome*. After having mentioned theſe, I muſt take the liberty to ſay,
" that I cannot add any others, excepting the Conſuls elect, who may
" be juſtly deemed as well-wiſhers to the Republic. The truth is, theſe
" are the only perſons upon whoſe advice and authority the Com-
" monwealth can depend. And ſmall, indeed, would their number
" be, even in the beſt of times: How unequal then muſt their ſtrength
" be found, to combat againſt the worſt? All our hopes, therefore,
" reſt intirely upon you and *Brutus*; I mean, if you have not withdrawn
" from us with a view only to your own preſervation: For, if that ſhould
" be the caſe, we have nothing, alas! to hope neither from *Brutus* nor
" from you. But if, on the contrary, you are forming ſome glorious

[h] *Lepidus* is ſuppoſed to be the perſon here meant. He was related to *Caſſius* by his own marriage, and had lately married his ſon to *Antony*'s daughter. *Melm.*

[i] He conducted the games which *Caſſius* gave as Prætor.

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"enterpriſe, worthy of your exalted characters; I doubt not but the "Republic, by your aſſiſtance, will ſoon recover her liberties; and I "have only to wiſh, that I may not be deſtroyed ere that happy day "ſhall arrive. In the mean time, my beſt ſervices neither are, nor ſhall "be wanting to your family: And, whether they ſhould apply to me "for that purpoſe, or not, I ſhall never fail to give them proofs of my "friendſhip towards you. Farewell."

Antony kept no longer any meaſures with the Republican party: He declared himſelf more and more openly every day againſt the Conſpirators, and, to ingratiate himſelf with the veteran ſoldiers, threatened them in his edicts, and diſcovered an intention to revenge the death of *Cæſar*. After the decree of a religious ſupplication to *Cæſar*, and parental obſequies above-mentioned, he erected a ſtatue in the Roſtra, and inſcribed it, *To the moſt worthy Parent of his country.* Theſe acts were ſo many public and ſolemn declarations, that the Conſpirators were not only *murderers*, but *parricides*. All the hopes, therefore, of the Republicans were now grounded in the quarrel between *Antony* and *Octavius*. The latter, perceiving there was nothing to be done for him in the city againſt a Conſul armed with ſupreme power both civil and military, formed a deſign againſt *Antony*'s life, and actually provided certain ſlaves to aſſaſſinate him, who were diſcovered and ſeized with poniards in *Antony*'s houſe, as they were watching an opportunity to execute their plot. The ſtory was ſuppoſed by many to be forged by *Antony*, to juſtify his treatment of *Octavius*, and his depriving him of the eſtate of his uncle: But the greateſt part of the old writers treat it as an undoubted fact, and *Cicero* ſays, that all men of ſenſe both believed and applauded it. Theſe two Chiefs of the *Cæſareans* now made open preparations for war. *Antony* left *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, in order to meet and engage in his ſervice four legions from *Macedonia*, which had been ſent thither by *Cæſar* on their way to *Parthia*, and were now, by his orders, returning to *Italy*. *Octavius*, on his ſide, ſent alſo ſome of his adherents, with money, to engage them to prefer his ſervice to *Antony*'s, while he himſelf went into *Campania*, to ſollicit the veterans diſtributed in the colonies about *Capua*. Thoſe of *Calatia* and *Caſilinum* immediately joined him, to the number of 1000, to each of whom he diſtributed 500 denarii: Theſe were afterwards called *Evocati*. *Antony* was not ſo well received at *Brunduſium*, where he arrived the 8*th* of *October*: For the ſoldiers, diſcontented with his behaviour towards the Conſpirators, received him without any ſigns of joy, and followed him in ſilence to his tribunal, to hear what he had to ſay for himſelf. He began by reproaching them with their ingratitude, in not being ſenſible of their obligations to him, who, inſtead of ſending them upon an expedition to *Parthia*, brought them into *Italy*; but when he came to the point, and offered them only 100 denarii, whilſt *Octavius* gave five times as much to thoſe who followed him, they all left his tribunal. This affront put

Suet. in Oct. 10. Plut. in Ant.

Ep. Fam. xii. 23.

Cic. ibid. Vell. Pat. ii. 6. App. l. 3. p. 543, 546, et 558. Dio, l. 45.

About 181.

him into ſuch a rage, that, calling together the Centurions, whom he ſuſpected to be the authors of their diſaffection, he ordered them to be maſſacred in his own lodgings, while he and his wife *Fulvia* ſtood calmly looking on. *Octavius*'s emiſſaries greatly profited by this mad behaviour, and ſpread among the ſoldiers billets in which they compared the uſage they had met with from *Cæſar*, and what they might expect from his ſon and heir, with this treatment of *Antony*. All he could do by his promiſes and threats was to engage the legion of the *Alaudæ* [k] to follow him: The other three, without taking his money or giving him any mark of affection, took their route along the *Adriatic* coaſt, without declaring yet for any ſide. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 4c8 Conſ. Philipp. iii. et v. App. p. 651.

Antony ſtaid in thoſe parts till the end of *October*. *Octavius*, on his ſide, was very active in ſolliciting the veterans in all the colonies, and was equally preſſing to gain the Republicans over to his intereſt, and particularly *Cicero*, by whoſe influence he hoped to gain the others, offering to be their head againſt *Antony*. He wrote, therefore, letter after letter to *Cicero* [l] to aſſure him of his good diſpoſitions, and to aſk his

[k] This legion was raiſed by *J. Cæſar* and compoſed of the natives of *Gaul* armed and diſciplined after the *Roman* manner, to which he gave the freedom of *Rome*. He called it by a *Gallic* name *Alaudæ*; which ſignifies a kind of lark or little bird with a tuft or creſt riſing upon its head: In imitation of which this legion wore a creſt of feathers on the helmet; from which origin the word was adopted into the *Latin* tongue. *Antony*, out of compliment to theſe troops, and to aſſure himſelf of their fidelity, had lately made a *judiciary law*, by which he erected a third claſs of Judges, to be drawn from the officers of this legion, and added to the other two of *Senators* and *Knights*; for which *Cicero* often reproaches him as a moſt infamous proſtitution of the dignity of the Republic. *Philipp.* i. 8. *Middl. p.* 325.

[l] "I had two letters the ſame day from "*Octavius*; he preſſes me to come immediately to *Rome*; is reſolved, he ſays, to "do nothing without the Senate.—I tell "him that there can be no Senate till the "1ſt of *January*, which I take to be true. "He adds alſo: *Nor without my advice*. In "a word, he urges: I hang back: I cannot truſt his age; do not know his "real intentions; will do nothing without *Panſa*; am afraid that *Antony* may "prove too ſtrong for him; and therefore "unwilling to ſtir from the ſea; yet would "not have any thing vigorous done without me. *Varro does not like the conduct of "the boy*, but I do. He has firm troops, "and may join with *D. Brutus*: What he "does he does openly; muſters his troops "at *Capua*; pays them; we ſhall have a "war, I ſee, inſtantly." *Ad Att.* xvi. 9.

"I have letters every day from *Octavius*, "to undertake his affairs; to come to him "at *Capua*; to ſave the State a ſecond time: "He reſolves to come directly to *Rome*.

"Urg'd to the fight, 'tis ſhameful to refuſe,
"Whilſt fear yet prompts the ſafer part to "chuſe." *Hom. Il.* vii.

"He has hitherto acted, and acts ſtill with "vigour, and will come to *Rome* with a great "force. Yet he is but a boy: He thinks "the Senate may be called immediately: "But who will come? or, if they do, who, "in this uncertainty of affairs, will declare "againſt *Antony*? He will be a good guard "to us on the 1ſt of *January*; or it may "come, perhaps, to blows before. The "great towns favour the boy ſtrangely—"They flock to him from all parts, and exhort him to proceed: *Could you ever have "thought it?*" Ibid. 11. They were not therefore ſo much in the intereſt of the Conſpirators, as *Cicero* ſometimes affirms.

In the hurry of all theſe politics, he was proſecuting his ſtudies ſtill with his uſual application; and, beſides the *ſecond Philippic* already mentioned, now finiſhed his book *of Offices*,

Y. R. 709. Ect. Chr. 43. 408 Conf. advice, whether he ſhould advance to *Rome*, before *Antony*'s return, with 3000 veterans, or keep the poſt of *Capua* and oppoſe his progreſs there; or go to the *Macedonian* legions, who were marching along the *Adriatic* ſea, and who, he hoped, were in his intereſt. *Cicero* adviſed him to march to *Rome*, where he was likely to have the lower people on his ſide. He did ſo, and, being produced in the *Roſtra* by the Tribune *Canutius*, made a ſpeech againſt *Antony*, declaring that he came to deliver the Republic from his oppreſſion: He nevertheleſs let drop ſome expreſſions which greatly ſtartled the Republicans: For, ſtretching out his hand to *Cæſar*'s ſtatue, he made uſe of this oath: *So may I arrive at the honours of my father.* He did not think proper to wait *Antony*'s return, but left the city to join the reſt of his ſoldiers.

Antony, in his way back to *Rome*, marched with colours diſplayed, and raiſed contributions in all the great towns: He entered the city at the head of his legion, and poſted it about his own houſe, giving the word of command, and obliging them to do duty as in a camp. He publiſhed at the ſame time ſeveral fierce and threatening edicts, in which he gave *Octavius* the name of *Spartacus*; reproached him with the ignobleneſs of his birth; charged *Cicero* with being the author of all his councils; abuſed young *Quintus* as a perfidious wretch, who had offered to kill both his father and uncle; forbad three of the Tribunes, under pain of death, to appear in the Senate; *Q. Caſſius*, the brother of the Conſpirator, *Carfulenus*, and *Canutius*. In this humour he ſummoned the Senate on the 24*th* of *November*, with ſevere threats to thoſe who ſhould abſent themſelves; yet he himſelf neglected to come, and adjourned it by edict till the 28*th*. But, while all people were in expectation of ſome extraordinary decrees from him, and of one particularly, which he had prepared, *to declare young Cæſar a public enemy*; he happened to receive the news that two of the legions from *Brunduſium*, *the fourth*, and that called *the Martial*, had actually declared for *Octavius*, and had poſted themſelves at *Alba* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. This ſhocked him ſo much, that, inſtead of proſecuting what he had projected, he only huddled over what nobody oppoſed, the decree of a ſupplication to *Lepidus*; and the ſame evening, after he had diſtributed to his friends, by a pretended allotment, the ſeveral provinces of the Empire, which few or none of them durſt accept from ſo precarious a title, he changed the habit of the Conſul for that of a General, and left the city with precipitation, to put himſelf at the head of his army, and poſſeſs himſelf by force of *Ciſalpine Gaul*, aſſigned to him by a pretended law of the People, againſt the will of the Senate.

Middl. p. 329.

Philipp. iii. ix. et viii.

Middl. p. 330.

On the news of his retreat, *Cicero* preſently quitted his books and the country, and ſet out towards *Rome*. He ſeemed to be called by the

Offices, or *the Duties of man*, for the uſe of his ſon. He now alſo drew up, as it is thought, his *Stoical Paradoxes* or an illuſtration of the peculiar doctrines of that ſect, from the examples and characters of their own countrymen, which he addreſſed to *Brutus*. Middl. p. 327.

voice

voice of the Republic, to take the reins once more into his hands. The field was now open to him; there was not a Conſul, and ſcarce a ſingle Prætor in the city, nor any troops from which he could apprehend danger. He arrived on the *9th* of *December*, and immediately conferred with *Panſa* (for *Hirtius* lay very ill) about the meaſures proper to be taken on their approaching entrance into the conſulſhip. Before his leaving the country, *Oppius* had been with him to preſs him again to undertake the affairs of *Octavius* and the protection of his troops: But his anſwer was, "that he could not conſent to it, unleſs he were firſt aſ- "ſured, that *Octavius* would not only be no enemy, but even a friend "to *Brutus*; that he could be of no ſervice to *Octavius* till the *1ſt* of *Ja-* "*nuary*, and there would be an opportunity before that time of trying "*Octavius*'s diſpoſition, in the caſe of *Caſca*, who had been named by "*Cæſar* to the tribunate, and was to enter upon it on the *10th* of *De-* "*cember*: For, if *Octavius* did not oppoſe or diſturb his admiſſion, that "would be a proof of his good intentions." *Oppius* undertook for all this on the part of *Octavius*, and *Octavius* himſelf confirmed it, and ſuffered *Caſca*, who gave the firſt blow to *Cæſar*, to enter quietly into his office. The Tribunes, in the mean time, in the abſence of the ſuperior magiſtrates, called a meeting of the Senate on the *19th*. *Cicero* had reſolved not to appear there any more till he ſhould be ſupported by the new Conſuls; but happening to receive, the day before, the edict of *D. Brutus*, by which he prohibited *Antony* the entrance of his province, and declared that he would defend it againſt him by force, and preſerve it in its duty to the Senate, he thought it neceſſary for the public ſervice and the preſent encouragement of *Brutus*, to procure, as ſoon as poſſible, ſome public declaration in his favour: He went, therefore, to the Senate very early, which, being known to the other Senators, preſently drew together a full houſe, in expectation of hearing his ſentiments in ſo nice and critical a ſituation of the public affairs.

Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

Ad Att. xvi. 15.

The Senate being aſſembled, the Tribunes acquainted them, that the buſineſs of that meeting was to provide a guard for the ſecurity of the new Conſuls, and the protection of the Senate, in the freedom of their debates; but that they gave a liberty withal of taking *the whole State of the Republic* into conſideration. Upon this *Cicero* opened the debate, and repreſented to them "the danger of their preſent condition, "and the neceſſity of ſpeedy and reſolute councils againſt an enemy, "who loſt no time in attempting their ruin. That they had been ruined "indeed before, had it not been for the courage and virtue of young "*Cæſar*, who, contrary to all expectation, and without being even de- "ſired to do what no man thought poſſible for him to do, had, by "his private authority and experice, raiſed a ſtrong army of veterans, "and baffled the deſigns of *Antony*: That if *Antony* had ſucceeded at "*Brunduſium*, and prevailed with the legions to follow him, he would "have filled the city at his return with blood and ſlaughter: That it

"was

Y. R. 709 Bef. Chr. 43. 408 Conſ.

" was their part to authoriſe and confirm what *Cæſar* had done, and to " impower him to do more, by employing his troops in the farther ſervice " of the State; and to make a ſpecial proviſion alſo for the two legions " which declared for him againſt *Antony*. As to *D. Brutus*, who had pro- " miſed by edict to preſerve *Gaul* in the obedience of the Senate, that he " was a citizen born for the good of the Republic; the imitator of his " anceſtors; nay, had even exceeded their merit: That it was neceſſary " therefore to confirm by public authority what *Brutus* had done by " private, in preſerving the province of *Gaul*, the flower of *Italy*, and " the bulwark of the empire. Then, after largely inveighing againſt " *Antony*'s character, and enumerating particularly all his cruelties and " violences, he exhorts them, in a pathetic manner, to act with cou- " rage in the defence of the Republic, or die bravely in the attempt: " That now was the time either to recover their liberty, or to live for " ever ſlaves: That if the fatal day was come, and *Rome* was deſtined " to periſh, it would be a ſhame for them, the Governors of the world, " not to fall with as much courage as gladiators were uſed to do, and " die with dignity rather than live with diſgrace. He puts them in mind " of the many advantages which they had towards encouraging their " hopes and reſolution: The body of the people alert and eager in the " cauſe; young *Cæſar* in the guard of the city; *Brutus* of *Gaul*; two " Conſuls of the greateſt prudence, virtue, concord between themſelves; " who had been meditating nothing elſe, for many months paſt, but the " public tranquillity: To all which he promiſes his own attention and " vigilance both day and night for their ſafety. On the whole, there- " fore, he gives his vote and opinion that the new Conſuls *C. Panſa* and " *A. Hirtius* ſhould take care that the Senate may meet with ſecurity on " the *1ſt* of *January*: That *D. Brutus*, Emperor and Conſul elect, had " merited greatly of the Republic, by defending the authority and the " liberty of the Senate and People of *Rome:* That his army, the towns " and colonies of his province, ſhould be publicly thanked and praiſed " for their fidelity to him: That it ſhould be decreed of the laſt conſe- " quence to the Republic, that *D. Brutus* and *L. Plancus* (who com- " manded the farther *Gaul)* Emperor and Conſul elect, as well as all " others, who had the command of provinces, ſhould keep them in their " duty to the Senate, till ſucceſſors were appointed by the Senate: And " ſince, by the pains, virtue, and conduct of young *Cæſar*, and the aſ- " ſiſtance of the veteran ſoldiers who followed him, the Republic had " been delivered, and was ſtill defended from the greateſt dangers; and " ſince the *Martial* and fourth legions, under that excellent citizen and " Quæſtor *Egnatuleius*, had voluntarily declared for the authority of the " Senate, and the liberty of the people; that the Senate ſhould take " ſpecial care that due honours and thanks be paid to them for their " eminent ſervices: And that the new Conſuls, on their entrance into " office, ſhould make it their firſt buſineſs to ſee all this executed in

" proper

" proper form." To all this the Houſe unanimouſly agreed, and ordered a decree to be drawn conformably to his opinion. Y. R. 709. Bef. Chr. 43.

From the Senate he paſſed directly to the Forum, and, in a ſpeech to the people, gave an account of what had paſſed. Thoſe ſpeeches, which ſtand the *third* and *fourth* in the order of his *Philippics*, were extremely well received by the Senate and People; ſpeaking afterwards of the latter of them to the ſame People, he ſays: *If that day had put an end to my life, I had reaped ſufficient fruit from it, when you all, with one mind and voice, cried out, that I had twice ſaved the Republic.* As he had now broken all meaſures with *Antony*, beyond the poſſibility of a reconciliation, ſo he publiſhed, probably, about this time, his ſecond *Philippic*, which had hitherto been communicated only to a few friends. 408 Conſ. Philipp. vi.

The ſhort remainder of this turbulent year was ſpent in preparing arms and troops for the guard of the new Conſuls and the defence of the State: And the new levies were carried on with the greater diligence, from the certain accounts that were brought to *Rome* that *Antony* was actually beſieging *Mutina*, into which *Brutus*, unable to oppoſe him in the field, had thrown himſelf with all his forces, as the ſtrongeſt town of his province, and the beſt provided to ſuſtain a ſiege. Young *Cæſar*, in the mean while, without expecting the orders of the Senate, but with the advice of *Cicero*, by which he pretended to govern himſelf in every ſtep, marched out of *Rome* at the head of his troops, and followed *Antony* into the province; in order to obſerve his motions, and take all occaſions of diſtreſſing him; as well as to encourage *Brutus* to defend himſelf with vigour till the Conſuls could bring up the grand army, which they were preparing for his relief.

CHAP. XIII.

The Senate ſends an embaſſy to Antony *with peremptory orders to raiſe the ſiege of* Mutina, *and* Hirtius *marches at the head of an army to join* Octavius. Antony *refuſes to comply with the orders of the Senate, and his propoſals are reciprocally rejected: It is voted that there is a tumult: That* Antony *is an adverſary, and that the town ſhall take the Sagum.* M. Brutus's *ſucceſs in* Macedonia. Trebonius *ſurpriſed and killed by* Dolabella *in* Aſia, *who is voted a public enemy by the Senate.* Caſſius *makes himſelf maſter of* Syria *and all the forces in the Eaſt.* Lepidus *exhorts the Senate to pacific meaſures; and* Antony *endeavours to draw off the Conſuls and* Octavius *from the intereſt of* Cicero *and his party without effect. Two ſucceſſive battles in which* Antony *is defeated, and both Conſuls loſe their lives.*

A. Hirtius, C. Vibius Pansa, } Conſuls.

THE

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

THE two Conſuls were no ſooner inaugurated, than the Senate aſſembled to conſider of the preſent ſtate of the Republic, in order to perfect what had been reſolved upon at their laſt meeting, and to contrive ſome farther means for the ſecurity of the public tranquillity. They both ſpoke with great ſpirit and firmneſs, offering themſelves as leaders, in aſſerting the liberty of their country, and exhorting the aſſembly to courage and reſolution in the defence of ſo good a cauſe [m], and, when they had done, they called upon *Q. Fufius Calenus*, to deliver his ſentiments the firſt. He had been Conſul four years before, and was father-in law to *Panſa*, which, by cuſtom, was a ſufficient ground for paying him that compliment. *Calenus's* opinion was, *that, before they proceeded to acts of hoſtility, they ſhould ſend an embaſſy to Antony, to admoniſh him to deſiſt from his attempt upon Gaul, and ſubmit to the authority of the Senate.* *Piſo* and ſeveral others were of the ſame mind, alledging it to be unjuſt and cruel to condemn a man, till they had firſt heard what he had to ſay for himſelf.

Phil. v. 1, 2, 3.

But *Cicero*, in a ſpeech which makes his fifth *Philippic*, oppoſed this motion with great warmth, "not only as vain and fooliſh, but dangerous and pernicious: He declared it diſhonourable to treat with any "one who was in arms againſt his country, until he laid them down, "and ſued for peace, in which caſe no man would be more moderate "or equitable than himſelf: That they had in effect proclaimed him "an enemy already, and had nothing left but to confirm it by decree. "That, whatever was the purpoſe of their embaſſy or meſſage, it would "ſignify nothing; if, to beg him to be quiet, he would deſpiſe it; if, "to command him, he would not obey it.—That, without any poſſible good, it would be a certain damage; would neceſſarily create delay, and obſtruction to the operations of the war; check the zeal of "the army, damp the ſpirits of the people, whom they now ſaw ſo "briſk and eager in the cauſe. That his opinion therefore was to "make no farther mention of an embaſſy, but to enter inſtantly into "action; that there ſhould be a ceſſation of all civil buſineſs; a public tumult proclaimed; the ſhops ſhut up; and that, inſtead of their "uſual gown, they ſhould all put on the *Sagum*, or habit of war; and "that levies of ſoldiers ſhould be made in *Rome*, and through *Italy*, "without any exception of privilege or diſmiſſion from ſervice.—That "the very fame of this vigour would reſtrain the madneſs of *Antony*, "and let the world ſee that the caſe was not, as he pretended, *a ſtruggle "only of contending parties, but a real war againſt the Commonwealth.*— "That the whole Republic ſhould be committed to the Conſuls, to "take care that it received no detriment; and that pardon ſhould be "offered to thoſe of *Antony*'s army, who ſhould return to their duty

[m] Ut oratio conſulum animum meum erexit, ſpemque attulit non modo ſalutis conſervandæ verum etiam dignitatis priſtinæ recuperandæ. *Phil.* v. 1.

"before

" before the 1*ſt of February.*"—The Conſuls favoured the opinion of *Calenus*, but did not ſuffer the queſtion to be put to the vote, ſeeing a clear majority on the ſide of *Cicero* *. The debate, being continued till night, was adjourned to the next morning, and kept up with the ſame warmth for three days ſucceſſively. The firmneſs of *Antony*'s friends, and the reaſonableneſs of the propoſal, prevailed at laſt for *an embaſſy*; and three Conſular Senators were nominated to it, *S. Sulpitius*, *L. Piſo*, and *L. Philippus*. But their commiſſion was ſtrictly limited, and drawn up by *Cicero* himſelf; giving them no power to treat with *Antony*, but only to carry to him *the peremptory commands of the Senate* to quit the ſiege of *Mutina*, and to deſiſt from all hoſtilities in *Gaul*. They had inſtructions likewiſe, after the delivery of their meſſage, to ſpeak with *D. Brutus* in *Mutina*, and ſignify to him and his army, that the Senate and people had a grateful ſenſe of their ſervices, which would one day be a great honour to them. The unuſual length of theſe debates greatly raiſed the curioſity of the city, and drew the whole body of the people into the Forum, to expect the iſſue; where they called upon *Cicero*, with one voice, to come and give them an account of the deliberations. He went therefore directly from the Senate into the Roſtra, being produced by *Apuleius*, the Tribune, and pronounced his *ſixth Philippic*. His ſeventh he pronounced in the Senate, during the embaſſy, to lay open the intrigues of *Calenus*, who was endeavouring to obviate the offence which might be given by *Antony*'s refuſal to comply with what was injoined; contriving ſpecious anſwers for him, and repreſenting them as a reaſonable ground of an accommodation, in hopes to cool the ardour of the city for the proſecution of the war. He kept a conſtant correſpondence with *Antony*, and took care to publiſh ſuch of his letters as were proper to depreſs the hopes and courage of his adverſaries, and keep up the ſpirits of his friends.

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The Conſuls in the mean while were taking care that the expectation of the effect of the embaſſy ſhould not ſuperſede their preparations for war; and agreed between themſelves, that one of them ſhould march immediately to *Gaul* with the troops which were already provided, and the other ſtay behind to perfect the new levies, which were carried on with great ſucceſs both in the city and the country: For *Cicero* tells us, that all the capital towns of *Italy* were vying with each other in voluntary contributions of money and ſoldiers; and in decrees of infamy and diſgrace to thoſe who refuſed to liſt themſelves into the public ſervice. The firſt part fell by lot to *Hirtius*; who, though but lately recovered from a dangerous diſorder, marched without loſs of time at the head of a brave army; and particularly of the two legions, the *Martial* and the *fourth*, which were eſteemed the flower and ſtrength of the whole, and now put themſelves under the command and auſpices of the Conſul: And this ſeems to prove that there was a good underſtanding

Ep. Fam. xi. 8.

Phil. vii. 8, 9.

* *Appian* ſays, that *Salvius*, one of the Tribunes, interpoſed his negative.

Y. R. 710. Eſt. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

between *Hirtius* and *Octavius*; and that the laſt could rely upon the Conſul [n]. With theſe, in conjunction with *Octavius*, he hoped to obſtruct all the deſigns of *Antony*, and prevent his gaining any advantage againſt *Decimus*, till *Panſa* could join them; which would make them ſuperior in force, and enable them to give him battle, with good aſſurance of victory. He contented himſelf, in the mean while, with diſpoſſeſſing *Antony* of ſome of his poſts, and diſtreſſing him, by ſtraitening his quarters and opportunities of forage; in which he had ſome ſucceſs, as he ſignified in a letter to his collegue *Panſa*, which was communicated to the Senate: "I have poſſeſſed myſelf, ſays he, of *Claterna*, and "driven out *Antony*'s garriſon; his horſe were routed in the action, and ſome of them ſlain."

Philip. viii. 2.

Middl. p. 352.

The ambaſſadors returned about the beginning of *February*, having been retarded, ſomewhat longer than they intended, by the death of *S. Sulpicius*. They reported to the Senate, that *Antony* refuſed to perform any part of what was required, and would not ſuffer them to ſpeak with *Brutus*, but continued to batter the town with great fury in their preſence: And they laid before the aſſembly ſome conditions of his own, which, contrary to their inſtructions, they were weak enough to receive from him [o]. The purport of them was, "that the Senate ſhould aſ"ſign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other "grants which he and *Dolabella* had made in their conſulſhip; that all "his decrees from *Cæſar*'s books and papers ſhould ſtand firm; that "no account ſhould be demanded of the money taken from the temple "of *Opis*; nor any inquiry made into the conduct of the ſeven Com"miſſioners created to divide the lands to the veteran ſoldiers; and that "his judiciary law ſhould not be repealed: On theſe terms he offered "to give up *Ciſalpine Gaul*, provided that he might have the greater "*Gaul* in exchange for five years, with an army of ſix legions, to be "completed out of the troops of *D. Brutus*." This report contributed greatly towards bringing the houſe into *Cicero*'s ſentiments; but, contrary to expectation, he found *Calenus*'s party ſtill ſtrong enough to give him much trouble, and even to carry ſome points againſt him,

[n] *Cicero*, in one of his letters to *Brutus*, ſays that the conduct of *Octavius* was truer to the intereſt of the ſtate than that of *Hirtius*'s; which only proves that *Octavius* was a better diſſembler.

[o] *Appian* tells us, that the Commiſſioners, aſhamed to have brought *Antony* ſo inſolent a command, delivered it into his hands without ſaying a word. That *Antony* at ſight of it fell into a rage, and uttered many violent threats againſt the Senate, and *Cicero* in particular; telling the deputies that it amazed him that *Cæſar*, who had done ſuch mighty ſervices to the *Roman* Empire, ſhould be eſteemed a tyrant, and that men ſhould not have the ſame opinion of *Cicero*, who, having been made a priſoner of war and pardoned, now ſided with the murderers of his merciful conqueror; favouring *Decimus*, whom he a little before deteſted; and ſupporting in the government of *Gaul* the man named by the pretended tyrant againſt the Conſul named by the people; that he had conſented to the amneſty for the ſake of *two men*, whom he reſpected; but that he would annul that indemnity, with which they were not content.

all

all tending to ſoften the rigour of his motions, and to give them a favourable turn towards *Antony*. He moved the Senate to decree that *a war or rebellion was actually commenced*; they carried it for *a tumult*: He urged them to *declare Antony an enemy*; they carried it for the ſofter term of an *adverſary*: He propoſed, that all perſons ſhould be prohibited from going to *Antony*; they excepted *Varius Cotyla*, one of his Lieutenants, who was then in the Senate, taking notes of every thing that paſſed. In theſe votes *Panſa* himſelf and all the *Conſular Senators* concurred; even *L. Cæſar*, who, though a true friend to liberty, yet, being *Antony*'s uncle, thought himſelf obliged by decency to vote on the milder ſide. But *Cicero*, in his turn, eaſily threw out, what was warmly preſſed on the other ſide, *the propoſal of a ſecond embaſſy*; and carried likewiſe the main queſtion, of requiring the citizens to change their ordinary gown for the *ſagum, or habit of war*; by which they decreed the thing, while they rejected the name. *Cicero*, though all Conſular Senators were excuſed on theſe occaſions from changing their habit, put it on immediately. In a letter to *Caſſius*, he gives the following ſhort account of the ſtate of things at this time. "We have excellent Conſuls, but moſt "ſhameful Conſulars: A brave Senate, but the lower they are in dig-"nity, the braver: Nothing firmer and better than the people, and all "*Italy* univerſally: But nothing more deteſtable and infamous than our "ambaſſadors *Philip* and *Piſo*; who, when ſent only to carry the or-"ders of the Senate to *Antony*, none of which he would comply with, "brought back of their own accord intolerable demands from him; "wherefore all the world now flock about me, and I am grown popu-"lar in a ſalutary cauſe." The Senate met again the next day to draw into form and perfect what had been reſolved in the preceding debate, and *Cicero* took the occaſion to expoſtulate with them for their lenity the day before, which is the ſubject of his *8th Philippic*. The ninth was pronounced the day following, the Senate being aſſembled to deliberate on the proper honours to be decreed to the memory of *Sulpicius*, who died upon the embaſſy: *Cicero*, after ſpeaking largely in his praiſe, adviſed to pay him all the honours which had ever been paid to any who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their country; *a public funeral, ſepulchre, and ſtatue*. The ſtatue was objected to by *Servilius*, but *Cicero* carried it; and we are told by a writer of the *third century*, that it remained to his time in the *Roſtra of Auguſtus* [p].

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ. Phil. xii. 7. Philip. viii. 1, 10. Ep. Fam. xii. 4. Melm. xiii. 6. Pomponius de origine juris.

The Senate had heard nothing of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* from the time of their leaving *Italy*, till *Brutus* now ſent public letters to the *Conſuls*, giving a particular account of his ſucceſs againſt *Antony*'s brother *Caius*, in ſecuring *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and *Greece*, with all the ſeveral armies in thoſe countries, to the intereſts of the Republic. *Brutus*, when he left *Italy*, ſailed directly for *Athens*; where he ſpent ſome time in concerting

[p] He was eſteemed the ableſt lawyer in *Rome*, and left behind him near a hundred and eighty books on nice and difficult queſtions of the law. Digeſt. l. i. tit. 2. parag. 43.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

meaſures how to accompliſh this deſign [q]. Here he gathered about him all the young Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, who on account of their education had been ſent to this celebrated ſchool of learning; and among the reſt *M. Cicero*, whom he made one of his Lieutenants, tho' he was but twenty years old, and of whom he gives in his public and private letters a very great character [r]. Many of *Pompey*'s ſoldiers, who had fought at *Pharſalia*, and were diſperſed in the country, readily joined a General who defended the ſame cauſe. A legion commanded by *L. Piſo*, one of *C. Antony*'s Lieutenants, ſurrendered itſelf to young *Cicero*. Some ſtragglers of *Dolabella*'s army, and two ſeparate bodies of his horſe in their march through *Theſſaly* and *Macedonia*, deſerted their leaders, and came over to him; but what chiefly ſtrengthened him was the acceſſion of *Q. Hortenſius*, the Proconſul of *Macedonia*; who, inſtead of keeping the province for *Antony*'s brother, delivered it up to *Brutus*, together with the command of all the troops. Theſe forces were ſoon conſiderably augmented by three legions, under the command of *Vatinius*, who had been ſent by *Cæſar* into *Illyricum* to ſuppreſs ſome commotions there. But the people of the country, upon the news of *Cæſar*'s death, attacked him, and forced him to retire to *Dyrrhachium*. During theſe tranſactions, *C. Antonius* arrived at *Apollonia*, with ſeven cohorts, and ſet out immediately to ſecure the troops under *Vatinius*, but *Brutus* got there before him; and *Vatinius*, knowing the troops to be well affected to his enemy, opened the gates, and delivered them up to him. *Brutus*'s [s] letters informed the Conſuls of this ſucceſs, and he promiſed ſoon to give a good account of *Antony* himſelf.

Middl. p. 364.

Panſa no ſooner received the letters, than he ſummoned the Senate to acquaint them with the contents. After they were read, the Conſul

[q] *Dio*, L. 47, tells us, that he and *Caſſius* were received at *Athens* with all imaginable honours, and that the *Athenians* erected ſtatues to them, which they placed near thoſe of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, who had formerly delivered their ſtate from tyranny.

[r] He took alſo into his ſervice young *Horace*, whoſe father, though no more than a freedman and a collector of taxes by profeſſion, gave him an equal education with the Senators children: He ſerved in the rank of military Tribune.

[s] Brutus C. Antonio fratri M. Antonii in Macedonia, Vatinioque circa Dyrrhachium volentes legiones extorſerat; ſed Antonium bello laceſſierat; Vatinium dignatione obruerat; cum & Brutus cui libet ducum præferendus videretur, et Vatinius nulli nomini non eſſet poſtferendus. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 69. This is the laſt time we hear any thing of *Vatinius*: He died probably ſoon after. The ſevere cenſure of *Paterculus* is grounded probably on the abuſe contained in *Cicero*'s invective againſt him, where he ſays, *no one could look upon him without a ſigh, or ſpeak of him without execration; that he was the dread of his neighbours, the diſgrace of his kindred, and the utter abhorrence of the public in general.* At leaſt his behaviour both in the city and the field ſhew him to have been a man of ſpirit and parts; and perhaps his moral character was not ſo bad as the orator has painted it: The ſame *Cicero*, in a letter to *Vatinius*, Fam. v. 11, writes in the following ſtrain:

"I am by no means ſurpriſed to find "that you are ſenſible of my ſervices; on "the contrary, I perfectly well know, and "you have upon all occaſions declared, "that no man ever poſſeſſed a more grate-"ful heart . . . . and there is no employ-"ment in which I can be engaged upon "your account, that I ſhall not think both "eaſy and *honourable*."

ſpoke largely *in the praiſes of Brutus*; *extolled his conduct and ſervices*; *and moved that public honours and thanks ſhould be decreed to him*: And then, according to his cuſtom, called upon his father-in-law *Calenus* to declare his ſentiments the firſt, who, in a premeditated ſpeech delivered from writing, acknowledged "*Brutus*'s letters to be *well* and *properly* "*drawn*; but, ſince what he had done was done without any commiſ- "ſion and public authority, that he ſhould be required to deliver up his "forces to the orders of the Senate, or the proper Governors of the "provinces." *Cicero* ſpoke next, and pronounced his *tenth Philippic*, which is an expoſtulation with *Calenus*, on account of his enmity to the *Brutus's*, and a panegyric upon the whole conduct of *M. Brutus*, which he concluded by propoſing the following decree: "Whereas, by the "pains, counſel, induſtry, and virtue of *Q. Cæpio Brutus* [t], Proconſul, "in the utmoſt diſtreſs of the Republic, the province of *Macedonia*, *Il-* "*lyricum*, and *Greece*, with all their legions, armies, horſe, are now in "the power of the Conſuls, Senate, and People of *Rome*; that *Q. Cæpio* "*Brutus*, Proconſul, has acted therein well, and for the good of the Re- "public; agreeably to his character, the dignity of his anceſtors, and to "his uſual manner of ſerving the Commonwealth; and that his conduct "is, and ever will be, acceptable to the Senate and People of *Rome*. That "*Q. Cæpio Brutus*, Proconſul, be ordered to protect, guard, and de- "fend the province of *Macedonia*, *Illyricum*, and all *Greece*, and com- "mand that army which he himſelf has raiſed: That, whatever money "he wants for military ſervice, he may uſe and take it from any part "of the public revenues where it can be beſt raiſed; or borrow it where "he thinks proper; and impoſe contributions of grain and forage; and "take care to draw all his troops as near *Italy* as poſſible. And whereas "it appears, by the letter of *Q. Cæpio Brutus*, Proconſul, that the public "ſervice has been greatly advanced by the endeavours and virtue of *Q.* "*Hortenſius*, Proconſul; and that he concerted all his meaſures with *Q.* "*Cæpio Brutus*, Proconſul, to the great benefit of the Commonwealth; "that *Q. Hortenſius*, Proconſul, has acted therein rightly, regularly, and "for the public good: And it is the will of the Senate, that *Q. Horten-* "*ſius*, Proconſul, with his Quæſtors, Proquæſtors, and Lieutenants, hold "the province of *Macedonia*, till a ſucceſſor be appointed by the Senate [u]."

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

[t] It appears that *M. Brutus* had been lately adopted by his mother's brother, *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, whoſe name, according to cuſtom, he now aſſumed, with the poſſeſſion of his uncle's eſtate.

[u] *Cicero* ſent this ſpeech to *Brutus*, with that alſo which he made on *the 1ſt of January*; of which *Brutus* ſays in anſwer to him, "I have read your two orations: You ex- "pect now, without doubt, that I ſhould "praiſe them: I am at a loſs what to praiſe "the moſt in them, your courage, or your "abilities: I allow you now in earneſt to "call them *Philippics*, as you intimated jo- "coſely in a former letter." Thus the name of *Philippics*, which ſeems to have been thrown out at firſt in gaiety and jeſt only, being taken up and propagated by his friends, became at laſt the fixed and ſtanding title of theſe orations; which yet, for ſeveral ages, were called indifferently either *Philippics*, or *Antonians*. Middl. p. 369.

Though

V. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Though *Brutus* intimates nothing in his public letters but what was proſperous and encouraging, yet, in his private accounts to *Cicero*, he ſignified a great want of *money and recruits*; and begged to be ſupplied with both from *Italy*, eſpecially with recruits; either by a vote of the Senate, or, if that could not be had, by ſome ſecret management, without the privity of *Panſa*; to which *Cicero* anſwered, "You tell me that "you want two neceſſary things, recruits and money: It is difficult to "help you. I know no other way of raiſing money, which can be of uſe "to you, but what the Senate has decreed of borrowing from the cities. "As to recruits, I do not ſee what can be done: For *Panſa* is ſo far from "granting any ſhare of his army or recruits to you, that *he is even uneaſy* "*to ſee ſo many volunteers going over to you:* His reaſon, I take it, is, that "he thinks no forces too great for the demands of our affairs in *Italy:* "For, as to what many ſuſpect *that he has no mind to ſee you ſtrong*, I "have no ſuſpicion of it."

Ad Brut. i. 6.

Middl. p. 373.

But there came news of a different kind, about the ſame time, to *Rome*, of *Dolabella*'s ſucceſsful exploits in *Aſia*. He left the city, as it is ſaid above, before the expiration of his conſulſhip, to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syria*, which had been allotted to him by *Antony*'s management: And, taking his way through *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to gather what money and troops he could raiſe in thoſe countries, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, in hopes of inducing that province to abandon *Trebonius* and declare for him: Having ſent his emiſſaries, therefore, before him to prepare for his reception, he arrived before *Smyrna*, where *Trebonius* reſided, without any ſhew of hoſtility, or forces ſufficient to give any great alarm, pretending to deſire nothing more than a free paſſage through the country to his own province. *Trebonius* refuſed to admit him into the town; but conſented to ſupply him with refreſhments without the gates; where many civilities paſſed between them, with great profeſſions on *Dolabella*'s part of amity and friendſhip to *Trebonius*, who promiſed, in his turn, that, if *Dolabella* would depart quietly from *Smyrna*, he ſhould be received into *Epheſus*, in order to paſs forward towards *Syria*. To this *Dolabella* ſeemingly agreed; and, finding it impracticable to take *Smyrna* by open force, contrived to ſurpriſe it by ſtratagem: Embracing therefore *Trebonius*'s offer, he ſet forward towards *Epheſus*; but, after he had marched ſeveral miles, and *Trebonius*'s men, who were ſent after to obſerve him, were retired; he turned back inſtantly in the night, and, arriving again at *Smyrna* before day, found it, as he expected, negligently guarded, and without any apprehenſion of an aſſault; ſo that his ſoldiers poſſeſſed themſelves of it without oppoſition, and ſeized *Trebonius* himſelf in his bed before he knew any thing of his danger. *Dolabella* treated him with the utmoſt cruelty; kept him two days under torture, to extort a diſcovery of all the money in his cuſtody; then ordered his head to be cut off and carried about on a ſpear; and his body to be dragged about the ſtreets and thrown into the ſea. This was the firſt blood that

Philipp. xi. 2, 3.

that was ſpilt on account of *Cæſar*'s death; which was now revenged in kind upon one of the principal Conſpirators, and the only one who was of conſular rank. It had been projected, without doubt, in concert with *Antony*, to make the revenge of *Cæſar*'s death the avowed cauſe of their arms, in order to draw the veterans to their ſide, or make them unwilling at leaſt to act againſt them: And it gave a clear warning to *Brutus* and his aſſociates, what they were to expect, if their enemies prevailed, as well as a ſad preſage, to all honeſt men, of the cruel effects and mercileſs fury of the impending war. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

On the news of *Trebonius*'s death, the Senate was ſummoned by the Conſul, where *Dolabella* was unanimouſly declared *a public enemy, and his eſtate confiſcated.* *Calenus* himſelf firſt propoſed the vote, and ſaid, that, if any thing more ſevere could be thought of, he would be for it. But he moved another queſtion which greatly perplexed *Cicero*, about the choice of a General to manage the new war againſt *Dolabella*. Two opinions were propoſed; the one that *P. Servilius ſhould be ſent with an extraordinary commiſſion*; the other, that *the two Conſuls ſhould jointly proſecute the war, with the provinces of Syria and Aſia allotted to them.* This was very agreeable to *Panſa*, and puſhed therefore not only by his friends, but by all *Antony*'s party, who fancied that it would take off the attention of the Conſuls from the war of *Italy*; give *Dolabella* time to ſtrengthen himſelf in *Aſia*; raiſe a coldneſs between the Conſuls and *Cicero*, if he ventured to oppoſe it; and, above all, put a public affront upon *Caſſius*; who, by his preſence in thoſe parts, ſeemed to have the beſt pretenſion to that commiſſion. The debate continued through the firſt day without coming to any iſſue; and was adjourned to the next. In the mean time *Caſſius*'s mother-in-law, *Servilia*, and other friends, were endeavouring to prevail with *Cicero* to drop the oppoſition, for fear of alienating *Panſa*, but in vain; for he reſolved at all hazards to defend the honour of *Caſſius*, and, when the debate was renewed the next morning, exerted all his intereſt and eloquence to procure a decree in his favour, which is the purport of the *eleventh Philippic.* From the Senate he went directly to the Forum, to give the people an account of the debate, and recommend to them the intereſts of *Caſſius:* Hither *Panſa* followed him, and, to weaken the influence of his authority, declared to the citizens, that what *Cicero* contended for was againſt the will and advice of *Caſſius*'s neareſt friends and relations: And in the end the Conſul prevailed [x]. But *Caſſius* was at that time maſter of *Syria*, and at the head of Middl. p. 375. Ep. Fam. xii. 7 & 14.

[x] The *ſtatue of Minerva*, which *Cicero*, upon his going into exile, had dedicated in the *Capitol*, by the name of the *Guardian of the city*, was, about the end of the laſt year, thrown down and ſhattered to pieces by a tempeſt of thunder and lightning. This the later writers take notice of as ominous and portending the fall of *Cicero* himſelf: Though neither *Cicero* nor any of that time made any ſuch reflection upon it. The Senate, however, out of reſpect to him, paſſed a decree in a full Houſe, on *the 18th of March, that the ſtatue ſhould be repaired and reſtored to its place.* Ep. Fam. xii. 15. So that

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ. of eight legions, with which he ſoon put an end to *Dolabella*'s triumphs.

Syria, after the *Alexandrian* war, had been left by *Cæſar* in the hands of *Sextus Cæſar*, a young man of his family, with one legion. The youth having loſt the affection of his ſoldiers, who probably had ſerved under *Pompey*, *Cæcilius Baſſus*, a *Roman* Knight (who as we have before mentioned, hid himſelf at *Tyre* after the battle of *Pharſalia*) undertook to diſpoſſeſs him of his government. Having gathered a ſmall force in the place of his retirement, he openly attacked *S. Cæſar*, during the *African* war; and, meeting with a repulſe, he had recourſe to intrigues, in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that *Sextus* was murdered by his own men, who, at the ſame time, took *Baſſus* for their Chief, and put him in poſſeſſion of the province. *Baſſus* applied himſelf immediately to fortify *Apamea*, a very ſtrong city, and there formed his arſenal. *Cæſar* ſent againſt him *Antiſtius Vetus*, who beſieged him in his fortreſs, but was obliged by the *Parthians* to retire. *Statius Murcus*, who had the government of *Syria* after his prætorſhip, with three legions, did not find himſelf ſtrong enough to reduce *Baſſus*, and called to his aſſiſtance *Q. Marcius Criſpus*, Governor of *Bithynia*, with three more legions, who jointly laid ſiege to *Apamea*. Things were in this ſituation when *Caſſius* landed in thoſe parts. *Lentulus Spinther*, Quæſtor to *Trebonius*, ſupplied him with ſome men and money: And the two Governors readily yielded to him the ſix legions under their command. *Baſſus* was forced to follow their example, and open the gates of *Apamea*, his ſoldiers having ſent a deputation to *Caſſius* with a tender of their ſervices. This ſucceſs, ſo great and unexpected, was ſoon followed by another piece of good fortune. *Dolabella* had ſent his Lieutenant, *Aulus Allienus*, into *Egypt*, to demand the aſſiſtance of *Cleopatra*, who then was ſole Sovereign; having lately deſtroyed the laſt of the *Ptolemys*, her brother and huſband, by poiſon. The Queen ſent immediately a fleet to his aſſiſtance, and *Allienus* conducted by land four legions. *Caſſius*, having notice of their march, went and met him in *Judæa*, and obliged him to give up all his troops. Thus *Caſſius* was maſter of a ſtrong army, conſiſting of eleven legions, before the *7th* of *March*, the date of a letter to *Cicero*, giving an account of this ſucceſs.

Liv. 114. Appian, l. 3. Dio, l. 47.

Ep. Fam. xii. 11.

Middl. p. 383.

D. Brutus was reduced by this time to ſuch ſtraits in *Mutina*, that his friends began to be greatly alarmed for him; taking it for granted, that, if he fell into *Antony*'s hands, he would be treated no better than *Trebonius*. The mention, therefore, of a pacification being revived in the Senate, and recommended by *Panſa* himſelf, upon an intimation given by *Antony*'s friends that he was now in a diſpoſition to ſubmit to reaſon, *Cicero*, out of a concern for *Brutus*'s ſafety, conſented to a decree for a ſecond

that it was now made, by public authority, what he himſelf had deſigned it to be, a ſtanding monument to poſterity, that the ſafety of the Republic had been the conſtant object of his counſels. *Middl.* 383.

embaſſy,

embaſſy, to be executed by himſelf and *Servilius*, and three other conſular Senators: But, finding upon recollection, that there appeared no ſymptoms of any change in *Antony*, and that his friends produced no proofs of it, nor any thing new in his conduct, he was convinced that he had made a falſe ſtep, and that nothing more was intended than to gain time; which was of great uſe to *Antony*, as it would retard the attempts of relieving *Mutina*, and give an opportunity to *Ventidius* to join him, who was marching towards him at that time with three legions. At the next meeting of the Senate he retracted his opinion, and declared againſt the late decree, as dangerous and inſidious; and in a warm and pathetic ſpeech (which is his *twelfth Philippic*) preſſed them ſo ſtrongly to repeal it, that the thing was wholly dropped; and *Panſa*, about the end of the month, marched towards *Gaul*, at the head of his new-raiſed army, in order to join *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and, without farther delay, to attempt a deciſive battle with *Antony* for the delivery of *D. Brutus*.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Antony, at the ſame time, while he was perplexing the counſels of the Senate by the intrigues of his friends, was endeavouring alſo by his letters to ſhake the reſolution of *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, and draw them off from the cauſe, which they were now ſupporting; but their anſwers ſeem to have been ſhort and firm; referring him conſtantly to the authority of the Senate: Yet, as things were now drawing towards a criſis, he made one effort more upon them; and, in the following expoſtulatory letter, reproached them, with great freedom, for deſerting their true intereſt, and ſuffering themſelves to be duped and perſuaded by *Cicero* to revive the *Pompeian* cauſe, and eſtabliſh a power, which, in the end, would deſtroy them.

Middl. p. 389.

ANTONIUS to HIRTIUS and CÆSAR.

"UPON the news of *Trebonius*'s death, I was equally affected both "with joy and with grief. It was matter of real joy to me to ſee a vil- "lain ſuffer the vengeance due to the aſhes of the moſt illuſtrious of "men; and that, within the circle of the current year, the divine pro- "vidence has diſplayed itſelf, by the puniſhment of parricide, inflicted "already on ſome, and ready to fall upon the reſt. But, on the other "hand, it is a ſubject of juſt grief to me, that *Dolabella* ſhould be de- "clared an enemy, becauſe he has killed a murderer; and that the ſon "of a buffoon ſhould be dearer to the people of *Rome*, than *Cæſar*, the "Father of his country: But the cruelleſt reflection of all is, that you, "*Hirtius*, covered with *Cæſar*'s favours, and left by him in a condition "which you yourſelf wonder at; and you too, young man, who owe "every thing to his name, are doing all which is in your power, that "*Dolabella* may be thought juſtly condemned; that this wretch be de- "livered from the ſiege, and *Caſſius* and *Brutus* be inveſted with all

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" power. You look upon the preſent ſtate of things, as people did up-
" on the paſt; call *Pompey*'s camp the Senate; have made the vanquiſh-
" ed *Cicero* your Captain; are ſtrengthening *Macedonia* with armies;
" have given *Africa* to *Varus*, twice a priſoner; have ſent *Caſſius* into
" *Syria*; ſuffered *Caſca* to act as Tribune; ſuppreſſed the revenues of
" the *Julian Luperci*; aboliſhed the colonies of veterans, eſtabliſhed by
" law, and the decree of the Senate; promiſe to reſtore to the people
" of *Marſeilles* what was taken from them by right of war; forget that
" a *Pompeian* was made incapable of any dignity by *Hirtius*'s law; have
" ſupplied *Brutus* with *Apuleius*'s money; applauded the putting to
" death *Poetus* and *Menedemus*, *Cæſar*'s friends, whom he made free of
" the city; took no notice of *Theopompus*, when, ſtripped and baniſhed
" by *Trebonius*, he fled to *Alexandria*: You ſee *Ser. Galba* in your camp,
" armed with the ſame poniard with which he ſtabbed *Cæſar*; have in-
" liſted my ſoldiers and other veterans, on pretence of deſtroying thoſe
" who killed *Cæſar*, and then employ them, before they know what
" they are doing, againſt their Quæſtor, or their General, or their com-
" rades.—What have you not done, which *Pompey* himſelf, were he
" alive, or his ſon, if he could, would not do? In ſhort, you deny, that
" any peace can be made, unleſs I ſet *Brutus* at liberty, or ſupply him
" with proviſions: Can this pleaſe thoſe veterans who have not yet de-
" clared themſelves? For, as to your part, you have ſold yourſelves to
" the flatteries and poiſoned honours of the Senate. But you come, you
" ſay, to preſerve the troops which are beſieged. I am not againſt their
" being ſaved, or going wherever you pleaſe, if they will but leave him
" to periſh, who has deſerved it. You write me word that the men-
" tion of concord has been revived in the Senate, and five conſular am-
" baſſadors appointed: It is hard to believe that thoſe who have driven
" me to this extremity, when I offered the faireſt conditions, and was
" willing to remit ſome part of them, ſhould do any thing with mode-
" ration or humanity: Nor is it probable, that the ſame men, who voted
" *Dolabella* an enemy for a moſt laudable act, can ever forgive me, who
" am in the ſame ſentiments with him. Wherefore it is your buſineſs to
" reflect, which of the two is the more eligible, or more uſeful to our
" common intereſt, to revenge the death of *Trebonius*, or of *Cæſar*: And
" which the more equitable; for us to act againſt each other, that the
" *Pompeian* cauſe, ſo often defeated, may recover itſelf; or to join our
" forces, leſt we become at laſt the ſport of our enemies, who, which
" of us ſoever may happen to fall, are ſure to be the gainers. But
" fortune has hitherto prevented that ſpectacle; unwilling to ſee two
" armies, like members of the ſame body, fighting againſt each other;
" and *Cicero*, all the while, like a Maſter of Gladiators, matching us
" and ordering the combat: Who is ſo far happy as to have caught you
" with the ſame bait with which he brags to have caught *Cæſar*. For
" my part, I am reſolved to ſuffer no affront either to myſelf or my
" friends;

" friends; nor to desert the party which *Pompey* hated; nor to see the Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.
" veterans driven out of their possessions, and dragged one by one to
" the rack; nor to break my word with *Dolabella*; nor to violate my
" league with *Lepidus*, a most religious man: Nor to betray *Plancus*,
" the partner of all my counsels. If the immortal gods support me, as
" I hope they will, in the pursuit of so good a cause, I shall live with
" pleasure; but, if any other fate expects me, I taste a joy, however,
" before-hand, in the sure foresight of your punishment: For, if the
" *Pompeians* are so insolent when conquered, how much more they will
" be so when Conquerors, it will be your lot to feel. In a word, this
" is the sum of my resolution: I can forgive the injuries of my friends,
" if they themselves are disposed either to forget them, or prepared,
" in conjunction with me, to revenge the death of *Cæsar*: I cannot be-
" lieve that any ambassadors will come; when they do, I shall know
" what they have to demand." *Hirtius* and *Cæsar*, instead of answering this letter, sent it directly to *Cicero* at *Rome*, to make what use of it he thought fit with the Senate or the People.

In this interval *Lepidus* wrote a public letter to the Senate, to exhort Middl. p. them to pacific measures, and to save the effusion of civil blood, by 393. contriving some way of reconciling *Antony* and his friends to the service of his country; without giving the least intimation of his thanks for the public honours which they had lately decreed to him. This was not at all agreeable to the Senate, and confirmed their former jealousy of his disaffection to the Republic, and good understanding with *Antony*. They agreed, however, to a vote proposed by *Servilius*, " that *Lepidus* should " be thanked for his love of peace, and care of the citizens; yet should " be desired not to trouble himself any farther about it, but to leave " that affair to them; who thought that there could be no peace, unless " *Antony* should lay down his arms and sue for it." This letter gave *Antony*'s friends a fresh handle to renew their instances for a treaty, for the sake of obliging *Lepidus*, who had it in his power, they said to force them to it. *Cicero* pronounced, on this occasion, his *thirteenth Philippic*, to confute their arguments; and, in the course of it, read to the House *Antony*'s letter to *Hirtius* and *Cæsar*, paragraph by paragraph, making all along, with great wit and spirit, his own comment and remarks upon it.

C. Antony, whom we mentioned above to have retreated, with seven Id. 399. cohorts, to *Apollonia*, not daring to wait for *Brutus*'s arrival, who was now advancing towards him, marched out to *Buthrotum* to seek his fortune elsewhere, in quarters more secure and remote: But, being overtaken and attacked on his march by a part of *Brutus*'s army, he lost three of his cohorts in the action; and, in a second engagement with another body of troops which young *Cicero* commanded, was entirely routed and taken prisoner; which made *Brutus* absolute master of the country without opposition. He treated his prisoner with great lenity, and seemed much disposed to give him his liberty; which he would have

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done, if he had not met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition from *Cicero* and the Senate [y].

The ſiege of *Mutina* had laſted now four months; and it was inveſted ſo cloſely by *Antony*, and he had poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that no ſuccours could be thrown into it. *Brutus*, though reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits, defended it ſtill with the greateſt reſolution [z]. Upon the approach of *Panſa*'s army, *Antony* privately drew out ſome of his beſt troops, with a deſign to ſurpriſe him on the road before their union, and to draw him, if poſſible, to an engagement againſt his will. We have a particular account of the action, in a letter to *Cicero* from

[y] He not only wrote to the Senate about it himſelf, but permitted *Antony* to write too, and with the ſtyle of Proconſul; which ſurpriſed and ſhocked all his friends at *Rome*, and eſpecially *Cicero*, who expoſtulates with him for it in the following letter:

"ON the 13*th* of *April*, ſays he, your "meſſenger *Pilus* brought us two letters, "one in your name, the other in *Antony*'s, "and gave them to *Servilius*, the Tribune: "He to *Cornutus*, the Prætor. They were "read in the Senate. *Antony Proconſul*, "raiſed as much wonder as if it had been "*Dolabella Emperor*, from whom alſo there "came an expreſs; but nobody, like your "*Pilus*, was ſo hardy to produce the letters, "or deliver them to the magiſtrates. Your "letter was read; ſhort indeed, but extremely mild towards *Antony*: The Senate was amazed at it. For my part, I "did not know how to act. Should I affirm it to be forged?—What if you ſhould "own it? Should I admit it to be genuine? "That was not for your honour. I choſe, "therefore, to be ſilent that day. On the "next, when the affair had made ſome "noiſe, and *Pilus*'s carriage had given offence, I began the debate, and ſaid much "of *Proconſul Antony*. *Sextius* performed his "part, and obſerved to me afterwards in "private, what danger his ſon and mine "would be liable to, if they had really "taken up arms againſt a *Proconſul*. You "know the man; he did juſtice to the cauſe. "Others alſo ſpoke; but our friend *Labeo* "took notice that your ſeal was not put to "the letter; nor any date added; nor had "you written about it, as uſual, to your "friends; from which he maintained the "letter to be forged; and, in ſhort, convinced the Houſe of it. It is now your "part, *Brutus*, to conſider the whole ſtate "and nature of the war: You are delighted, "I perceive, with lenity; and think it the "beſt way of proceeding: This, indeed, is "generally right; but the proper place of "clemency is in caſes and ſeaſons very different from the preſent: For what are we "doing now, *Brutus*? We ſee a needy and "deſperate crew threatening the very temples of the gods; and that the war muſt "neceſſarily decide, whether we are to live, "or not. Who is it then whom we are "ſparing, or what is it that we mean? "Are we conſulting the ſafety of thoſe who, "if they get the better, are ſure not to "leave the leaſt remains of us? For what "difference is there between *Dolabella* and "any one of the three *Antony's*? If we ſpare "any of theſe, we have been too ſevere "to *Dolabella*. It was owing chiefly to my "advice and authority that the Senate and "People are in this way of thinking, tho' "the thing itſelf indeed alſo obliged them "to it: If you do not approve this policy, "I ſhall defend your opinion, but cannot "depart from my own: The world expects from you nothing either remiſs or "cruel: It is eaſy to moderate the matter, "by ſeverity to the Leaders, generoſity to "the ſoldiers."

[z] The old writers have recorded ſome ſtratagems, which are ſaid to have been put in practice on this occaſion: "How *Hirtius* "provided men ſkilled in diving, with letters written on lead, to paſs into the town "under the river which runs through it, till "*Antony* obſtructed that paſſage by nets and "traps placed under water: Which gave "occaſion to another contrivance of ſending their intelligence backwards and forwards by pigeons. *Front. de Stratagem.* l. iii. 13. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat.* l. x. 37. *Dio*, p. 315.

Ser-

Ser. Galba [a], one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, who bore a principal part and command in it. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42.

"ON the 15*th* of *April*, the day on which *Panſa* was to arrive in "*Hirtius*'s camp, (in whoſe company I was, for I went an hundred "miles to meet him and haſten his march) *Antony* drew out two of his "legions, the *ſecond* and *thirty-fifth*; and two prætorian cohorts; the "one his own, the other *Silanus*'s [b], with part of the *Evocati*; and came "forward towards us, imagining that we had nothing but four legions "of new levies. But, in the night, to ſecure our march to the camp, "*Hirtius* had ſent us the *Martial* legion, which I uſed to command, "and two prætorian cohorts. As ſoon as *Antony*'s horſe appeared in "ſight, neither the *Martial* legion, nor the *prætorian* cohorts, could be "reſtrained from attacking them; ſo that, when we could not hold "them in, we were obliged to follow them againſt our wills. *Antony* "kept his forces within *Caſtel-franco*; [*Ad forum Gallorum*, a ſmall village on the *Æmilian* way between *Modena* and *Bologna*] "and, being unwil-"ling to have it known, that he had his legions with him, ſhewed on-"ly his horſe and light-armed foot. When *Panſa* ſaw the *Martial* le-"gion running forward againſt his orders, he commanded two of the "new-raiſed legions to follow him. As ſoon as we got through the "ſtraits of the moraſs and the woods, we drew up the twelve cohorts [the ten of the *Martial* legion, and the two prætorian] "in order of "battle. The other two legions were not yet come up. *Antony* im-"mediately brought all his troops out of the village, ranged likewiſe in "order of battle, and without delay engaged us. At firſt they fought ſo "briſkly on both ſides, that nothing could poſſibly be fiercer: Tho' the "right wing, in which I was, with eight cohorts of the *Martial* legion, "put *Antony*'s thirty-fifth legion to flight, at the firſt onſet, and pur-"ſued it above five hundred paces from the place where the action be-"gan: Wherefore, obſerving the enemy's horſe attempting to ſurround "our wing, I began to retreat, and ordered the light-armed troops to "make head againſt the *Mooriſh* horſe, and prevent their coming upon "us behind. In the mean while I perceived myſelf in the midſt of *An-*"*tony*'s men, and *Antony* himſelf but a little way behind me. Upon "which, with my ſhield thrown over my ſhoulder, I puſhed on my "horſe with all ſpeed towards the new legion that was coming to-"wards us from the camp: And, whilſt *Antony*'s men were purſuing "me, and ours, by miſtake, throwing javelins at me, I was preſerved, "I know not how, by being preſently known to our ſoldiers. *Cæſar*'s 409 Conſ. Ep. Fam. x. 30.

[a] He had been one of *Cæſar*'s Lieutenants in *Gaul*; but, not being favoured by him in his purſuit of the conſulſhip, he joined in the conſpiracy with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. He was great grandfather to the Emperor *Galba*.

[b] He was military Tribune in the army of *Lepidus*, and, by the connivance, if not by the expreſs orders of that General, had conducted a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of *Antony*. Dio, xlvi. 336.

"*prætorian*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ. "*prætorian* cohort ſuſtained the fight a long time on the *Æmilian* road: "But our left wing, which was the weaker, conſiſting of two cohorts "of the *Martial* legion, and the prætorian of *Hirtius*, began to give "ground; being ſurrounded by *Antony*'s horſe, in which he is very "ſtrong. When all our ranks had made good their retreat, I retreated "myſelf the laſt, to our camp. *Antony*, as the Conqueror, fancied that "he could take it; but, upon trial, loſt many of his men in the at- "tempt, without being able to do us any hurt. *Hirtius*, in the mean "time, hearing of the engagement, marched out with twenty veteran "cohorts, and, meeting *Antony* on his return, intirely routed and put to "flight his whole army, in the very ſame place where they had fought "before. About ten at night, *Antony* regained his camp at *Mutina* "with all his horſe. *Hirtius* retired to that camp, which *Panſa* had "quitted in the morning, and where he left the two legions, which "*Antony* attacked: Thus *Antony* has loſt the greater part of his veteran "troops, yet not without ſome loſs of our prætorian cohorts and the "*Martial* legion: We took two of *Antony*'s eagles, and ſixty ſtandards; "and have gained a conſiderable advantage." Beſides this letter from *Galba*, there came letters alſo ſeverally from the two Conſuls and *Octavius*; confirming the other account with the addition of ſome farther particulars: "That *Panſa*, fighting bravely at the head of his troops, "had received two dangerous wounds, and was carried off the field to "*Bononia*: That *Hirtius* had ſcarce loſt a ſingle man: And that, to ani- "mate the ſoldiers the better, he took up the eagle of the *fourth* legion, "and carried it forward himſelf: That *Cæſar* was left to the guard of "their camp; where he was likewiſe attacked by another body of the "enemy, whom he repulſed with great loſs." *Antony* reproached *Octavius* afterwards with running away from this engagement in ſuch a fright, that he did not appear again till two days after, and without his horſe or General's habit: But the account juſt mentioned was given by *Cicero*, from letters, that were read to the Senate, in which *Hirtius* declared him to have acted with the greateſt courage.

Philipp. xiv. 9, 10.

Suet. in Aug. x.

The news reached *Rome* on the 20*th* of *April*: The day following the Senate was ſummoned by *Cornutus*, the Prætor, to deliberate on the letters of the *Conſuls* and *Octavius*. *Servilius*'s opinion was, "that the city "ſhould now quit the *Sagum*; and that a public thankſgiving ſhould be "decreed jointly to the honour of the *Conſuls* and *Octavius*." *Cicero* declared ſtrongly againſt quitting the *Sagum*, till *D. Brutus* was quite delivered from the ſiege: And, having ſhewed how well the three Generals deſerved the title of Emperor, he decreed a *thankſgiving of fifty days* in the name of the three jointly. He then propoſed that a *monument* ſhould be raiſed to thoſe who, in the defence of their country, had been killed in battle; that the former aſſurances made to the legions of the full and punctual payment of all which had been promiſed to them, as ſoon as the war ſhould be over, ſhould be renewed; and for thoſe, in the mean

time, who had loſt their lives for their country, that the ſame rewards which would have been given them, if they had lived, ſhould be given immediately to their parents, children, wives, and brothers [c]. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conf.

Antony, being cruelly mortified by this defeat, kept himſelf cloſe within his camp, and reſolved to hazard nothing farther, but to act only on the defenſive; except by harraſſing the enemy with his horſe, in which he was far ſuperior. He ſtill hoped to make himſelf maſter of *Mutina*, which was reduced to extremity; and, by the ſtrength of his works, to prevent their throwing any relief into it. *Hirtius* and *Octavius*, on the other hand, elate with victory, were determined at all hazards to relieve it; and, after two or three days ſpent in finding the moſt likely place of breaking through the intrenchments, they made their attack with ſuch vigour, that *Antony*, rather than ſuffer the town to be ſnatched Middl. p. 427.

[c] The greateſt part of this *fourteenth Philippic*, and laſt oration of *Cicero*, is a panegyric upon himſelf: He tells us, that, when the news of *Antony*'s defeat was known, the people of *Rome* carried him into the Capitol in a kind of triumph. "For that, after all, "he ſays, is a juſt and real triumph, when, "by the general voice of the city, a public "teſtimony is given to thoſe who have de"ſerved well of the Commonwealth. For, "if in the common joy of the whole city "*they congratulated me ſingly*, it is a great "declaration of their judgment; if they "*thanked me*, ſtill greater; if *both*, nothing "can be imagined more glorious." He then obſerves, "that he was forced to ſay "ſo much of himſelf againſt his will, by "the ſtrange envy and injuries which he "had lately ſuffered;—that the inſolence of "the factions, as they all knew, had raiſed *a* "*report and ſuſpicion upon him of his aiming* "*at a tyranny*; that he had formed a de"ſign to make himſelf maſter of the city, "and declare himſelf Dictator, and would "appear publicly with the faſces within a "day or two: Though his whole life had "been ſpent in defending the Republic "from tyranny; as if he who had deſtroyed "*Catiline*, for that very crime, was of a ſud"den become a *Cataline* himſelf. That, if "the report had found credit in the city, "their deſign was by a ſudden aſſault upon "his perſon, as upon a tyrant, to have "taken away his life:—That the thing it"ſelf was manifeſt, and the whole affair "ſhould be laid open in proper time:— "That he had ſaid all this not to purge "himſelf to them, to whom he ſhould be "ſorry to want an apology, but to admoniſh certain perſons of jejune and narrow "minds to look upon the virtue of excellent citizens as the object of their imitation, not of their envy; ſince the Republic was a wide field, where the courſe of "glory was open to many; that, if any "man conteſted with him the firſt place in "the government, he acted fooliſhly, if he "meant to do it by oppoſing vice to virtue: "That, as the race was gained by running "the faſteſt, ſo virtue was only to be conquered by a ſuperior virtue:—That they "could never get the better of him by bad "votes, by good ones perhaps they might; "and he himſelf ſhould be glad of it.— "That the people of *Rome* were perpetually "inquiring, how men of their rank voted "and acted; and formed their judgment of "them accordingly—That they all remembered, how, in *December* laſt, he was the "author of the firſt ſtep towards recovering "their liberty: How, from the *1ſt* of *Ja*"*nuary*, he had been continually watching "over the ſafety of the Commonwealth: "How his houſe and his ears were open "day and night to the advice and informations of all who came to him, &c." And, in a letter to *Brutus*, he ſays, "that he "*reaped* on *the day* he *was carried* to *the* "*Capitol the full fruit of all his toils, if there* "*be any fruit in true and ſolid glory.*" Could any body help laughing when they heard *Cicero* vindicate himſelf ſeriouſly from aiming at tyranny, and his friend *Apuleius*, the Tribune, make a ſpeech to the people to confute this report? Was there a man in *Rome* who was not ſenſible that he had no ſtrength of his own, but was a mere tool in the hands of another?

out

V.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

out of his hands, choſe to draw out his legions, and come to a general battle. The fight was bloody and obſtinate; and *Antony*'s men, though obliged to give ground, bravely diſputed every inch of it, till *D. Brutus*, taking the opportunity, at the ſame time, to ſally out of the town, at the head of his garriſon, helped greatly to determine and complete the victory. *Hirtius* puſhed his advantage with great ſpirit, and forced his way into *Antony*'s camp; but, when he had gained the middle of it, was unfortunately killed near the General's tent: *Pontius Aquila*, one of the Conſpirators, was killed likewiſe in the ſame place: But *Octavius*, who followed to ſupport them, made good their attempt, and kept poſſeſſion of the camp, with the intire defeat and deſtruction of *Antony*'s beſt troops; while *Antony* himſelf, with all his horſe, fled with great precipitation towards the *Alps*. The Conſul *Panſa* died the day following of his wounds at *Bononia* [d].

CHAP.

[d] *Dr. Middleton*, p. 429, gives the following character of the two Conſuls: *Hirtius* was a man of letters and politeneſs; intimately intruſted with *Cæſar*'s counſels and employed to write his acts: But, as he was the proper creature of *Cæſar*, and ſtrongly infected with party, ſo his views were all bent on ſupporting the power that had raiſed him, and ſerving his patron, not the public. In the beginning, therefore, of the civil war, when he was Tribune of the people, he publiſhed a law, *to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or office in the State:* Which made him particularly obnoxious to the *Pompeians*, who conſidered him as their moſt inveterate enemy. *Panſa*, whoſe father had been proſcribed by *Sylla*, was attached with equal zeal to *Cæſar*, as to the head and reſtorer of the *Marian* cauſe; and ſerved him in all his wars with ſingular affection and fidelity. He was a grave, ſincere, and worthy man; and, being naturally more moderate and benevolent than *Hirtius*, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miſeries of the oppreſſed *Pompeians*; many of whom he relieved by his humanity, and reſtored by his intereſt to the city and their eſtates. This made him very popular, and gained him the eſteem of all the honeſt; ſo that *Caſſius*, in defending his *Epicuriſm* to *Cicero*, alledges *Panſa*, as an example of thoſe genuine *Epicureans*, who placed their pleaſure, or chief good, in virtuous acts. Before their entrance into the conſulſhip, *Cicero* gave a moſt wretched account of them "both, as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not "fit to be truſted with the command of a "paltry town, much leſs of the empire; "and ſays, that, if they were not removed "from the helm, the Republic would certainly be loſt; ſince *Antony* would eaſily "draw them into a partnerſhip of his crimes; "for, when he ſerved with them in *Gaul*, he "had ſeen incredible inſtances of their effeminacy and debauchery in the face even "of the enemy." But we muſt charge a great part of this character to the peeviſhneſs and envy of *Quintus*: For, whatever they had been before, they were certainly good Conſuls; and out of their affection to *Cicero*, and regard to his authority, governed themſelves generally, in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were perſuaded that the deſign of revenging *Cæſar*'s death would throw the Republic again into convulſions, and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of poſſeſſing *Cæſar*'s place; and reſolved, therefore, to quell by open force, all attempts againſt the public peace. From their long adherence to *Cæſar*, they retained indeed ſome prejudices in favour of that party; and were loth to proceed to extremities till pacific meaſures were found ineffectual. This gave *Cicero* ſome reaſon to blame, but never to diſtruſt them; to complain of their phlegm and *want of vigour*, as detrimental to the common cauſe; yet, while they were generally ſuſpected by others, he always thought them ſincere, tho' they did not, in all caſes, act up to his wiſhes. The event confirmed his judgment of them: For they both not only expoſed but loſt their lives with the greateſt courage in the

defence of the Republic; and *ſhewed themſelves to be the very men which Cicero had conſtantly affirmed them to be*; and, though he imputes ſome *little blame* to *Hirtius*, yet of *Panſa* he declares, *that he wanted neither courage from the firſt, nor fidelity to the laſt.*

N. B. Several medals were ſtruck by the Senate on the occaſion of this victory; particularly one in honour of *Panſa*, exhibiting the head of the *goddeſs of Liberty*, crowned with laurel, and the inſcription *Libertatis*; and, on the reverſe, *Rome* ſitting upon the ſpoils of enemies, holding a ſpear in her right hand, and a dagger in her left, with her foot upon the globe, and Victory flying towards her to crown her with laurel; and the inſcription, C. PANSA C. F. C. N. See *Morel. Fam. Rom.* Y R. 710. Bef Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

CHAP. XIV.

The Senate decrees honours to the two deceaſed Conſuls, and to D. BRUTUS *and* OCTAVIUS. ANTONY *is not purſued*; OCTAVIUS *wanting the will, and* D. BRUTUS *the means of following him. He is received by* LEPIDUS, *who writes to the Senate to juſtify his behaviour: On the other ſide,* D. BRUTUS *joins* PLANCUS, *Governor of farther* GAUL. LEPIDUS *is declared, by the influence of Cicero, an enemy to the State.* OCTAVIUS *treats ſecretly with* ANTONY *and* LEPIDUS, *and demands the conſulſhip by a deputation of his officers.* CICERO *appears no more upon the Stage of action: His correſpondence with the ſeveral Generals abroad.*

THE death of the two Conſuls placed *Octavius* at once above controul, by leaving him the maſter of both their armies; eſpecially of all the veterans; who were diſaffected to *D. Brutus*; and it fell out ſo lucky and ſo appoſite to all *Octavius*'s views, as to give birth to a general perſuaſion that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance: For he was obſerved to be the firſt man who took up *Hirtius*'s body in the camp; where ſome imagined him to have been killed by his own ſoldiers; and *Panſa*'s phyſician, *Glyco*, was actually thrown into priſon by *Torquatus*, *Panſa*'s Quæſtor, upon a ſuſpicion of having poiſoned his wounds. But the chief ground of that notion ſeems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the event with the intereſts of *Octavius*: For *M. Brutus* thought it incredible, and, in the moſt preſſing manner, begged of *Cicero* to procure *Glyco*'s enlargement, and protect him from any harm; as being a worthy, modeſt man, incapable of ſuch a villainy, and who, of all others, ſuffered the greateſt loſs by *Panſa*'s death. Middl. p. 432. Suet. in Oct. 11. App. p. 572. Dio, l. xlvi. 317. Ad Brut. vi.

At *Rome*, the general rejoicings ſtifled all preſent attention to the loſs of their Conſuls [*]; and *Antony*'s friends were ſo dejected for ſome time,

[*] They were not regretted by *Brutus*'s friends, who had all along entertained a very bad opinion of them; and *Cicero* himſelf, confident of the good diſpoſitions of his pupil *Octavius*, was not much concerned at firſt for their loſs: Theſe things appear by the following letters:

CICERO

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ. that they gave *Cicero* no more oppoſition in the Senate: Where he poured out all imaginable honours on the deceaſed *Hirtius*, *Panſa*, and *Aquila*;

CICERO to BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. viii. Middl. Ed. p. 51. "WHILE I was writing this, our affairs were ſuppoſed to be reduced to the laſt extremity: For all our letters and meſſages brought us ſad accounts of our *Brutus* *. "They did not, however, very much diſturb me. For I could not by any means diſtruſt "the armies and the Leaders, who are now acting for us: *Nor was I of the ſame opinion "with the majority of our friends, for I did not condemn the fidelity of the Conſuls, which was "vehemently ſuſpected.* I blamed their want of prudence and celerity in ſome caſes, where, "if they had exerted themſelves, we ſhould long ago have recovered the Republic. For "you are not ignorant of what moment it is, in public affairs, to ſeize the proper times "of acting; and what a difference it makes, whether the ſame thing be decreed, under-"taken, or tranſacted, ſooner or later. If all the vigorous decrees, that have been made "ſince the beginning of this diſturbance, had either been carried into effect on the day "when I propoſed them, and not been put off from day to day; or if, from the time "when they began to be put in execution, they had not ſtill been delayed and poſtponed, "we ſhould have ſeen an end of the war before now. I have acquitted myſelf, *Brutus*, "to the Republic in all points, as that man ought to do, who, by the judgment of the "Senate and people, is placed in that rank of authority in which I now am; and not "merely in thoſe things, which alone are to be required from man; fidelity, vigilance, and "love of my country; for theſe are duties from which nobody ought to be excuſed; but "I take it to be the part of him, who acts as one of the Leaders in ſtate affairs, to *inſure "even the prudence of his meaſures to the Public:* And, for my part, ſince I have aſſumed "ſo much to myſelf, as to take the ſteerage of the Republic into my hands, *I ſhould not "think myſelf leſs culpable if I ſhould draw the Senate into any thing impertinently, than if I "had drawn them into it treacherouſly.* I know that a punctual account is ſent you of all "things that are done or going forward among us. But what I would have you informed "of particularly by me is this: That my mind is wholly intent on the war; nor cares "to attend to any other object, unleſs when the immediate ſervice of the city may have "called it by accident to ſomething elſe. But the greateſt part of my attention is fixed "upon you and *Caſſius*. Wherefore prepare yourſelf, *Brutus*, in ſuch a manner, as to "be perſuaded, that, if at this very time our affairs be crowned with ſucceſs, it is you "who muſt ſet the Republic right; or, if any ill fortune has befallen us, it is you who muſt "recover it."

CICERO to BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. ix. Middl. Ed. p. 54. "OUR affairs ſeemed to have taken a more favourable turn. An account, I know, "is ſent you of all that has been done. The Conſuls anſwered the character which I often gave you of them in my letters. *But young Cæſar has ſhewn a wonderful diſpoſition "to virtue. I wiſh that I may be able to hold and govern him ſtill, in this height of honour "and favour, as eaſily as I have hitherto done. It is now, indeed, become more difficult; "yet I do not deſpair of it. For the young man is perſuaded, and chiefly by me, that we owe "our ſafety to his vigour:* And, in truth, if he had not kept off *Antony* from the city, all "had been loſt. Nay, within three or four days before this moſt happy event, the city, "ſtruck with a kind of panic, was all running away at once, with their wives and chil-"dren, to you; till, being made eaſy again *on the 20th of April*, they began to wiſh, that "you would rather come hither to them, than they go to you. *On which day I reaped "the full fruit of all my great pains and conſtant watchings*, if there be any fruit at all "from true and ſolid glory. *For the whole multitude, which our city contains, flocked on "that day to my houſe; whence I was carried by them firſt to the* Capitol; *then placed in the*

* D. Brutus.

"Roſtra,

Aquila; decreed an ovation to *Cæſar* [f]; and added a number of days to their thankſgiving, in honour of *D. Brutus*; whoſe deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed likewiſe, that his name ſhould be aſcribed ever after to that day, in the *Faſti* or *public calendars*, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. *Antony*'s adherents were alſo declared enemies [g]: In which number *Servilius* himſelf, *Cicero*'s great antagoniſt, included *Ventidius*, and moved to give *Caſſius* the command of the war againſt *Dolabella*; to whom *Cicero* joined *Brutus*, in caſe they ſhould find it uſeful to the Republic. V. R. 710 Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

The Commanders abroad, who had been all greatly courted by *Cicero*, and had returned him civil anſwers, were ſo ſtruck with *Antony*'s defeat, that they redoubled their aſſurances to him of their firmneſs and zeal for the common cauſe [h]. But we ſhall ſoon ſee them all fall off, excepting *Cornificius*, and ſide with the rebel *Antony*.

" Roſtra, *with the loudeſt acclamations and applauſe. There is nothing of vanity in me; nor* " *indeed ought there to be: Yet the conſent of all orders, their thanks and gratulations, really* " *move me; ſince it is truly noble to become popular by the preſervation of the people.* But I " would have you hear of theſe things rather from others. I deſire you to ſend me a " punctual account of all your affairs and deſigns; and to take care particularly, that " your generoſity may not ſeem to be carried to a degree of remiſſneſs. The Senate is of " opinion, and the *Roman* People of the ſame, *that no enemies were ever more worthy of* " *the laſt puniſhment*, than thoſe citizens, who have taken up arms againſt their country in " the preſent war: *On whom, indeed, I am taking a proper revenge, and purſuing in all my* " *votes*, with the approbation of all honeſt men. It is your part to determine what you " ought to judge of this affair. *My opinion of it is, that the caſe of the three Antony's is one* " *and the ſame.* We have loſt two Conſuls; good ones, it is true; *but barely good. Hir-* " *tius* fell in the very midſt of victory, after he had beaten the enemy, a few days before, " in a great battle. For *Panſa* was forced to fly, being diſabled by the wounds he had " received. *Brutus* is now purſuing the remains of the enemy, and *Cæſar* alſo: But all " are adjudged enemies, who have eſpouſed the party of *M. Antony. Moſt people, there-* " *fore, interpret that decree of the Senate to extend alſo to your priſoners; whether taken in* " *fight, or by ſurrender.* I moved, indeed, for nothing more ſevere, though I was " ſpeaking upon *C. Antonius* by name; becauſe I had reſolved with myſelf, that the Se- " nate ought to take their information of the caſe from you. *April 22d.*"

It is hard to believe, that it was *the pure* love of his country, unmixed with the low paſſions of *fear* and *hatred*, which engaged *Cicero*, contrary to all prudence and humanity, as well as the judgment of *Brutus*, to grant no quarter to *Antony*'s adherents, and transform a civil conteſt into an *inexpiable war*.

[f] The decree of an *ovation* to *Octavius* was blamed by *Brutus* and his friends; yet ſeems, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, p. 434, " *to have been wiſely and artfully deſigned:* For, while " it carried an appearance of honour, it would regularly have ſtripped him of his power, " if he had made uſe of it; ſince his commiſſion was to expire of courſe, and his army " be diſſolved, upon his firſt entrance into the city: But the confuſion of the times made " laws and cuſtoms of little effect with thoſe who had the power to diſpenſe with them." If ſo, there was no wiſdom or cunning in *Cicero*'s contrivance: And, if *Cicero* did believe that *Octavius* would diſband his veterans to enjoy the honour decreed him, he muſt have poſſeſſed no great ſhare of penetration.

[g] *Atticus*, at this time, when *Antony* was deſerted by almoſt all his friends, as a man utterly ruined, had the generoſity to perform the moſt friendly offices to *Fulvia*, *Antony*'s wife, and her children: Which behaviour met with its due recompence ſoon after.

[h] *Lepidus*, who had ſuffered *Silanus*, a military Tribune in his army, to carry ſuccours to *Antony* at *Mutina*, and, after *Antony*'s defeat, ſent *Culeo* with a body of men, under the pre-

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The Conquerors at *Mutina* were very much cenſured for giving *Antony* leiſure to eſcape: But *Octavius*, from the beginning, had no thoughts of

pretence of guarding the paſſes of the *Alps*; but moſt probably with ſecret inſtructions to favour *Antony*'s march over theſe mountains, ſince he did not obſtruct it, but on the contrary, joined *Antony*; wrote, nevertheleſs, the following letter to *Cicero*:

M. Lepidus to Cicero.

Ep. Fam. x. 34. Melm. xiv. 29.

"HAVING received advice that *Antony* was advancing with his troops towards my "province, and had ſent before him a detachment of his cavalry, under the command of "his brother *Lucius*; I moved with my army from the confluence of the *Rhone* and the "*Arar*," [the *Saone*, which falls into the *Rhone* at *Lyons*] "in order to oppoſe their paſ- "ſage. I continued my march without halting, till I arrived at *Forum Voconii*: [*Le Luc* "in *Provence*] "and am now encamped ſomewhat beyond that town, on the river *Ar-* "*genteus*," [*Argents*] "oppoſite to *Antony*. *Ventidius* has joined him with his three le- "gions, and has formed his camp a little above mine. *Antony*, before this conjunction, "had the ſecond legion intire, together with a conſiderable number of men, though in- "deed wholly unarmed, who eſcaped from the general ſlaughter of his other legions. "He is extremely ſtrong in cavalry; for, as none of thoſe troops ſuffered in the late action, "he has no leſs than . . . . horſe." [The number is omitted in all the ancient manuſcripts.] "Great numbers of his ſoldiers, both horſe and foot, are continually deſerting "to my camp; ſo that his troops diminiſh every day. Both *Silanus* and *Culeo* have left "his army, and are returned to mine. *But, notwithſtanding I was greatly offended by their* "*going to* Antony, *contrary to my inclination; yet, in regard to the connexions that ſubſiſt be-* "*tween us, and in compliance with my uſual clemency, I have thought proper to pardon them.* "However, I do not, upon any occaſion, employ their ſervices; nor, indeed, ſuffer "them to remain in the camp.

"As to what concerns my conduct in this war, you may depend upon it I ſhall not be "wanting in my duty either to the Senate or the Republic: And, whatever farther mea- "ſures I ſhall take to this end, I ſhall not fail to communicate them to you. The friend- "ſhip that ſubſiſts between us has, upon all occaſions, been inviolably preſerved on both "ſides; and we have mutually vied in our beſt good-offices to each other. But I doubt "not that, ſince this great and ſudden commotion has been raiſed in the Commonwealth, "ſome falſe and injurious reports have been ſpread of me by my enemies, which, in the "zeal of your heart for the intereſt of the Republic, have given you much uneaſineſs, "I have the ſatisfaction, however, to be informed, by my agents at *Rome*, that you are "by no means diſpoſed eaſily to credit theſe idle rumours: For which I think myſelf, as "I juſtly ought, extremely obliged to you. I am ſo, likewiſe, for the former inſtances "of your friendſhip, in promoting my public honours: The grateful remembrance of "which, be aſſured, is indelibly impreſſed upon my heart. Let me conjure you, my dear "*Cicero*, if you are ſenſible that my public conduct has, upon all occaſions, been worthy "of the name I bear, to be perſuaded that I ſhall continue to act with equal, or, if poſ- "ſible, even with ſuperior zeal. Let me hope too, that, the greater the favours are which "you have conferred upon me, the more you will think yourſelf engaged to ſupport my "credit and character. Farewell. From my camp at *Pons Argenteus*, *May 22d.*"

Correſpondence between *Pollio* and *Cicero*.

Aſinius Pollio, the Governor of *farther Spain*, had ſtrictly kept within the bounds of his province: Before the news of *Antony*'s defeat, he had written the two following letters to *Cicero*:

Asinius Pollio to Cicero.

Ep. Fam. x. 31. Melm. xiii. 11.

"YOU muſt not wonder that you have heard nothing from me in relation to public af- "fairs, ſince the breaking out of the war. Our couriers have always found it difficult to "paſs unmoleſted through the foreſt of *Caſtulo*," [a city anciently of great note; at preſent

of purſuing him: He had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced *Antony*'s power ſo low, and raiſed his own ſo high, as to be in a condition Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

ſent it is only a ſmall village called *Cazorla*, in the province of *New Caſtile*:] "but it is "now more than ever infeſted with robbers. Theſe banditti, however, are by no means "the principal obſtruction to our intercourſe with *Rome*: As the mails are perpetually "ſearched and detained by the ſoldiers that are poſted for that purpoſe, by both parties, "in every quarter of the country. Accordingly, if I had not received letters by a ſhip "which lately arrived in this river," [the *Bætis* or *Quadalquivir*] "I ſhould have been "utterly ignorant of what has been lately tranſacted in your part of the world. But, "now that a communication by ſea is thus opened between us, I ſhall frequently, and "with great pleaſure, embrace the opportunity of correſponding with you.

"Believe me, there is no danger of my being influenced by the perſuaſions of the "perſon you mention." [*Antony*, or perhaps *Lepidus*.] As much as the world abhors "him, he is far from being deteſted to that degree which I know he deſerves: And I "have ſo ſtrong an averſion to the man, that I would, upon no conſideration, bear a "part in any meaſures wherein he is concerned. Inclined both by my temper and my "ſtudies to be the friend of tranquillity and freedom, I frequently and bitterly lament-"ed our late unhappy civil wars. But, as the formidable enemies which I had among "both parties rendered it altogether unſafe for me to remain neuter, ſo I would not "take up arms on that ſide where I knew I ſhould be perpetually expoſed to the inſidious "arts of my capital adverſary." [Perhaps *Cato*; as *Pollio* had early diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a public impeachment of that eminent man. See *Dial. de Cauſ. corrupt. Eloquent.* 34.] "But, though my inclinations were not with the party I joined, my ſpirit, however, "would not ſuffer me to ſtand undiſtinguiſhed among them: In conſequence of which I "was forward to engage in all the dangers of the cauſe I eſpouſed. With reſpect to *Cæ-"ſar* himſelf, I will confeſs that I loved him with the higheſt and moſt inviolable affec-"tion: As indeed I had reaſon. For, notwithſtanding his acquaintance with me com-"menced ſo late as when he was in the height of his power, yet he admitted me into "the ſame ſhare of his friendſhip, as if I had been in the number of thoſe with whom he "had lived in the longeſt intimacy. Nevertheleſs, as often as I was at liberty to follow "my own ſentiments, I endeavoured that my conduct ſhould be ſuch as every honeſt man "muſt approve: And, whenever I was obliged to execute the orders I received, it was in a "manner that evidently diſcovered how much my actions were at variance with my heart. "The unjuſt odium, however, that I incurred by theſe unavoidable compliances, might "well teach me the true value of liberty, and how wretched a condition it is to live un-"der the government of a deſpotic power. If any attempts, therefore, are carrying on "to reduce us a ſecond time under the dominion of a ſingle perſon, whoever that ſingle "perſon may be, I declare myſelf his irreconcileable enemy. The truth is, there is no "danger ſo great that I would not chearfully hazard for the ſupport of our common li-"berties. But the Conſuls have not thought proper to ſignify to me either by any decree "of the Senate, or by their private letters, in what manner I ſhould act in the preſent "conjuncture. I have received, indeed, only one letter from *Panſa* ſince the *ides of March*, "by which he adviſed me to aſſure the Senate, *that I was ready to employ the forces under "my command in any ſervice they ſhould require. But this would have been a very imprudent "declaration, at a time when Lepidus had profeſſed in his public ſpeeches, as well as in the let-"ters he wrote to all his friends, that he concurred in* ANTONY*'s meaſures.*" [It does not appear that *Lepidus* was ſo explicit] "For could I poſſibly, without the conſent of the for-"mer, find means to ſubſiſt my troops in their march through his provinces? But, grant-"ing that I could have ſurmounted this difficulty, I muſt have conquered another and a "ſtill greater; as nothing leſs than a pair of wings could have rendered it practicable for "me to have croſſed the *Alps*, whilſt every paſs was guarded by the troops of *Lepidus*. "Add to this, that I could by no means convey my diſpatches to *Rome*: As the couriers "were not only expoſed, in a thouſand different places, to the danger of being plun-"dered, but were detained likewiſe, by the expreſs orders of *Lepidus*. It is well known,

"however,

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condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Empire; of which he ſeems to have formed the plan from this moment. Whereas,

" however, that I publicly declared at *Cerduba, that it was my reſolution not to reſign this* " *province into any other hands than thoſe which the Senate ſhould appoint: Not to mention how* " *ſtrenuouſly I withſtood all the applications that were made me for parting with the thirtieth* " *legion.*" [Very ſingular proofs theſe of his zeal for what *Cicero* called the Republic.] " I could not, indeed, have given it up without depriving myſelf of a very conſiderable " ſtrength for the defence of the Republic: As there are no troops in the whole world " that are animated with a braver or more martial ſpirit than thoſe of which this legion is " compoſed. Upon the whole, I hope you will do me the juſtice to believe, in the firſt " place, *that I am extremely deſirous of preſerving the public tranquillity*; as there is no- " thing I more ſincerely wiſh than the ſafety of *all my fellow-citizens:* And in the ſecond " place, that I am determined to vindicate my own and my country's cauſe.

" It gives me greater ſatisfaction than you can well imagine, that you admit my friend " into a ſhare of your intimacy. Shall I own, nevertheleſs, that I cannot think of him " as the companion of your walks, and as bearing a part in the pleaſantry of your con- " verſation, without feeling ſome emotions of envy? This is a privilege, believe me, " which I infinitely value: As you ſhall moſt aſſuredly experience by my devoting the " whole of my time to your company, if ever we ſhould live to ſee peace reſtored to the " Republic.

" I am much ſurpriſed that you did not mention in your letter, whether it would be " moſt ſatisfactory to the Senate that I ſhould remain in this province, or march into *Ita-* " *ly.* If I were to conſider only my own eaſe and ſafety, I ſhould certainly continue here: " but as, in the preſent conjuncture, the Republic has more occaſion for legions than for " provinces, (eſpecially as the loſs of the latter may with great eaſe be recovered) I have " determined to move towards *Italy* with my troops. For the reſt, I refer you to the let- " ter I have written to *Panſa:* A copy of which I herewith tranſmit to you. Farewell." *Corduba, March* the 16*th.* There muſt be an error in this date; or in the body of the letter, where *Pollio* writes, that he had received but one letter from *Panſa,* ſince the 15*th,* or the ides of *March:* It was probably written about ſix weeks after, or in the end of *May.*

ASINIUS POLLIO to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 32. Melm. xv. 7.

. . . . . " I ſhould be " glad the Senate would determine in what manner they would have me act. I am at the " head of three brave legions, one of which *Antony* took great pains to draw over to his " intereſt, at the commencement of the war. For this purpoſe, he cauſed it to be ſigni- " fied to them, that, the very firſt day they ſhould enter into his camp, every ſoldier ſhould " receive *five hundred denarii*;" [about 16 *l.*] " beſides which, he alſo aſſured them, that, " if he obtained the victory, they ſhould receive an equal ſhare of the ſpoils with his own " troops: A reward which all the world knows would have been without end or meaſure. " Theſe promiſes made a deep impreſſion upon them: And it was with great difficulty I " kept them from deſerting. I ſhould not, indeed, have been able to have effected this, " if I had not cantoned them in diſtant quarters: As ſome of the cohorts, notwithſtand- " ing they were thus ſeparated, had the inſolence to mutiny. *Antony* alſo endeavoured to " gain the reſt of the legions by immenſe offers. Nor was *Lepidus* leſs importunate with " me to ſend him the *thirtieth* legion; which he ſollicited both by his own letters, and " by thoſe which he cauſed *Antony* to write. The Senate will do me the juſtice therefore " to believe, as no advantages could tempt me to ſell my troops, nor any dangers, which " I had reaſon to apprehend, if *Antony* and *Lepidus* ſhould prove Conquerors, could pre- " vail with me to diminiſh their number, that I was thus tenacious of my army for no " other purpoſe but to employ it in the ſervice of the Republic. And let the readineſs, " with which I have obeyed all the orders I received from the Senate, be a proof that I " would have complied in the ſame manner with every other they ſhould have thought

Whereas, if *Antony* had been wholly deſtroyed, together with the Conſuls, the Republican party would have probably been too ſtrong for him Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" proper to have ſent me. I have preſerved the tranquillity of this province; I have " maintained my authority over the army; and have never once moved beyond the li- " mits of my own juriſdiction. I muſt add likewiſe, that I have never employed any ſol- " dier, either of my own troops, or thoſe of my auxiliaries, in carrying any diſpatches " whatſoever: And I have conſtantly puniſhed ſuch of my cavalry whom I have found at " any time attempting to deſert. I ſhall think theſe cares ſufficiently rewarded, in ſeeing " the peace and ſecurity of the public reſtored. But, if the majority of the Senate and " the Commonwealth, indeed, in general, had known me for what I am, I ſhould have " been able to have rendered them much more important ſervice." *Corduba, June* the 8*th.*

The ſame Commander wrote the following letter, after receiving the news of *Antony*'s defeat.

ASINIUS POLLIO to CICERO.

" IT is owing to *Lepidus*, who detained my couriers above a week, that I did not re- Ep. Fam. " ceive earlier advice of the ſeveral actions near *Mutina:* Though indeed I ſhould be glad x. 33. " to have been the laſt that was informed of this *unhappy news*, if it were utterly out of Melm. xv. " my power to be of any aſſiſtance in redreſſing its conſequences. I wiſh the Senate had 2. " ordered me into *Italy*, when they ſent for *Plancus* and *Lepidus:* For, if I had been pre- " ſent, the Republic would not have received this *cruel wound.* And though ſome, per- " haps, may rejoice in this event, from the great number of principal officers and vete- " ran ſoldiers of the *Cæſarean* party, who have periſhed; yet they will, undoubtedly, find " reaſon to lament it, when they ſhall be ſenſible of the terrible deſolation it has brought " upon their country. For, if what is related concerning the number of the ſlain be in " any degree true, the flower and ſtrength of our armies is intirely cut off.

" I was well aware of the great advantage it would have proved to the Republic, if I " could have joined *Lepidus:* As I ſhould have been able, and eſpecially with the aſſiſt- " ance of *Plancus*, to have diſſipated thoſe doubts which occaſioned his delay in declaring " for the Senate. But the letters which I received from him being written (as you will " perceive by the copies I herewith tranſmit) in the ſame ſpirit with thoſe ſpeeches, which " it is ſaid, he made to his army at *Narbo*; I found it neceſſary to act with ſome ſort of " artifice towards him, if I hoped to obtain leave to march my troops through his pro- " vince. I was apprehenſive, likewiſe, if an engagement ſhould happen before I could " execute my deſigns, *that the known friendſhip I had with Antony (though not ſuperior,* " *indeed, to that which Plancus entertained for him) would give my enemies an occaſion of* " *miſrepreſenting my intentions.* For theſe reaſons I diſpatched two couriers from *Gades* in " the month of *April*, by two different ſhips, with letters, not only to you and to *Octa-* " *vius*, but to the Conſuls alſo, requeſting to be informed in what manner my ſervices " might moſt avail to the Republic. But, if I am right in my calculation, theſe ſhips did " not ſail till the very day on which the battle was fought between *Panſa* and *Antony:* " As that was the ſooneſt, I think, ſince the winter, that theſe ſeas were navigable. To " theſe reaſons for not marching, I muſt add, that *I had ſo little apprehenſion of this civil war,* " that I ſettled the winter-quarters of my troops in the very remoteſt parts of *Luſitania.* " *Both armies, it ſhould ſeem, were as eager to come to an action, as if their greateſt fears on* " *each ſide were, leſt ſome leſs deſtructive expedient might be found of compoſing our diſturbances.*" [This is a ſevere cenſure of *Cicero*'s management, and the ſtyle of the letter in general could not be agreeable to him.] " However, if circumſtances required *ſo much precipita-* " *tion*, I muſt do *Hirtius* the juſtice to acknowledge, that he conducted himſelf with all " the ſkill and courage of a conſummate General.

" I am informed, by my letters from that part of *Gaul* which is under the command of " *Lepidus*, that *Panſa*'s whole army is cut to pieces, and that he himſelf is ſince dead of " his wounds. They add, that the *Martial* legion is intirely deſtroyed, and that *Lucius* " *Fabatus, Caius Peducæus*, and *Decimus Carfulenus* are among the number of the ſlain.

" My

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him and *Lepidus*, who, though Maſter of a good army, was certainly a weak General: When he was preſſed, therefore, to purſue *Antony*, he

" My intelligence farther aſſures me, that, in the ſubſequent attack by *Hirtius*, both he " and *Antony* loſt all their legions: That the *fourth* legion, after having taken *Antony's* " camp, was engaged and defeated by the *fifth*, with terrible ſlaughter: That *Hirtius*, " together with *Pontius Aquila*, and, as it is reported, *Octavius* likewiſe, were killed in the " action. [This gives ſome colour to *Antony's* reproach, that *Octavius* fled from, and diſ- " appeared for three days after the battle.] " If this ſhould prove true, which the gods " forbid, *I ſhall be very greatly concerned.* My advices farther import, that *Antony* has, " with great diſgrace, abandoned the ſiege of *Mutina*: However, that he has . . . com- " plete regiments of horſe ſtill remaining, together with one which belongs to *Publius* " *Bagiennus*, as alſo a conſiderable number of diſarmed ſoldiers: That *Ventidius* has joined " him with the *ſeventh*, the *eighth*, and the *ninth* legions; and that *Antony* is determined, " if there ſhould be no hopes of gaining *Lepidus*, to have recourſe to the laſt expedient, and " arm not only the Provincials, but even the ſlaves: In fine, that *Lucius Antonius*, after " having plundered the city of *Parma*, has poſted himſelf upon the *Alps*. If theſe ſeve- " ral particulars are true, there is no time to be loſt. And every man who wiſhes that " the Republic, or even the name of the *Roman* people, may ſubſiſt, ſhould immediately, " without waiting for the expreſs orders of the Senate, contribute his utmoſt aſſiſtance to " *extinguiſh theſe dreadful flames.* I hear that *D. Brutus* is at the head of only ſeventeen " cohorts, together with two incomplete legions of new-raiſed troops, which had been " levied by *Antony*. I doubt not, however, that the remains of the forces commanded by " *Hirtius* will join him. I hope ſo, at leaſt; as there is little, I think, to be expected " from any new recruits that may be raiſed; eſpecially ſince nothing can be more dan- " gerous than to give *Antony* time to recover ſtrength.

" My next letters from *Italy* will determine the plan of my operations: And as the " corn is now cut down and partly carried in, I ſhall be more at liberty to execute them " without obſtruction from the ſeaſon of the year. In the mean time, let me aſſure you, " that I will neither deſert nor ſurvive the Republic. It is a misfortune, however, that " my diſtance from the ſcene of action is ſo great, and the roads ſo infeſted, that it is " often ſix weeks, and ſometimes more, ere I can be informed of any event that has hap- " pened. Farewell."

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written in the end of *June*, or the beginning of *July*.

Correſpondence between *Plancus* and *Cicero*.

L. Munatius Plancus, who had been Prætor during the *Spaniſh* war, was now Governor of farther *Gaul* and had the command of three legions: Upon the death of *Cæſar*, *Cicero* employed all his art to engage him on the ſide of the Senate, (*See Ep. Fam.* x. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.) and *Plancus*, who was to ſucceed to the conſulate the year following, together with *D. Brutus*, thought it for his intereſt to declare in favour of the public Council of the State, which he ſaw ſupported by his Collegue elect, by the two Conſuls, and *Octavius*. He had heſitated long before he declared himſelf.

PLANCUS, Conſul Elect, to the Conſuls, the Prætors, the Tribunes, the Senate, and the Commons of *Rome*.

Ep. Fam. x. 8. Melm. xiii. 17.

" BEFORE I make any profeſſions with reſpect to my future conduct, I deem it ne- " ceſſary to juſtify myſelf to thoſe who may think that I have held the Republic *too long in* " *ſuſpence* concerning my deſigns. For I would by no means have it imagined that I am " atoning for my paſt behaviour, when, in fact, I am only ſeizing the firſt favourable " opportunity of publicly declaring a reſolution, which I have long formed. I was in no " ſort ignorant, however, that, at a time of ſuch general and alarming confuſions, a leſs " deliberate diſcovery of my intentions would have proved moſt to my own private advan- " tage: As I was ſenſible that ſeveral of my fellow-citizens had been diſtinguiſhed with

" great

he contrived ſtill to delay it, till it was too late; thinking he was more uſefully employed in ſecuring to his intereſts the troops of the Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

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" great honours, by a more haſty explication of their purpoſes. But as fortune has " placed me in ſuch a ſituation that I could not be earlier in teſtifying mine, without pre- " judicing that cauſe, which I could better ſerve by concealing them; I was willing to " ſuffer for a ſeaſon in the good opinion of the world, as I preferred the intereſt of the " Public to that of my own reputation. That this was the genuine motive of my pro- " ceedings cannot reaſonably, I truſt, be queſtioned. For can it be ſuppoſed, that a " man in my proſperous circumſtances, and of my well-known courſe of life, whoſe utmoſt " hopes too were upon the very point of being crowned, could be capable either meanly " ſubmitting to the deſtructive ambition of another, or impiouſly cheriſhing any dan- " gerous ſchemes of his own? But it required ſome time, as well as much pains and ex- " pence, to render myſelf able to perform thoſe aſſurances I purpoſed to give to the Re- " public, and to every friend of her cauſe; that I might not approach with mere empty " profeſſions to the aſſiſtance of my country, but with the power of performing an effec- " tual ſervice. To this end, as the army under my command had been ſtrongly and " frequently ſollicited to revolt, it was neceſſary to perſuade them, that a moderate re- " ward, conferred by the general voice of the Commonwealth, was far preferable to an " infinitely greater, from any ſingle hand. My next labour was to convince thoſe many " cities, which had been gained the laſt year by largeſſes and other donations, that theſe " were obligations of no validity, and that they ſhould endeavour to obtain the ſame be- " nefactions from a better and more honourable quarter. I had ſtill the farther taſk, to " prevail with thoſe who commanded in the neighbouring provinces to join with the " more numerous party, in a general aſſociation for the defence of our common liberties, " rather than unite with the ſmaller number, in hopes of dividing the ſpoils of a victory, " that muſt prove fatal to the whole world. Add to this, that I was obliged to augment " my own troops and thoſe of my auxiliaries; that I might have nothing to fear, when- " ever I ſhould think proper, contrary to the inclination of ſome about me, openly to avow " the cauſe it was my reſolution to defend. Now I ſhall never be aſhamed to acknow- " ledge, that, in order to bring theſe ſeveral ſchemes to bear, I ſubmitted, tho' very un- " willingly, indeed, to the mortification of *diſſembling* the intentions I really had, and of " *counterfeiting* thoſe which I certainly had not: *As the fate of my collegue*" [D. Brutus] *had* " *taught me how dangerous it is for a man, who means well to his country, to divulge his reſolu-* " *tions, ere he is ſufficiently prepared to carry them into execution.*" [To what particular circum- ſtance of *Decimus*'s conduct *Plancus* alludes, hiſtory does not diſcover: Perhaps he indiſcreet- ly threatened, in his conſulate, to annul *Antony*'s acts, which imprudent declaration of his ſentiments engaged *Antony* to diſpoſſeſs him of the important province of *Ciſalpine Gaul.*]

" For this reaſon it was that I directed my brave and worthy Lieutenant, *C. Furnius*, to " repreſent to you, more fully than I thought prudent to explain in my diſpatches, thoſe " meaſures which ſeemed neceſſary both for the preſervation of this province, and of the " Republic in general; as being the more concealed method of conveying my ſentiments " to you upon that ſubject, as well as the ſafer with reſpect to myſelf.

" It appears then, that I have long been ſecretly attentive to the defence of the Com- " monwealth. But, now that, by the bounty of the gods, I am in every reſpect better " prepared for that purpoſe, I deſire to give the world not only reaſon to hope well of " my intentions, but clear and undoubted proofs of their ſincerity.

" I have five legions in readineſs to march; all of them zealouſly attached to the Re- " public, and diſpoſed by my liberalities to pay an intire obedience to my orders. The " ſame diſpoſition appears in every city throughout this province: As they earneſtly vie " with each other in giving me the ſtrongeſt marks of their duty. Accordingly they have " furniſhed me with as conſiderable a body of auxiliary forces both horſe and foot, as " they could poſſibly have raiſed for the ſupport of their own national liberties. As for " myſelf, I am ready either to remain here, in order to protect this province, or to march " whereſoever elſe the Republic ſhall demand my ſervices. I will offer you another al-

" ternative;

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Conſuls, and watching the motions of the Senate: And, beſides, moſt of the officers and ſoldiers in his army were attached to *Antony*. *Brutus*

" ternative; and either reſign my troops and government into any hands that ſhall be ap-
" pointed, or draw upon myſelf the whole weight of the war: If, by this means, I may
" be able to eſtabliſh the tranquillity of my country, or even retard thoſe calamities with
" which it is threatened.

" If, at the time I am making theſe declarations, our public diſturbances ſhould hap-
" pily be compoſed, I ſhall rejoice in an event ſo advantageous to the Commonwealth,
" notwithſtanding the honour I ſhall loſe by being too late in the tender of my ſervices."
[This paſſage ſufficiently diſcovers, ſays M. *Melmoth*, the true motive of *Plancus*'s preſent declarations: As they appear evidently to have flowed from ſome reaſon he had to believe, that the conteſt between *Antony* and the Senate was likely to be adjuſted in an amicable manner.] " But, on the contrary, if I am early enough in my offers to bear a full part
" in all the dangers of the war, let me recommend it to every man of juſtice and can-
" dour to vindicate me againſt the malevolence of thoſe, whom envy may prompt to
" aſperſe my character.

" In my own particular, I deſire no greater reward for my ſervices, than the ſatisfac-
" tion of having contributed to the ſecurity of the Republic. But I think myſelf bound
" to recommend thoſe brave and worthy men to your eſpecial favour, who, partly in
" compliance with my perſuaſions, but much more in confidence of your good faith,
" would not ſuffer themſelves to be prevailed upon by all the applications that have been
" made, both to their hopes and their fears, to depart from their duty to the Common-
" wealth."

This letter, which bears no date, appears to have been written in the beginning of *March*: *Cicero*'s anſwer to it, *Ep. Fam.* x. 10. *Melm.* xiii. 18, is dated *March* the *30th*. In a ſubſequent letter, received at *Rome* the *7th* of *April*, which is loſt, he ſent the Senate a more ſatisfactory account of his deſigns, and acquainted them that he had begun his march towards *Italy*, which afforded *Cicero* an occaſion to move, that honours ſhould be decreed him: The following very inſtructive letter is an account of the debates of the Senate on that occaſion.

CICERO to PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. x. 12. Melm. xiii.

" IT is principally for the ſake of my country, that I ought to rejoice in the very pow-
" erful ſuccours with which you have ſtrengthened the Republic, at a juncture when it is
" well-nigh reduced to the laſt extremity. I proteſt, however, by all my hopes of con-
" gratulating you on the victorious deliverance of the Commonwealth, that a conſiderable
" part of the joy which I feel, upon this occaſion, ariſes from the ſhare I take in your
" glory. Great, indeed, is the reputation you have already acquired; and great, I am
" perſuaded, are the honours that will hereafter be paid to you: For, aſſure yourſelf, no-
" thing could make a ſtronger impreſſion upon the Senate than your *late letter* to that aſ-
" ſembly. It did ſo, both with reſpect to thoſe very important ſervices, which it brought
" us an account you had performed, and with regard to that ſtrength of ſentiment and
" expreſſion with which it was drawn up. It contained nothing, however, which was in
" the leaſt unexpected to myſelf: As I was not only perfectly well acquainted with your
" heart, and had not forgotten the promiſes you had given me in your letters; but as I
" had received from *Furnius* a full information of all your deſigns. They appeared, how-
" ever, to the Senate, *much beyond what they had allowed themſelves to hope:* Not that they
" ever entertained the leaſt doubt of your diſpoſition, but becauſe they were by no means
" ſufficiently appriſed either of what you were in a condition to effect, or whither you
" purpoſed to march. It was with infinite pleaſure, therefore, that I read the letter,
" which *M. Varifidius* delivered to me on your part. I received it, on the *7th* of this
" month in the morning, amidſt a large circle of very worthy citizens, who were attend-
" ing in order to conduct me from my houſe: And I immediately gave them a ſhare in
" my joy. Whilſt we were mutually congratulating each other upon this happy occur-
" rence,

" rence, *Munatius* [*Plancus*'s brother] came to pay me his uſual morning-viſit; to whom " I likewiſe communicated your letter. It was the firſt notice he had received of an ex- " preſs being arrived from you: As *Variſidius*, in purſuance of your directions, did not " deliver any of his diſpatches till he had firſt waited upon me. A ſhort time, however, " after *Munatius* had left me, he returned, with your letter to himſelf, together alſo with " that which you wrote to the Senate. We thought proper to carry the latter immedi- " ately to *Cornutus*, who, *as Prætor of the city, ſupplies the office of the Conſuls, in their* " *abſence, agreeably, you know, to an ancient and eſtabliſhed cuſtom.* The Senate was in- " ſtantly ſummoned: And the expectation, that was raiſed by the general report of an ex- " preſs being arrived from you, brought together a very full aſſembly. As ſoon as your " letter was read, *it was objected that* CORNUTUS *had not taken the auſpices in a proper* " *manner: And this ſcruple was confirmed by the general ſentiment of our college* [*of Augurs.*] " *In conſequence of this, the Senate was adjourned to the following day:* When I had a warm " conteſt with *Servilius*, who ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the paſſing of any decree to your ho- " nour. For this purpoſe, he had the intereſt [with *Cornutus*] to procure his own motion " to be firſt propoſed to the Senate: Which being rejected, however, by a great majo- " rity, mine was next taken into conſideration. But, when the Senate had unanimouſly " agreed to it, *P. Titius* [one of the Tribunes] at the inſtigation of *Servilius*, interpoſed " his negative. The farther deliberation, therefore, upon this affair was poſtponed to " the next day: When *Servilius* came, prepared to ſupport an oppoſition, which in ſome " ſort might be conſidered as injurious to the honour even of *Jupiter* himſelf, as it was " in the Capitol that the Senate, upon this occaſion, was aſſembled. I leave it to your " other friends to inform you, in what manner I mortified *Servilius*, and with how much " warmth I expoſed the contemptible interpoſition of *Titius*. But this I will myſelf aſ- " ſure you, that the Senate could not poſſibly act with greater dignity and ſpirit, or ſhew " a ſtronger diſpoſition to advance your honours, than it diſcovered upon this occaſion. " Nor are you leſs in favour with the whole city in general: As, indeed, all orders and " degrees of men amongſt us remarkably concur in the ſame common zeal for the delive- " rance of the Republic. Perſevere then, my friend, in the glorious courſe upon which " you have entered: And let nothing leſs than immortal fame be the object of your well- " directed ambition. Deſpiſe the falſe ſplendor of all thoſe empty honours that are " ſhort, tranſitory, and periſhable. True glory is founded upon virtue alone: Which is " never ſo illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed, as when it diſplays itſelf by important ſervices to " our country. You have at this time a moſt favourable opportunity for that purpoſe: " Which, as you have already embraced, let it not ſlip out of your hands till you ſhall " have employed it to full advantage; leſt it be ſaid, that you are more obliged to the " Republic than the Republic is obliged to you. As for my own part, you will always " find me ready to contribute to the advancement, as well as to the ſupport of your digni- " ties: As, indeed, it is what I owe, not only to our friendſhip, but to the Common- " wealth, which is far dearer to me than life itſelf. Farewell." *April* the 11th.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

. . . . . " I paſſed the *Rhone*, Ep. Fam.
" with my whole army, on the *27th* of *April*: And immediately ordered a detachment of x. 9.
" a *thouſand horſe*' [or rather *three thouſand* horſe, as they are numbered in a ſubſequent Melm. xiv.
letter] " to advance before me from *Vienna*, by a ſhorter road, and by long marches. If 2.
" I meet with no obſtructions on the part of *Lepidus*, the Republic will have reaſon to be
" ſatisfied with my diligence and expedition: But, if he ſhould attempt to intercept my
" paſſage, I muſt take my meaſures as circumſtances ſhall require. Of this, however, I
" will now aſſure you, that the army I am conducting is highly reſpectable, whether
" conſidered with regard to the nature, the number, or the fidelity of my troops. I will
" only add, that I deſire your friendſhip upon no other terms, than as you are ſure I ſhall
" always give you the warmeſt returns of mine."

CICERO to PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. x. 14 Melm. xiv. 4.

"HOW pleaſing was the letter I received from you two days before our victory at "*Mutina*: Wherein you gave me an account of the ſtate of your troops, of your zeal for "the Republic, and of the expedition with which you were advancing to the relief of "*Brutus*. But, notwithſtanding the enemy was defeated before you could join our ar- "my, the hopes, nevertheleſs, of the Commonwealth are ſtill fixed intirely upon you: As "the principal Leaders of theſe infamous Rebels have eſcaped, 'tis ſaid, from the field of "battle. You will remember, therefore, *that to exterminate the remains of this party will be "a ſervice no leſs acceptable to the Senate, than if you had given them the firſt repulſe.*

"I am waiting, as well as many others, with great impatience, for the return of your "couriers. I hope that our late ſucceſs will now induce even *Lepidus* himſelf to act in con- "cert with you for the defence of the common cauſe. I intreat you, my dear *Plancus*, "to employ your utmoſt endeavours for this important purpoſe; that every ſpark of "this horrid war may be utterly and for ever extinguiſhed. If you ſhould be able to ef- "fect this, you will render a moſt godlike ſervice to your country, and, at the ſame time, "procure immortal honour to yourſelf. Farewell." *May* the 5*th*.

Cicero, after *Antony*'s defeat at *Mutina*, obtained of the Senate the honours in favour of *Plancus*, which *Servilius* and the Tribune *Titius* had oppoſed before with ſucceſs.

PLANCUS to CICERO.

Fp. Fam. x. 11. Melm. xiv. 7.

"I GIVE you a thouſand and a thouſand thanks for your late favours, which, as "long as I live, I ſhall always moſt gratefully acknowledge; more than this I dare not "venture to promiſe. For I fear it will never be in my power to acquit ſuch uncommon "obligations: Unleſs you ſhould think, (what your letter endeavours, indeed, with much "ſerious eloquence, to perſuade me) that to remember them is to return them. You could "not have acted with a more affectionate zeal, if the dignities of your own ſon had been "in queſtion; and I am perfectly ſenſible of the high honours that were decreed to me "in conſequence of your firſt motion for that purpoſe. I am ſenſible too, that all your "ſubſequent votes, in my behalf, were intirely conformable to the circumſtances of the "times, and the opinion of my friends; as I am informed, likewiſe, of the advantageous "colours, in which you are perpetually repreſenting me, as well as of the frequent con- "teſts you ſuſtain with my injurious detractors. It is incumbent upon me, therefore, in "the firſt place, to endeavour to convince the Republic, that I am worthy of the praiſes "you beſtow upon me; and, in the next place, to render you ſenſible, that I gratefully "bear your friendſhip in remembrance. I will only add, under this article, that I deſire "you to protect me in the honours I have thus procured by your influence: But I deſire "it no otherwiſe than as my actions ſhall prove that I am the man you wiſh to find me.

"As ſoon as I had paſſed the *Rhone*, I detached a body of three thouſand horſe, un- "der the conduct of my brother, with orders to advance towards *Mutina*; to which "place I intended to follow them with the reſt of my army. But, on my march thither, "I received advice that an action had happened, and that the ſiege was raiſed. *Antony*, "I find, has no other reſource left, but to return into theſe parts, with the remains of "his broken forces. His only hopes, indeed, are, that he may be able either to gain "*Lepidus*, or his army: In which there are ſome troops no leſs diſaffected to the Republic, "than thoſe which ſerved under *Antony* himſelf. I thought proper, therefore to recall my "cavalry, and to halt in the country of the *Allobroges*, that I might be ready to act as "circumſtances ſhall require. If *Antony* ſhould retire into this country, deſtitute of "men, I make no doubt, notwithſtanding he ſhould be received by the army of *Lepi- "dus*, to be able to give a good account of him with my preſent forces. Should he even "appear at the head of ſome troops, and ſhould *the tenth veteran legion* revolt, which, to- "gether with the reſt, was, by my means, prevailed upon to engage in the ſervice of the "Republic; yet I ſhall endeavour, by acting on the defenſive, to prevent him from gain- "ing any advantage over us: Which I hope to effect, till a reinforcement from *Italy* ſhall "enable me to exterminate this deſperate crew. I will venture, at leaſt, to aſſure you,

"my

Brutus was, from the firſt apprehenſive of his change [f], and, why he himſelf was not able to purſue his enemy ſo ſoon as he wiſhed, he gives the following reaſons in a letter to *Cicero*. Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Ç nſ.

D. BRUTUS

" my dear *Cicero*, neither zeal nor vigilance ſhall be wanting on my part for that purpoſe. " It is my ſincere wiſh, indeed, that the Senate may have no further fears: But, if any " ſhould ſtill remain, no man will enter into their cauſe with greater warmth and ſpirit, " nor be willing to ſuffer more in the ſupport of it, than myſelf.

" I am endeavouring to engage *Lepidus* to join with me in the ſame views: And I have " promiſed him, if he will act with a regard to the intereſt of the Republic, that I ſhall, " upon all occaſions, yield him an entire deference. I have employed my brother, together " with *Furnius* and *Laterenſis*, to negociate this aſſociation between us, and no private " injury done to myſelf ſhall ever prevent me from concurring with my greateſt enemy, " whenever it may be neceſſary for the defence of the Commonwealth. But, notwith- " ſtanding theſe overtures ſhould prove unſucceſsful, I ſhall ſtill perſevere with the ſame " zeal (and perhaps with more glory) in my endeavours to give ſatisfaction to the Se- " nate."

[f] D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

" YOU are ſenſible how great a loſs the Republic has ſuſtained, by the death of *Pan-* Correſpon-
" *ſa*. It behoves you, therefore, to exert all your credit and addreſs to prevent our ene- dence be-
" mies from entertaining any reaſonable hope of recovering their ſtrength, now that we tween *D.*
" have loſt both our conſuls. I am preparing to purſue *Antony* immediately: And, I truſt, *Brutus* and
" ſhall be able to render it impoſſible either for *Antony* to continue in *Italy*, or for *Venti-* *Cicero.*
" *dius* to eſcape out of it.——I make it my firſt and principal requeſt, that you would Ep. Fam.
" ſend to *Lepidus*, in order, if poſſible, to prevent that light and inconſtant man from re- xi. 9.
" newing the war, by joining *Antony*; as to *Pollio*, I ſuppoſe you ſee very clearly the mea- Melm. xiv.
" ſures he will purſue!" [that he will act in concert with *Lepidus*.] " They are both at 3.
" the head of very numerous and warlike legions. I do not mention this as imagining
" you are not equally attentive to this important point; *but from a firm perſuaſion that*
" LEPIDUS, *however dubious it may, perhaps, appear to the Senate will never act of him-*
" *ſelf in the manner he ought*. Let me intreat you, likewiſe, to confirm *Plancus* in his pre-
" ſent reſolutions: Who, I ſhould hope, when he ſees *Antony* driven out of *Italy*, will not
" be wanting in his aſſiſtance to the Republic. If the latter ſhould have croſſed the *Alps*,
" I purpoſe to poſt a proper number of forces to guard the paſſes of thoſe mountains:
" And you may depend upon my giving you regular notice of all my motions." From my camp at *Regium* [*Reggio* between *Modena* and *Parma*] *April* the 29*th*.

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

" I LOOK upon the obligations I have received from you, as nothing inferior even Ep. Fam.
" to thoſe which I have conferred upon the Republic: But I am not capable, you are well xi. 10.
" aſſured, of making you ſo ill a return as I have experienced from ſome of my un- Melm. xiv.
" grateful countrymen. It might, perhaps, in the preſent conjuncture, be thought to 6.
" have ſomewhat of the air of flattery to ſay, that your ſingle applauſe outweighs, in my
" eſteem, their whole united approbation. It is certain, however, that you view my
" actions by the faithful light of diſpaſſionate truth and reaſon: Whereas they, on the
" contrary, look upon them through the darkeſt clouds of envy and malevolence. But
" I am little concerned how much ſoever they may oppoſe my honours, provided they do
" not obſtruct me in my ſervices to the Republic: *the very dangerous ſituation of which let*
" *me now point out to you*, in as few words as poſſible.

" In the firſt place, you are ſenſible, *what great diſturbances the death of the Conſuls*
" *may create in Rome: As it may give occaſion to all the dangerous practices that ambition will*
" *ſuggeſt to thoſe who are deſirous of ſucceeding to their office. This is all that prudence will*

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

D. Brutus to Cicero.

"IF you will look back into my former letters, you cannot be at a "loſs to diſcover the reaſons that prevented me from purſuing *Antony*, imme-

Ep. Fam. xi. 13. Melm. xiv. 17.

"*allow me to ſay in a letter; and all, indeed, that is neceſſary to be ſaid to a man of your* "*penetration.* [No, *Cicero*, the Prophet, had not this penetration, or wilfully ſhut his eyes.]—"As to *Antony*, notwithſtanding he made his eſcape from the field of battle with "but a very few troops, and thoſe too entirely diſarmed; yet, by ſetting open the pri- "ſons, and by preſſing all ſorts of men that fell in his way, he has collected no con- "temptible number of forces. Theſe have, likewiſe been conſiderably augmented by "the acceſſion of the veteran and other troops of *Ventidius:* Who, after a very difficult "march, over the *Apennine* mountains, has found means to join *Antony* in the fens of *Sa-* "*bata.*" [Between the *Alps* and the *Apennines* on the coaſt of *Genoa*.] The only poſſible "ſcheme which the latter can purſue is either to have recourſe to *Lepidus*, if that General "ſhould be diſpoſed to receive him; or to poſt himſelf on the *Alps* and *Apennines*, in or- "der to make depredations with his cavalry (in which he is exceedingly ſtrong) on the "neighbouring country; or to march into *Etruria*," [*Tuſcany*] "where we have no army "to oppoſe him. *Had* Cæsar, *however, paſſed the Apennine mountains, agreeably to my ad-* "*vice, I ſhould have driven Antony into ſuch difficulties, that, perhaps, without ſtriking a* "*ſingle blow, I ſhould have been able to have waſted his whole army by famine.* But the "misfortune is, *that Cæſar will neither be governed by me, nor will his army be governed* "*by him:* Both which are very unhappy circumſtances for our cauſe. This then being "the ſad ſtate of public affairs, can I be ſollicitous, as I ſaid above, what oppoſition I "may meet with in reſpect to my own perſonal honours? *The particulars I have here* "*mentioned are of ſo very delicate a nature, that I know not how you will be able to touch* "*upon them in the Senate:* Or, *if you ſhould, I fear it will be to no purpoſe.*—In the mean "time, I am in no condition to ſubſiſt my troops any longer. When I firſt took up "arms for the deliverance of the Commonwealth, I had above four hundred thouſand "ſeſtertia," [about 322,000l. ſterl.] in ready money: But, at preſent, I have not only "mortgaged every part of my eſtate, but have borrowed all I could poſſibly raiſe on the "credit of my friends. I leave you to judge, therefore, with what difficulty I now "maintain ſeven legions at my own expence. The truth is, I ſhould not be equal to "ſo great a charge, were I poſſeſſed of all *Varro*'s immenſe treaſures.—As ſoon as I ſhall "receive any certain information of *Antony*'s motions, I will give you notice." From my camp at *Tertona* [*Tortona*, about 30 miles from *Genoa*,] *May* the 5*th*.

D. Brutus to Cicero.

Ep. Fam. xi. 11. Melm. xiv. 8.

". . . . . "I gave you an account, in my laſt, of the poſture of our affairs: "Since which I have received intelligence, that *Antony* is on his march towards *Lepidus*. "Among ſome papers of *Antony*, which are fallen into my hands, I found a liſt of the "ſeveral perſons, whom he intended to employ as mediators in his behalf with *Pollio*, *Le-* "*pidus*, and *Plancus:* So that *he has not yet, it ſeems, given up all hopes of gaining the* "*latter.* Nevertheleſs, I did not heſitate to ſend an immediate expreſs to *Plancus*, with "advice of *Antony*'s march. I expect within few days to receive ambaſſadors from the "*Allobroges*, and all the other diſtricts of this province; and I doubt not of diſmiſſing "them ſtrongly confirmed in their allegiance to the Republic. You will be attentive, on "your part, I dare ſay, to promote all ſuch neceſſary meaſures at *Rome* as ſhall be agree- "able to your ſentiments, and to the intereſt of the Commonwealth. I am equally per- "ſuaded that you will prevent, if it be poſſible to prevent, the malevolent ſchemes of "my enemies. But, if you ſhould not ſucceed in theſe generous endeavours, you will, "at leaſt, have the ſatisfaction to find, that no indignities they can throw upon me are

" immediately after the battle of *Mutina*. The truth, my dear *Cicero*, Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.
" is, that I was not only unprovided both with cavalry and baggage-
" horſes,

" capable of deterring me from my purpoſes. From my camp on the frontiers of the " *Statiellenſes*," [A territory in *Liguria*, the principal town of which was *Aquæ Statiellorum*, now called *Aqui*, in the diſtrict of *Montferrat*.] *May* the 5th.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Conſul Elect.

" THE meſſage you commiſſioned *Galba* and *Volumnius* to deliver to the Senate ſuf- Ep. Fam.
" ficiently intimates the nature of thoſe fears and ſuſpicions, which you imagine we have xi. 18.
" reaſon to entertain. But I muſt confeſs that the apprehenſions you would thus infuſe Melm. xiv.
" into us ſeem by no means worthy of that glorious victory you have obtained over the 11.
" enemies of the Commonwealth. Believe me, my dear *Brutus*, both the Senate, and " the Generals that ſupport its cauſe, are animated with an undaunted reſolution: We " were ſorry, therefore, that you, whom we eſteem the braveſt Captain that ever the Re- " public employed, ſhould think us capable of any timidity. Is it poſſible, indeed, af- " ter having confidently repoſed our hopes on your courage and conduct, when you were " inveſted by *Antony* in all the fulneſs of his ſtrength and power, that any of us ſhould " harbour the leaſt fear, now that the ſiege is raiſed, and the enemy's army entirely over- " thrown. Nor have we any thing, ſurely, to apprehend from *Lepidus*. For who can " imagine him ſo utterly void of all rational conduct, as to have profeſſed himſelf an ad- " vocate for peace, when we were engaged in a moſt *neceſſary* and important war; and " yet to take up arms, the moment that peace is reſtored? You are far too ſagacious, I " doubt not, to entertain ſuch a thought." [For the honour of *Cicero*'s ſagacity, we muſt ſuppoſe that he is not in earneſt.] " Nevertheleſs, the fears you have renewed amongſt us, " at a time, when every temple throughout *Rome* is reſounding with our thankſgivings " for your deliverance, has caſt a very conſiderable damp upon our joy. May the fact " prove then, what indeed I am inclined to believe, as well as hope, that *Antony* is com- " pletely vanquiſhed. But, ſhould he happen to recover ſome degree of ſtrength, he " will moſt aſſuredly find, that neither the Senate is deſtitute of wiſdom, nor the People " of courage: I will add too, nor the Republic of a General, ſo long as you ſhall be " alive to lead forth her armies." *May* the 19*th*.

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Conſul Elect.

" IT is with infinite ſatisfaction, my dear *Brutus*, that I find you approve my conduct in Ep. Fam.
" the Senate, with reſpect both to the *Decemvirs*," [They were probably the ten per- xi. 14.
ſons whom the Senate, in the firſt tranſports of joy for their ſuppoſed complete victory Melm. xiv.
over *Antony*, had appointed to inquire into his conduct during his late conſulſhip] " and 14.
" to the honours decreed to our young man. Yet, after all, what have my labours " availed? Believe me, my friend, and *you know I am not apt to boaſt*, the Senate was " the grand engine of my power: But all thoſe ſprings, which I uſed ſo ſucceſsfully to " manage, have utterly loſt their force, and *I can no longer direct its motions*. The truth " of it is, the news of your glorious ſally with the garriſon of *Mutina*, of *Antony*'s flight, " and of his army being intirely cut to pieces, had inſpired ſuch confident hopes of a " complete victory, that the diſappointment has caſt a general damp upon the ſpirit I " had raiſed againſt our enemies: And all my ardent invectives ſeem at laſt to have proved " juſt as inſignificant as if I had been combating with my own ſhadow. But to the " purpoſe of your letter.—Thoſe, who are acquainted with the diſpoſitions of the *fourth* " and *Martial* legions, aſſure me, they will never be prevailed on to ſerve under you. " As to the ſupply of money, which you deſire, ſome meaſures may, and moſt aſſuredly ſhall, " be taken, in order to raiſe it.—I am wholly in your ſentiments, with regard to the calling " *Brutus* out of *Greece*, and retaining *Cæſar* here for the protection of *Italy*. I agree " with you, likewiſe, my dear *Brutus*, that you have enemies: And, though I find it,
" indeed,

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf. " horſes, but, not having, at that time, had an interview with *Cæſar*, " I could not depend upon his aſſiſtance: And I was wholly ignorant " likewiſe, that *Hirtius* was killed, This will account for my not ha- " ving purſued *Antony* on the day of the engagement. The day fol- " lowing I received an expreſs from *Panſa* to attend him at *Bononia:* " But, in my way thither, being informed of his death, I immediately " returned

" indeed, no very difficult matter to ſuſtain their attacks, yet ſtill, however, they ſome- " what embarraſs my ſchemes in your favour.—The legions from *Africa* are daily ex- " pected. In the mean time, the world is greatly aſtoniſhed to find that the war is broke " out again in your province. Nothing, in truth, ever happened ſo unexpectedly: As " we had promiſed ourſelves, from the account of the victory, which was brought to us " on your birth-day, that the peace of the Republic was eſtabliſhed for many genera- " tions. But, now, all our fears are revived, with as much ſtrength as ever.—You men- " tioned, in your letter, dated the 15*th* of *May*," [it is loſt] " that you was juſt informed, " by an expreſs from *Plancus*, that *Lepidus* had refuſed to receive *Antony*. Should this prove " to be fact, our buſineſs will be ſo much the eaſier; if not, we ſhall have a very difficult " ſtruggle to maintain; and it depends upon you to eaſe me of my great apprehenſions " for the event. As for my own part, I have exhauſted all my powers, and am utterly " incapable of doing more than I have already performed. It is far otherwiſe, however, " with my friend: And I not only wiſh, but expect, to ſee you the greateſt and moſt diſ- " tinguiſhed of *Romans*. Farewell."

CICERO to D. BRUTUS, Conſul Elect.

Ep. Fam. xi. 12. Melm. xiv. 16. " I AM indebted to you for your ſhort letter by *Flaccus Volumnius*, as well as for two " others more full; one of which was brought by the courier of *T. Vibius*, as the other " was forwarded to me by *Lupus:* And all of them came to my hands on the ſame day. " I find, by your own account, as well as by that which *Græceius* has given me, that the " war, ſo far from being extinguiſhed, ſeems to be breaking out again with greater vio- " lence. You are ſenſible, if *Antony* ſhould gain any ſtrength, that all your illuſtrious " ſervices to the Republic will be utterly fruſtrated. The firſt accounts we received here, " and which, indeed, were univerſally credited, repreſented him as having run away in " great conſternation; attended only with a few frightened and diſarmed ſoldiers. But if " *the truth, after all, ſhould be (*what *Græceius* aſſures me, *that* ANTONY *is in fact ſo ſtrong,* " *as to render it unſafe to give him battle; he does not ſeem ſo much to have fled from* Mutina, " *as to have changed the ſeat of war.* This unexpected news has given all *Rome* another " countenance, and a general air of diſappointment appears in every face. *There are even* " *ſome amongſt us, who complain of your not having immediately purſued* ANTONY, *as they* " *imagine, if no time had been loſt, that he muſt inevitably have been deſtroyed.* But it is " uſual with the people in all governments, and eſpecially in ours, to be particularly diſ- " poſed to abuſe their liberty, by licentious reflections on thoſe to whom they are in- " debted for the enjoyment of it. *However, one ſhould be careful not to give them any juſt* " *cauſe for their cenſures.*" [The letter copied above, in the body of the hiſtory, is the anſwer to this unreaſonable, unſeaſonable, and ungenerous reflection]—" *To ſay all in one* " *word, whoever deſtroys* ANTONY *will have the glory of terminating the war:* A HINT " WHICH I HAD RATHER LEAVE TO YOUR OWN REFLECTIONS, THAN ENTER MY- " SELF INTO A MORE OPEN EXPLANATION. Farewell." [In a letter to *Plancus*, Ep. Fam. x. 13 Melm. xiv. 5. we find the ſame *hint*. " Let me only intreat you to finiſh the " work, which others have ſo happily begun; remembering, that whoever ſhall deſtroy " *Antony* will have the whole honour of concluding this war. It is thus that *Homer* gives " the glory, not to *Ajax* or *Achilles*, but to *Ulyſſes* alone, of having exterminated *Troy*." [His meaning could hardly be miſtaken, *that any ſtratagem would be fair and honourable, which ſhould for ever remove* ANTONY *out of their way.* See *Melmoth*, Vol. III. p. 260.]

" returned back to join my *little corps.* I may juſtly call them ſo, in- Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42.
" deed, as my forces are greatly diminiſhed, and in a very bad condi- 409 Conſ.
" tion, from the great hardſhips they ſuffered during the ſiege. It was
" by theſe means that *Antony* got two days advance of me: And, as
" he marched in diſorder, he could retire much faſter than it was in my
" power to purſue. He increaſed his forces likewiſe, by preſſing the
" inhabitants, and throwing open the priſons, in every town through
" which he paſſed: And in this manner he continued his march, till he
" arrived in the *Fens of Sabata.* This is a place with which I muſt
" bring you acquainted. It is ſituated between the *Alps* and the *Apen-*
" *nines*, and the roads that lie about it are ſcarce practicable. When I
" had reached within thirty miles of *Antony*, I was informed that he had
" been joined by *Ventidius*, and had made a ſpeech at the head of their
" combined troops, to perſuade them to follow him over the *Alps*; aſ-
" ſuring them *that* LEPIDUS *had agreed to ſupport him.* Nevertheleſs,
" not only his own ſoldiers, which, indeed, are a very inconſiderable
" number, but thoſe likewiſe of *Ventidius*, wholly and unanimouſly
" declared, that they were determined either to conquer, or periſh in
" *Italy:* And, at the ſame time, deſired they might be conducted to
" *Pollentia*[g]. *Antony* found it in vain to oppoſe them: However, he
" deferred his march till the enſuing day. As ſoon as I received this
" intelligence, I detached five cohorts to *Pollentia:* And am now fol-
" lowing them with the remainder of my troops. This detachment
" threw themſelves into that city an hour before *Trebellius* arrived with
" his cavalry: A circumſtance which gives me great ſatisfaction, as it
" is a point, I think, upon which our whole ſucceſs depends. When
" the enemy found their deſigns were thus fruſtrated, they conceived
" hopes of croſſing the *Alps* into *Gaul:* As they ſuppoſed the four le-
" gions commanded by *Plancus* would not be able to withſtand their
" united forces; and that an army from *Italy* could not overtake them
" ſoon enough to prevent their paſſage. However, the *Allobroges*, to-
" gether with my detachment, have hitherto been ſufficient to prevent
" their deſign: Which, I truſt, they will find ſtill more difficult to ef-
" fect, when I ſhall come up with the reſt of my forces. But, ſhould
" they happen, in the mean time, to paſs the *Iſara* [*Iſere*], I ſhall exert
" my utmoſt endeavours that this circumſtance may not be attended
" with any ill conſequences to the Commonwealth.

" Let it raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of the Senate, to obſerve, that
" *Plancus* and myſelf, together with our reſpective armies, act in per-
" fect concert with each other, and are ready to hazard every danger in
" ſupport of the common cauſe. However, whilſt you thus confident-
" ly rely on our zeal and diligence, you will remit nothing, I hope, of

[g] Some remains of this city ſtill ſubſiſt, under the name of *Polenzo.* It is ſituated at the confluence of the *Stura* and the *Tanaro*, in *Piedmont.*

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" your own; but employ your utmoſt care to ſend us a reinforcement, " as well as every other neceſſary ſupply, that may render us in a con- " dition to defend your liberties againſt thoſe who have infamouſly " conſpired their ruin. One cannot, indeed, but look upon theſe our " enemies with ſo much the greater indignation, as they have acted " with the vileſt hypocriſy; and ſuddenly turned thoſe troops againſt " their country, which they long pretended to have raiſed for its de- " fence."

Middl. p. 439. L. iii. p. 573.

This authentic account from *D. Brutus* confutes two facts, which are delivered by *Appian*, and generally received by all the modern hiſtorians; firſt, that *Octavius*, after the victory, refuſed to have any conference with *D. Brutus*; and that *Brutus*, for that reaſon, forbad him to enter his province, or to purſue *Antony*: Secondly, that *Panſa*, in his laſt moments, ſent for *Octavius* and adviſed him to an union with *Antony* againſt the Senate. Both the ſtories ſeem to have been forged afterwards to ſave *Octavius*'s honour, and give a better colour to that ſudden change of meaſures, which, from this hour, he was determined to purſue [h].

Ep. Fam. xi. 19.

D. Brutus complains, in all his letters, of his want of money and the ſad condition of his army, which was not contemptible for the number, but for the kind of his troops; being, for the moſt part, new-raiſed, bare, and needy of all things. He deſired, therefore, a preſent ſupply of money, and ſome veteran legions, eſpecially the *fourth* and *Martial*, which continued ſtill with *Octavius*. This was readily decreed to him by the Senate, at the motion of *Druſus* and *Paulus*; *Lepidus*'s brother; but the legions refuſed to ſerve under him. He had alſo deſired

Ep. Fam. xi. 9.

Cicero to write to *Lepidus* not to receive *Antony*, *though he was ſure*, he ſays, *that* LEPIDUS *would never do any thing that was right:* And wiſhes, likewiſe, that *Cicero* would confirm *Plancus*; ſince, by ſome of *Antony*'s

Ep. Fam. xi. 11.

papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived that *Antony* had not loſt all hopes of him; and thought himſelf ſure of *Lepidus* and *Pollio*. Of which he gave *Plancus* immediate notice, and ſignified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him.

Plancus,

[h] There is an original medal ſtill remaining, that gives no ſmall confirmation to this notion; and was ſtruck probably at *Rome*, either by *Panſa* himſelf, upon his marching out towards *Mutina*; or by the Senate, ſoon after *Panſa*'s death; in teſtimony of the ſtrict union that ſubſiſted between him and *D. Brutus Albinus*. For, on the one ſide, there is the head of a *Silenus*, as it is called, or rather of *Pan*, which is frequent on *Panſa*'s coins, with the inſcription alſo of his name, C. PANSA: And, on the other, ALBINUS. BRUTI. F. *with two right hands joined, holding a caduceus*, as an emblem of the ſtricteſt amity and concord. See *Fam. Vibia*, in *Vaillant.* or *Morel*,

PLANCUS,

Plancus[i], as may be ſeen in his correſpondence with *Cicero* above, had begun a negociation with *Lepidus*, to unite their forces againſt *Antony*: Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

[i] PLANCUS to CICERO.

Continuation of the correſpondence between *Plancus* and *Cicero*. Ep. Fam. x. 15. Melm. xiv. 9.

" SOME occurrences have ariſen ſince I cloſed my former letter, of which I think it " may import the Republic that you ſhould be appriſed: As both the Commonwealth " and myſelf, I hope, have reaped advantage from my aſſiduity in the affair I am going " to mention. I ſollicited *Lepidus*, by repeated expreſſes, *to lay aſide all animoſities between* " *us*, and amicably unite with me in concerting meaſures for the ſuccour of the Republic; " conjuring him to prefer the intereſt of his family and his country to that of a contemp- " tible and deſperate rebel; and aſſuring him, that, if he did ſo, he might entirely com- " mand me upon all occaſions. Accordingly, by the intervention of LATERENSIS, I " *I have ſucceeded in my negociation, and* LEPIDUS *has given me his honour, that, if he can-* " *not prevent* ANTONY *from entering his province, he will moſt certainly lead his army* " *againſt him.* He requeſts, likewiſe, *that I ſhould join him with my forces*; and the ra- " ther, as *Antony* is extremely ſtrong in cavalry, whereas that of *Lepidus* is very inconſi- " derable: And, out of theſe few, ten of his beſt men have lately deſerted to my camp. " As ſoon as I received this expreſs, I loſt no time to forward and aſſiſt the good inten- " tions of *Lepidus*. I clearly ſaw, indeed, the advantage that would ariſe from my join- " ing him: As my horſe would be of ſervice in purſuing and deſtroying *Antony*'s cavalry, " and as the preſence of my troops in general would be a reſtraint upon the diſaffected " part of thoſe under his command. To this end, having ſpent a day in throwing a bridge " acroſs the *Iſara* [*Iſere*], a very conſiderable river that bounds the territories of the *Allo-* " *broges*, I paſſed it, with my whole army, on the 12*th* of *May*. But, having received " advice that *L. Antonius*" [*Antony*'s brother] " was advancing towards us with a body " of horſe and foot, and that he was actually arrived at *Forum Julii* [*Frejus*]; I ordered, " on the 14*th*, a detachment of four thouſand horſe to meet him under the command of " my brother: Whom I purpoſe to follow, by long marches, with four light-armed le- " gions, and the remainder of my cavalry. And, ſhould that fortune, which preſides over " the Republic, prove in any degree favourable to my arms, I ſhall ſoon put an end at " once both to our own fears, and to the hopes of theſe inſolent rebels. But if the infa- " mous *Antony*, appriſed of our approach, ſhould retire towards *Italy*; it will be the bu- " ſineſs of *Brutus* to intercept his march: And *Brutus*, I am perſuaded, will not be " wanting either in courage and conduct for that purpoſe. Nevertheleſs, I ſhall, in that " caſe, ſend my brother with a detachment of horſe to harraſs *Antony* in his retreat, and " to protect *Italy* from his depredations."

PLANCUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 17. Melm. xiv. 12.

" *ANTONY* arrived at *Forum Julii* [*Frejus*] with the van of his army on *the* 15*th of* " *May*: And *Ventidius* is only two days march behind him. *Lepidus* writes me word, " that he propoſes to wait for me at *Forum Voconii* [*Le Luc*] where he is at preſent en- " camped; a place about four-and-twenty miles diſtant from *Forum Julii*: If he and for- " tune do not deceive my expectations, the Senate may depend upon my ſpeedily termi- " nating this buſineſs to their full ſatisfaction.—I mentioned to you, in a former letter, " that the great fatigues which my brother had undergone by his continual marches had " extremely impaired his conſtitution. However, as ſoon as he was ſufficiently recovered " to get abroad, he conſidered his health as an acquiſition which he had gained as much " for the ſervice of the Republic, as for himſelf; and was the firſt, therefore, to engage " in every hazardous expedition. But I have recommended it to him, and indeed inſiſted " that he ſhould return to *Rome*, as he would be much more likely to wear himſelf away " by continuing in the camp, than be able to give me any aſſiſtance. Beſides, I ima- " gined, now that the Republic was moſt unhappily deprived of both the Conſuls, that the " preſence of ſo worthy a magiſtrate would be abſolutely neceſſary at *Rome*. But, if any

" of

Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf. It was managed on *Plancus*'s ſide by *Furnius*; on *Lepidus*'s by *Laterenſis*, one of his Lieutenants, a true friend to the Senate and zealous to engage

" of you ſhould think otherwiſe, let me be cenſured for my imprudent advice, but let " not my brother be condemned as failing in his duty. — *Lepidus*, agreeably to my re- " queſt, has delivered *Apella* into my hands, as an hoſtage for the faithful execution of " his engagements to co-operate with me in the defence of the Commonwealth. *L. Gal-* " *lus* has given me proofs of his zeal: As he has acted alſo in the affair of the three bro- " thers to the ſatisfaction of *Sextus Gavianus*. I have lately employed the latter in ſome " negociations between *Lepidus* and myſelf: And I have found him firmly attached to " the intereſt of the Republic. It is with great pleaſure I give this teſtimony in his fa- " vour: A tribute which I ſhall always be ready to pay, wherever it is deſerved.—Take " care of your health, and allow me the ſame ſhare of your heart, which you moſt aſ- " ſuredly poſſeſs of mine. I recommend my dignities likewiſe to your protection; and " hope, if I can plead any merit, you will continue your good offices to me with the " ſame ſingular affection you have hitherto diſcovered."

CICERO to PLANCUS.

Ep. Fam. x. 16. Melm. xiv. 15.

"NOTHING, my dear *Plancus*, could be more glorious to yourſelf, nor more ac- " ceptable to the Senate, than the letter you lately addreſſed to that aſſembly: I will add " too, nothing could be more opportune than the particular juncture in which it was de- " livered. *Cornutus* received it in the preſence of a very full houſe, juſt as he had com- " municated to us a cold and irreſolute letter from *Lepidus*. Yours was read immediately " afterwards: And it was heard with the loudeſt acclamations of applauſe. It was highly " pleaſing, indeed, to the Senate, not only from the importance of its contents, and thoſe " zealous ſervices to the Republic, of which it gave us an account, but from that ſtrength " and elegance of expreſſion with which it was animated. The Senate was extremely " urgent that it might be immediately taken into conſideration: But *Cornutus* thought " proper to decline their requeſt. However, the whole aſſembly, expreſſing great indig- " nation at his refuſal, the queſtion was put by five of the Tribunes of the people. When " *Servilius* was called upon for his opinion, he moved that the debate might be adjourned. " What my ſentiments were (and I was ſupported in them by the unanimous concurrence " of the whole houſe) you will ſee by the decree that paſſed upon this occaſion." [Both *Plancus*'s letter to the Senate, and the decree upon it, are loſt.]

" I am ſenſible that your ſuperior judgment is abundantly ſufficient to direct you in all " emergencies; *yet I cannot forbear adviſing you not to wait for the ſanction of the Senate,* " *in ſo critical a conjuncture as the preſent*, and which undoubtedly muſt often demand " immediate action. *Be a Senate, my friend, to yourſelf; and, without any other authority,* " *ſcruple not to purſue ſuch meaſures as the intereſt of the Republic ſhall require.* In one word, " let your actions anticipate our expectations, and give us the pleaſure of hearing that " you have executed ſome glorious exploit, ere we are ſo much as appriſed that you even " had it in your intention. *I will venture to aſſure you*, that the Senate will moſt certain- " ly approve both of your zeal and your judgment, in whatever you ſhall thus under- " take." [It appears that *Cicero*, notwithſtanding his great influence, could not procure any particular commiſſion for *Plancus*.]

PLANCUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 18. Melm. xiv. 20.

" YOU have been appriſed, no doubt, by *Lævus* and *Nerva*, as well as by the letter " they delivered to you on my part, of the deſign I was meditating when they left me: " As, indeed, they have conſtantly borne a ſhare in all my councils and meaſures of every " kind. It has happened, however, to me, what happens not unfrequently, I ſuppoſe, " to every man who is tender of his reputation, and deſirous of approving his conduct " to the friends of his country: I have given up a ſafer ſcheme, as being liable, per-

" haps,

engage his General to its intereſts; and *Lepidus* himſelf diſſembled ſo well, as to perſuade them of his ſincerity; ſo that *Plancus* was marching Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" haps, to ſome ill-natured exceptions, in exchange for a more dangerous one that may " better evince my zeal. I am to inform you then, that, after the departure of my " Lieutenants, I received two letters from *Lepidus*, intreating me to join him. Theſe " were ſeconded by the much ſtronger ſollicitations of *Laterenſis*: Who earneſtly repre- " ſented to me (what, indeed, I am alſo apprehenſive of myſelf) that there is great rea- " ſon to fear a mutiny among the diſaffected troops under the conduct of *Lepidus*. I de- " termined immediately, therefore, to march to his aſſiſtance, and take an equal ſhare in " the dangers with which he was threatened. I was ſenſible, at the ſame time, that to " wait on the banks of the *Iſara* till *Brutus* ſhould paſs that river with his army, and to " meet the enemy in conjunction with my collegue, whoſe forces, as well as their Gene- " ral, would act in perfect harmony with me and my troops, would be much the moſt " cautious meaſure with reſpect to my own perſonal ſecurity. But I reflected, that, if " any misfortune ſhould attend *Lepidus*, it would be wholly imputed to me; and I ſhould " be condemned, either as obſtinately ſuffering my reſentment to prevent me from giving " ſuccour to my enemy in the cauſe of the Republic; or of timidly avoiding to take part in " the danger of a moſt juſt and neceſſary war; as my preſence therefore might be a means " of protecting *Lepidus*, and of bringing his army into a better diſpoſition, I reſolved to " expoſe myſelf to all hazards, rather than appear to act with too much circumſpection. " But never was any man more anxious in an affair for which he was in no ſort anſwer- " able, than I am in the preſent: For, though I ſhould have no manner of doubt if the " army of *Lepidus* were not concerned, yet, under that circumſtance, I am full of appre- " henſions for the event. Had it been my fortune to have met *Antony* before my junction " with *Lepidus*, I am ſure he would not have been able to have kept the field againſt me even " a ſingle hour. Such is the confidence I have in my own troops, and ſo heartily do I deſpiſe " his broken forces, as well as thoſe of that paultry muleteer, the contemptible *Ventidius*. " But, as the caſe is now circumſtanced, I dread to think what might be the conſequence, " ſhould any ill humours lie concealed in the army of *Lepidus*: As they may poſſibly " break out in all their malignity, before they can be remedied, or even diſcovered. It " is certain, however, that *Lepidus*, together with the well-affected part of his army, " would be expoſed to great danger, if we ſhould not act in conjunction: Beſides, that " our infamous enemies would gain a very conſiderable advantage, ſhould they draw off " any of his forces. If my preſence, therefore, ſhould prove a means of preventing theſe " evils, I ſhall think myſelf much indebted to my courage and good fortune, for engaging " me to make the experiment. With this deſign I moved with my army from the banks of " the *Iſara* on the 21*ſt of May*; having firſt erected a fort at each end of the bridge, " which I had thrown over that river, and placed a ſtrong party to defend it; that, when " *Brutus* ſhall arrive, he may have nothing to retard his paſſage. I have only to add, that " I hope to join *Lepidus* within eight days from the date of this letter."

PLANCUS to CICERO.

" I SHOULD be aſhamed that this letter is ſo little conſiſtent with my former, if Ep. Fam. " it aroſe from any inſtability of my own. But it is much otherwiſe, and I have ſteadily x. 21. " purſued every means in my power to engage *Lepidus* to act in concert with me for the Melm. xi. " defence of the Republic; as imagining it would render you leſs apprehenſive of my 21. " ſucceſs againſt our wretched enemies. To this end, I not only complied with all the " conditions he propoſed, but even engaged for more than he demanded: And I had ſo " much confidence in the ſincerity of his intentions, that I ventured to aſſure you, no " longer than two days ago, that he would zealouſly co-operate with me in carrying on " the war upon one common plan. I depended indeed upon the promiſes he had given me " under his own hand, together with the aſſurances I had likewiſe received from *Laterenſis*, " who was at that time in my camp, and who earneſtly conjured me to forget all reſent-

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ing forward in great haſte to join with him. But *Lepidus* was acting all the while a treacherous part, being determined to ſupport *Antony*; and, though

" ments againſt *Lepidus*, and to rely upon his good faith. But *Lepidus* has now put it out " of my power to entertain theſe favourable hopes of him any longer: However, I have " taken, and ſhall continue to take, all neceſſary precautions that the Republic may not " be prejudiced by *my too eaſy credulity*. I am to inform you then, that, after I had uſed " the utmoſt expedition, agreeably to his own earneſt requeſt, to tranſport my army over " the *Iſara*, and, for that purpoſe had, in the ſpace of a ſingle day, thrown a bridge " over that river; I received a counter-expreſs from him, requiring me to advance no " farther; as he ſhould have no occaſion, he ſaid, for my aſſiſtance. Nevertheleſs, I will " own to you, I was ſo imprudent as to proceed in my march; believing that the true " reaſon of his thus changing his mind aroſe from an unwillingneſs to have a partner " with him in his glory. I imagined that, without depriving him of any ſhare of that " honour, which he ſeemed ſo deſirous to monopoliſe, I might poſt myſelf at ſome con- " venient diſtance, in order to be ready to ſupport him with my troops, in caſe he ſhould " be preſſed by the enemy: An event, which, in the ſimplicity of my heart, I thought " not improbable. In the mean time, I received a letter from the excellent *Laterenſis*, " which was conceived in terms full of deſpair. He complained that he had been greatly " deceived, and aſſured me that neither *Lepidus*, nor his army, were to be truſted. He ex- " preſſly cautioned me, at the ſame time, to be upon my guard againſt their artifices; " adding, that he had faithfully diſcharged the engagements he had entered into on his " part, and hoped I would act with the ſame fidelity to the Republic on mine. I have " ſent a copy of this letter to *Titius*, and purpoſe to tranſmit the originals of all the reſt, " relating to this affair, by the hands of *Lævus Ciſpius*, who was privy to the whole " tranſaction. I ſhall inſert in this packet the letters of *Lepidus*, to which I did not give " any credit, as well as thoſe to which I did.—I muſt not forget to add, that, *when* LE- " PIDUS *harangued his ſoldiers, theſe mighty honeſt fellows were exceedingly clamorous for* " *peace. They proteſted, that, after the loſs of both the Conſuls; after the loſs the Republic* " *had ſuffered of ſo many brave men, and after ſo many more, all* ANTONY's *adherents, had* " *been declared enemies of the Commonwealth, and their eſtates confiſcated; they were deter-* " *mined not to draw their ſwords any more either on the one ſide or the other.* They were " prompted to behave thus mutinouſly, not only by the inſolent ſuggeſtions of their own " hearts, but by the encouragement alſo of their officers, particularly *Canidius*, *Rufrenus*, " and others, whoſe names the Senate ſhall be acquainted with at a proper ſeaſon. *Lepidus* " was ſo far from puniſhing this ſedition, that he did not take even a ſingle ſtep to reſtrain " it. I thought, therefore, that it would be the higheſt temerity to expoſe my own faith- " ful troops, together with my auxiliaries, which are commanded by ſome of the moſt " conſiderable Chiefs of *Gaul*, and in effect too my whole province, to their combined " armies. I conſidered, if I ſhould thus loſe my life, and involve the Republic in my " own deſtruction, I ſhould fall, not only without honour, but without pity. In conſe- " quence of theſe reflections, I have determined to march my forces back again, that our " wretched enemies may not have ſo great an advantage as my advancing any farther " might poſſibly give them. I ſhall endeavour to poſt my army ſo advantageouſly as to " cover the province under my command from being inſulted, even ſuppoſing the troops " of *Lepidus* ſhould actually revolt. In ſhort, it ſhall be my care to preſerve every thing " in its preſent ſituation till the Senate ſhall ſend an army hither, and vindicate the liber- " ties of the Republic with the ſame ſucceſs in this part of the world, as attended their " arms before the walls of *Mutina*. In the mean time, be aſſured, *that no man will act* " *with more fervent zeal than myſelf in all the various occurrences of the war: And I ſhall* " *moſt readily either encounter the enemy in the field, or ſuſtain the hardſhips of a ſiege, or even* " *lay down my life itſelf, as any of theſe circumſtances ſhall prove neceſſary for the ſervice of* " *the Senate.* Let me exhort you then, my dear *Cicero*, to exert your utmoſt endeavours " to ſend a ſpeedy reinforcement to me, ere *Antony* ſhall have increaſed the number of " his forces, or our own ſhall be intirely diſpirited. For, if diſpatch be given to this

though he kept him at a diſtance for ſome time, and ſeemed to be conſtrained at laſt, by his own ſoldiers, to receive him, yet that was only Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. to 409 Conſ.

" affair, theſe infamous banditti will undoubtedly be extirpated, and the Republic remain " in full poſſeſſion of her late victory. Take care of your health, and continue your friend- " ſhip to me.

" *P. S.* I know not whether it may be neceſſary to make any excuſe for the abſence of " my brother, who was prevented from attending me in this expedition by a ſlow fever, " occaſioned by the great fatigues he has lately undergone; as no man has ſhewn more " zeal or courage in the cauſe of the Republic, he will undoubtedly return to the duties " of his poſt, the very *firſt* moment his health ſhall permit:—I recommend my honours " to your protection: Though I muſt confeſs, at the ſame time, that all my deſires " ought to be ſatisfied, ſince I enjoy the privilege of your friendſhip, and the ſatisfaction " of ſeeing you inveſted with the high credit and authority I have ever wiſhed you. I " will leave it therefore entirely to yourſelf both when and in what manner I ſhall expe- " rience the effect of your good offices: And will only requeſt you to ſuffer me to ſucceed " *Hirtius* in your affection, as I certainly do in the reſpect and eſteem he bore you."

PLANCUS to CICERO.

" I SHALL never regret to undergo the greateſt dangers in the cauſe of my country, Ep. Fam. " provided, my dear *Cicero*, that whatever happens to myſelf, *I may not juſtly be accuſed* x. 23. " *of temerity*. But I ſhould not ſcruple to confeſs, *that I had been guilty of an imprudence*, Melm. xv. " *if I had ever acted in reliance upon the ſincerity of* LEPIDUS. Too eaſy a diſpoſition to 5. " give credit to fair pretences cannot ſo properly be called a fault as an error: But an " error into which the nobleſt minds are generally the moſt liable to fall. *It was not,* " *however, from a miſtake of this nature that I had well nigh been deceived; for the character* " *of* LEPIDUS *I perfectly well knew.*" [He here contradicts all he ſays in the beginning of the foregoing letter.] " It was entirely owing to a certain ſenſibility of what my de- " tractors might ſay: a quality, I will freely acknowledge, particularly prejudicial in the " affair of war. I was apprehenſive, if I remained in my camp, that thoſe, who are in- " clined to miſconſtrue my actions, might repreſent me as the occaſion of the war being " protracted, by obſtinately indulging my reſentment againſt *Lepidus*: And, therefore, I " advanced almoſt within ſight of him and *Antony*. I encamped, indeed, at no greater " diſtance from them than forty miles, that I might be able, as circumſtances ſhould re- " quire, either ſpeedily to join the army of *Lepidus*, or ſafely to retreat with my own. In " marking out my camp, I choſe a ſpot of ground that gave me the advantage of having " a large river in my front, which would take up ſome time in paſſing, and that lay conti- " guous likewiſe to the country of the *Vocontii*: Who, I was ſure, would favour my retreat. " When *Lepidus* found himſelf *diſappointed* of what he ſo much wiſhed, and that there " was *no hopes* of my approaching nearer;" [Had not *Lepidus* ſent him word not to come forward, and was it not againſt advice that *Plancus* advanced ſo near?] " he immediately " threw off the maſk, and, on the 29*th of May*, joined *Antony*. The combined armies " moved the ſame day, in order to inveſt my camp: And they had actually advanced " within twenty miles before I received advice of their junction. However, I ſtruck my " tents with ſo much expedition, that, by the favour of the gods, I had the happineſs to " eſcape them. My retreat was conducted with ſo much good order, that no part of my " baggage, nor even a ſingle man, was either left behind or intercepted by theſe incenſed " villains. On the 4*th of* this month I repaſſed the *Iſara*, with my whole army: After- " which I broke down the bridge I had thrown acroſs that river. I took this precaution, " that my troops might have time to refreſh themſelves, as well as to give my collegue [*D.* " *Brutus*] an opportunity of coming up to me: Which I imagine he will be able to effect " in three days from the date of this letter.

" I muſt always acknowledge the zeal and fidelity *Laterenſis* has ſhewn to the Republic, " in his negociations between *Lepidus* and myſelf: But, it is certain, that his great partiality " towards

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to ſave appearances, till he could do it with advantage and ſecurity to them both: His view in treating with *Plancus* was probably to amuſe and

" towards *Lepidus* prevented him from diſcerning the dangers into which I have been led. " However, as ſoon as he diſcovered how groſsly he had been impoſed upon, he attempted " to turn that ſword againſt his own breaſt, which, with much more juſtice, had been " plunged in the heart of *Lepidus*. But he was prevented from completing his purpoſe: " And it is ſaid, (tho' I by no means mention it as a certainty) that the wound he has given " himſelf is not mortal.—My eſcape from theſe traitors has proved an extreme mortification " to them: As they marched to attack me with the ſame unrelenting fury, which inſti- " gates them againſt their country. Some late circumſtances particularly contributed to " inflame their reſentment. *I had frequently and warmly urged* LEPIDUS *to extinguiſh this* " *civil war: I had diſapproved of the conferences that were held with the enemy: I had re-* " *fuſed to ſee the Lieutenants whom* ANTONY *deputed to me under the paſſports of* LEPIDUS: " *And had intercepted* CATIUS VESTINUS, *whom the former had ſent expreſs to the latter.* " But it is with pleaſure I reflect, that, the more earneſtly they wiſhed to get me into their " hands, the more they ſuffer in the diſappointment.

" Continue, my dear *Cicero*, to employ the ſame vigorous efforts you have hitherto ex- " erted, that we, who are in arms for the defence of the Republic, may have ſuitable ho- " nours paid to our ſervices. In the mean time, I wiſh that CÆSAR would join us with " thoſe brave troops he commands; or, if his affairs will not permit him; that, at leaſt, " they might be ſent under the conduct of ſome other General: For moſt certainly his " own perſonal intereſt is at ſtake. The whole force of the diſaffected party is united " againſt our country: And ſhall we not put forth our utmoſt ſtrength in its defence? As " for what concerns myſelf, I will venture to aſſure you, that, if you at *Rome* are not want- " ing on your parts, I will abundantly perform every thing that can be expected on " mine.——The obligations I am continually receiving from your hands, endear you to " me every day more and more; at the ſame time that they animate me to act in ſuch a " manner as not to forfeit, in any degree, your eſteem and affection.——I will only add " my wiſhes, that I were able in perſon to give you ſuch proofs of my gratitude as might " afford you greater reaſon to rejoice in the good offices you have conferred upon me. " *Cularo*, [*Grenoble*] on the frontiers of the *Allobroges*, *June the 6th.*" [There is in the collection of *Cicero*'s letters but one more from *Plancus*, dated *the 28th of July*, which ſhall be laid before the reader in its proper place.]

Continuation of the correſpondence between *D. Brutus* and *Cicero*.

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. xi. 19. Melm. xiv. 18.

" I WISH you would peruſe the letter I have addreſſed to the Senate, and make " what alterations you ſhall judge proper. You will find by it, that I am under an ab- " ſolute neceſſity of thus applying to them. Whilſt I imagined I ſhould be joined by the " *fourth* and *Martial* legions, *agreeably to the decree of the Senate, which paſſed for that* " *purpoſe, on the motion of* PAULUS," [LEPIDUS's *brother*] *and* DRUSUS, [very probably *Cicero*'s complaiſance for *Octavius* did not permit him to move the houſe on ſo delicate a point] " I was leſs ſollicitous about the reſt: But now that I have only ſome new-raiſed " legions, and thoſe too extremely ill accoutred, I cannot but be apprehenſive, upon your " accounts as well as upon my own." . . . . . *Vercellæ* [*Vercelli*] in the duchy of *Milan*, *May the 21ſt.*

D. BRUTUS to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. xi. 20. Melm. xiv. 23.

" FRIENDSHIP and gratitude make me feel, upon your account, what I never " felt upon my own; and I will confeſs, that I am not without fear in regard to a ſtory, " which has been propagated concerning you. I thought it by no means a matter to be " deſpiſed, when I had only heard of it, as I frequently did, from common report: But it " has been lately mentioned to me by *Segulius*. This man tells me, (though what he ſays " indeed is generally of a piece with the reſt of his character) *that, paying a viſit at*

and draw him ſo near to them, that, when he and *Antony* were actually joined, they might force him into the ſame meaſures, without his being able Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf

" Cæsar's, *where you were much the ſubject of the converſation,* Cæsar *complained,* (and " it was the only charge, it ſeems, he brought againſt you) *of an ambiguous expreſſion which* " *you made uſe of concerning him.*" [*laudandum adoleſcentem, ornandum, tollendum:* That the young man ſhould be praiſed, ornamented, and *advanced to the dignities of the State,* or " *taken off.*] " I ſuſpect the whole to be a mere fiction of *Segulius*; or, at leaſt, that it " was he himſelf who reported theſe words to *Cæſar*. *Segulius* endeavoured, at the ſame " time, to perſuade me, *that you are in great danger of falling a victim to the reſentment of* " *the veteran ſoldiers, who ſpeak of you,* he pretends, *with much indignation. The principal* " *cauſe, it ſeems, of their diſpleaſure, is, that both* Cæsar *and myſelf are left out of the* " *commiſſion for dividing the lands among the ſoldiers, and that every thing is diſpoſed of juſt* " *as you and your friends at* Rome *think proper.*

" Notwithſtanding I was on my march, when I received this account, yet I thought it " would not be adviſeable to paſs the *Alps* till I had informed you how affairs ſtand. I " am well perſuaded, nevertheleſs, that, with reſpect to yourſelf, theſe reports and me- " naces of the veterans aim at nothing farther, than, by alarming your fears, and in- " cenſing young *Cæſar* againſt you, to obtain for themſelves a more conſiderable propor- " tion of the rewards decreed by the Senate. But I do not intend, by ſaying this, to " diſſuade you from ſtanding upon your guard: As nothing, be aſſured, is more valuable " to me than your life. Let me only caution you, *not to ſuffer your fears to run you into* " *greater dangers than thoſe you would avoid.* However, I would adviſe you to obviate the " clamours of theſe veterans as far as you reaſonably may; and to comply with their de- " ſires both in regard to the *Decemvirs*, and to the diſtribution of their rewards. As to " thoſe forfeited eſtates which belonged to the veterans who ſerved under *Antony*, I ſhould " be glad, if you think proper, that *Cæſar* and myſelf be nominated to aſſign them to " the troops. But, in reference to the pecuniary donative, which they have been alſo " promiſed, it will be proper to act with more deliberation, and as the ſtate of the public " finances ſhall require: To which end it may be ſignified to them, that the Senate will " take theſe their claims into conſideration. As to thoſe other four legions, to whom " the Senate has alſo decreed an allotment of lands, I imagine that the eſtates in *Cam-* " *pania*, together with thoſe which were formerly ſeized by *Sylla*, will be ſufficient for " the purpoſe. I ſhould think too that the beſt method of diviſion would be, either to " parcel out thoſe lands, in equal ſhares, to the ſeveral legions, or to determine their re- " ſpective proportions by lot. But, when I thus give you my opinion, it is by no means " as pretending to ſuperior judgment, but merely from the affection of my heart towards " you, and from my ſincere deſire that the public tranquillity may be preſerved: Which, " I am very ſenſible, if any accident ſhould happen to you, cannot poſſibly be maintained.

" *I do not purpoſe to march out of* Italy, *unleſs I ſhould find it greatly expedient.* Mean- " while, I am employed in diſciplining my troops, and furniſhing them with arms: And " I hope to appear with no contemptible body of forces, upon any emergency that ſhall " again call me into the field. But *Cæſar* has not, however, ſent back the legion to me " which ſerved in *Panſa*'s army.

" I requeſt your immediate anſwer to this letter: And, if you ſhould have any thing " of importance to communicate to me, which requires particular ſecrecy, I deſire you " would convey it by one of your own domeſtics." *Eporedia,* [*Ivrea,*] *May the 24th.*

D. Brutus to Cicero.

" All things here go on well," [He had probably received ſome favourable intelli- Ep. Fam. " gence concerning *Lepidus*'s behaviour] " and it ſhall be my endeavour to render them xi. 23. " ſtill better. *Lepidus* ſeems to be favourably diſpoſed towards me: *And, indeed, we* Melm. xiv. " *have reaſon to diveſt ourſelves of all our fears, and to act with undaunted freedom in de-* 24. " *fence of the Commonwealth.* But, had our affairs a far leſs promiſing aſpect, yet it " might juſtly animate and augment *that courage, which I know always reſides in your breaſt,*

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able to help it, or retreat from them. When he was upon the point, therefore, of joining camps with *Antony*, he ſent word to *Plancus*, who was

" to reflect that we have three powerful armies," [that of *Octavius*, of *Plancus*, and his own] " devoted to the ſervice of the Republic, and that fortune has already declared in " our favour.—The report, which I mentioned in my former letter, is evidently calcu- " lated to intimidate you. But, believe me, if you exert a proper ſpirit, the whole united " party will be unable to withſtand your eloquence. I purpoſe, agreeably to what I told " you in my laſt, to ſtay in *Italy* till I ſhall hear from you." *Eporedia*, [*Ivrea*,] *May* the 25*th*.

D. Brutus to Cicero.

Ep. Fam. xi. 26. Melm. xv. 3.

" IT affords me ſome conſolation in the midſt of my great concern, [occaſioned by the " treachery of *Lepidus*] that the world is at length convinced my fears were not without " juſt foundation. I have ſent by this expreſs a full account of the whole affair to the " Senate. And now let them deliberate, if they pleaſe, *whether they ſhall call home their " troops from Africa and Sardinia; whether they ſhall ſend for M. Brutus; and whether " they ſhall order the payment of my forces.* But of this you may be very well aſſured, that, " unleſs they act with regard to theſe ſeveral articles in the manner I have pointed out in " my letter, we ſhall all of us be expoſed to the greateſt danger.——I entreat you to be " extremely cautious whom the Senate ſhall employ to conduct the troops that are to re- " inforce me, as it is a truſt which requires great fidelity and expedition. From my " camp, *June the 3d*."

Theſe are the laſt letters of *D. Brutus* which have been tranſmitted to us; as the following, which are anſwers to them, are the laſt of *Cicero*'s correſpondence with him.

Cicero to D. Brutus.

Ep. Fam. xi. 21. Melm. xv.

" MAY every God confound that moſt infamous of all human beings, the execrable " *Segulius!* For do you imagine, my friend, that he has told this idle tale to none, but to " *Cæſar*, or to you? Be aſſured he has related it to every mortal that would give him " the hearing. I am much obliged to you however for informing me of this contemp- " tible report: As it is a very ſtrong inſtance, my dear *Brutus*, of the ſhare you allow me " in your friendſhip.———As to what he mentioned *concerning the complaints of the vete- " rans, that you and Cæſar are left out of the commiſſion for dividing the lands; I ſincerely " wiſh I had likewiſe been excluded from ſo troubleſome an office.* But it is by no means to be " imputed to me, that you were not both nominated; on the contrary, *I moved that all " our Generals ſhould be included. But the clamours of thoſe, who always endeavour to obſtruct " your honours, carried it againſt me; and you were both excepted in oppoſition to my warmeſt " efforts*; unheeded then by me, let *Segulius* propagate his impotent calumnies; for all " that the man means is nothing more than to repair his broken fortunes: Not that he " can be charged with having diſſipated his patrimony; for patrimony he never had. " He has only ſquandered in luxury what he acquired by infamy.—You may be perfectly " at eaſe, my dear and excellent *Brutus*, with regard to thoſe fears, which you ſo gene- " rouſly entertain upon my account, at the ſame time that you feel none, you tell me, " upon your own. Believe me, I ſhall expoſe myſelf to no dangers which prudence can " prevent; and, as to thoſe againſt which no precaution can avail, I am little ſollicitous. " High indeed would my preſumption be, were I to deſire to be privileged beyond the " common lot of human nature.—The advice you give me, *not to ſuffer my fears to lead me " into greater dangers than thoſe they would avoid*, ſupplies me at once with a proof both " of your judgment and friendſhip; but the caution is altogether unneceſſary. *The truth " of it is, diſtinguiſhed as you are by a fortitude of mind, which renders you incapable of fear " upon any occaſion; yet there is no man who approaches nearer to you in that quality than my- " ſelf.* Nevertheleſs, I ſhall always be upon my guard, though I ſhall never be afraid. " Indeed, if I ſhould have any reaſon, will it not be wholly owing, my dear *Brutus*, to " yourſelf? For, were I of a diſpoſition apt to take alarm, yet I ſhould be perfectly com- " poſed, in the confidence of that protection I ſhall receive from your approaching con-

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was within forty miles of him, to ſtay where he was, till he ſhould come up to him: But *Plancus*, ſuſpecting nothing, thought it better ſtill to march

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" ſulate; eſpecially as the world is no leſs ſenſible than I am of the ſingular ſhare I enjoy " of your affection.—I agree entirely with your opinion *concerning the four legions*; as alſo " *that both you and* Cæſar *ſhould have the diſtribution of thoſe eſtates you mention.* This is an " office on which ſome of my collegues had caſt a very wiſhful eye; *however, I have diſ-* " *appointed their longing, by reſerving it wholly for you and* Cæſar. In the mean time, if " any occurrence ſhould ariſe that requires particular ſecrecy, I ſhall obſerve your direc- " tions, and communicate it to you by one of my own domeſtics." *June the 4th.*

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

" TO tell you the truth, I was once inclined to be ſomewhat angry at the ſhortneſs of Ep. Fam. " your letters: But I am now ſo well reconciled to your conciſe manner, that I condemn xi. 24. " my own as downright loquacity, and ſhall make your epiſtles the models of mine. Melm. xv. " How ſhort, yet how expreſſive are you when you tell me, *that all things go well with* 6. " *you, and that you ſhall endeavour to render them ſtill better; that* Lepidus *ſeems favourably* " *diſpoſed; and that we have every thing to expect from our three armies.* Were I ever ſo " full of fears, theſe ſignificant ſentences would baniſh them all." [Indeed theſe general expreſſions were very unſatisfactory, and this polite letter is full of reproach] " But I " exert the ſpirit you recommend; and indeed, if at the time when you were cloſely " blocked up in *Mutina*, my hopes nevertheleſs were fixed entirely upon you; how much " higher think you muſt they be raiſed now?——I ſhould be glad, my dear *Brutus*, to " reſign to you my poſt of *obſervation*, if I might do ſo without incurring the cenſure of " deſerting it. As to what you mentioned of continuing in *Italy* till you ſhould hear " from me, I do not diſapprove of it, if the motions of the enemy ſhould not call you " elſewhere; *as there are many p ints upon the carpet at Rome, which may render it prudent for* " *you not to remove to a farther diſtance.* But, at all events, if your preſence here may " prove a means of terminating the war, it is undoubtedly the firſt and principal ſcheme " you ſhould have in view.—The Senate has decreed the firſt money that could be raiſed " for the payment of your troops. . . . . *Servius* is extremely your friend; and you may " always depend upon me." *June the 8th.*

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

" THOUGH I always receive your letters with the higheſt ſatisfaction, yet I am Ep. Fam. " much better pleaſed that you employed your collegue *Plancus* to make an excuſe to xi. 15. " me, than if you had interrupted your very important occupations by writing yourſelf. Melm. xv. " He has executed your commiſſion very fully; and nothing can render your character 10. " more truly amiable to me, than the account he gives of your zeal and diligence.— " *The junction of your forces with thoſe of* Plancus, *and the harmony with which you act to-* " *gether, as appears by your common letter to the Senate, was agreeable both to that aſſembly and* " *to the people in general.* What remains then, my dear *Brutus*, but to conjure you to perſe- " vere in the ſame unanimity, and to endeavour, I will not ſay to excel others, but (what " is far worthier of your ambition) to riſe above yourſelf. I need add no more; eſpe- " cially as I am writing to one, whoſe *epiſtolary conciſeneſs* I purpoſe to imitate.—I wait " with impatience for your next diſpatches, as I imagine they will bring us ſuch ac- " counts as are agreeable to our wiſhes."

This letter is without a date, but appears to have been written about the beginning of *June.*

CICERO to D. BRUTUS.

" I WAS expecting every day to hear from you, when our friend *Lupus* gave me no- Ep. Fam. " tice that he was juſt ſetting out to you, if I had any thing to write. But though I xi. 25. " have nothing worth communicating, more than what you are furniſhed with by the Melm. xv. " public journals; and that you are no friend, I am told, to letters of mere empty form; 15. " yet I cannot forbear following your example, and ſending you two or three ſhort

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

Dio, p. 324.

march on; till *Laterenſis*, perceiving how matters were going, wrote him word, in all haſte, that neither *Lepidus*, nor his army, were to be truſted; and that he himſelf was deſerted; exhorting *Plancus* to look to himſelf, leſt he ſhould be drawn into a ſnare; and to perform his duty to the Republic; for that he had diſcharged his faith, by giving him this warning. *Laterenſis*, after ſending this intelligence, laid violent hands upon himſelf, and, though he was interrupted in the act, yet died ſoon after of his wounds.

Lepidus and *Antony* joined camps on the 29*th of May*, and the ſame day marched forwards towards *Plancus*, who was come within twenty miles of *Lepidus*'s camp; but, upon the firſt information from *Laterenſis* of what was tranſacting, he retreated in all haſte, repaſſed the *Iſara*, and broke down his bridge upon it, that he might have leiſure to draw all his forces together, and join them with thoſe of his collegue, *D. Brutus*, whom he expected in three days. *Lepidus*, the day after his union with *Antony*, wrote the following letter to the Senate:

LEPIDUS, Emperor and High-Prieſt, to the SENATE and PEOPLE of ROME.

Ep. Fam. x. 35. Mel.n. xiv. 28.

"HEAVEN and Earth will bear me witneſs, Conſcript Fathers, "that there is nothing I have at all times more ſincerely deſired, than "the preſervation of our common liberties: And I ſhould ſoon have "convinced you of this truth, if fortune had not forced me to renounce "thoſe meaſures I purpoſed to purſue. My whole army, indeed, ex- "preſſed their uſual tenderneſs towards their fellow-countrymen, by a "mutinous oppoſition to my deſigns: And, to own the truth, they ab- "ſolutely compelled me not to refuſe my protection to ſuch a multi- "tude of *Roman* citizens. *I conjure you then, Conſcript Fathers, to judge "of this affair, not by the ſuggeſtions of private reſentment, but by the inte- "reſt of the Commonwealth:* Nor let it be imputed as a crime to me and

"words. Be aſſured then, that all our hopes reſt upon you and your collegue. As to "*M. Brutus*, I am not able to give you any certain account of him: I can only ſay, "*that, in purſuance of your advice, I endeavour to perſuade him, in all my letters, to come over "into* Italy, *and to take a part in this general war. I much wiſh he were now here: As "his preſence would render me leſs apprehenſive of the conſequences of theſe inteſtine commotions,* "which prevail in *Rome*; and which are by no means, indeed, inconſiderable." [The diſturbances here alluded to were not only thoſe occaſioned by *Antony* and *Lepidus*'s numerous friends, but alſo thoſe occaſioned by *Octavius*'s meaſures to obtain the conſulate.] "But I forget that I promiſed to imitate your laconic brevity, and am running into a ſe- "cond page. Farewell then, and may ſucceſs attend your arms." *June the* 18*th*. [This letter cloſes the correſpondence between *D. Brutus* and *Cicero*. After the month of *June*, the communication between *Cicero* and the Commanders in *Gaul* was very difficult, and *Cicero* became more cautious, after *Octavius* had manifeſted his ambitious views.

We have, in the Collection of *Cicero*'s Familiar Letters, ſeveral, which paſſed between him and *Cornificius*, Governor of *Africa*; but as they contain little more than recommendations of particular perſons, and are not very inſtructive in the hiſtory of the times, we ſhall only refer to them for the few facts they contain, as occaſion offers.

my

" my army, *that, amidſt our civil diſſenſions*, we yielded to the dictates " of compaſſion and humanity. Be aſſured, that, by acting with an " equal regard to the ſafety and honour of all parties, *you will beſt con-* " *ſult both your own and your country's advantage.* From my camp at " *Pons Argenteus* [upon the *Argents*,] *May the 30th.*" Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

D. Brutus, on the other hand, joined his army with *Plancus*, who acted with him, for ſome time, with great concord, and the affection of the whole province on their ſide; which being ſignified in their common letters to *Rome*, the Senate ſo far depended upon their fidelity, that, after ſeveral debates, they took the deſperate reſolution of voting *Lepidus* an enemy, on the *30th of June*, and demoliſhed the gilt ſtatue, which they had lately erected to him, reſerving ſtill a liberty, to him and his adherents, of returning to their duty by the *1ſt of September*. *Cicero* was the great promoter of this impolitic and cruel decree. He was not, however, eaſy in his mind; and his anxiety is very apparent in the following letter to *C. Caſſius* written juſt after the decree, and which is the laſt of their correſpondence. " Your relation and my friend, the *worthy* " LEPIDUS, together with all his adherents, were, by an unanimous decree " of the Senate, which paſſed on the *30th of June*, declared public ene- " mies to their country: But at the ſame time a full pardon was offered " to ſuch as ſhall return to their allegiance before the *1ſt of September*. " The Senate acts with great ſpirit:" [He might have ſaid fury:] But " it is the expectation of being ſupported by your army, that chiefly " animates them in their vigorous meaſures. *I fear, indeed, we ſhall* " *have occaſion for all your aſſiſtance, as the war is now become extremely for-* " *midable by the villainy of Lepidus.* Ep. Fam. xii. 10. Melm. xv. 16.

" The accounts that daily arrive, concerning *Dolabella*, are altogether " agreeable to our wiſhes: But, at preſent, they are nothing more than " mere rumours. However, your letter addreſſed to the Senate, dated from " the camp on the *9th of May*, has raiſed a general perſuaſion in *Rome*, " that he is actually defeated. Accordingly, it is imagined, that you " are now upon your march into *Italy*, with a view, on the one hand, " of ſuccouring us with your troops, if any of thoſe accidents, ſo com- " mon in war, ſhould have rendered our arms unſucceſsful; or, on the " other hand, of aſſiſting us with your counſels and authority, in caſe " we ſhould have proved victorious. You may be aſſured, in the mean " while, that no endeavours of mine ſhall be wanting to procure the " forces under your command all poſſible honours. However, I muſt " wait a proper ſeaſon for this purpoſe, when it ſhall be known how " far they have availed, or are likely to avail, the Republic. At pre- " ſent we have only heard of their endeavours in the cauſe of liberty: " And glorious, it muſt be acknowledged, their endeavours have been. " But ſtill ſome poſitive ſervices are expected: And theſe expectations, " I dare be confident, either already are, or ſoon will be, perfectly an-

" ſwered.

U.C. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf. "ſwered. No man, indeed, poſſeſſes a more patriot or heroic ſpirit "than yourſelf; and it is for this reaſon that we wiſh to ſee you in *Italy*, "as ſoon as poſſible. The truth is, if you and *Brutus* were here, we "ſhould look upon the Republic as reſtored.

"If *Lepidus* had not received *Antony*, weak and defenceleſs as he "was, when he fled after the battle of *Mutina*, we ſhould have obtained "a complete victory. This infamous ſtep, therefore, has rendered him "far more odious in *Rome*, than even *Antony* himſelf ever was. For "*Antony* raiſed a war at a time when the Republic was in the utmoſt "ferment: Whereas *Lepidus* has kindled the flames in the midſt of "peace and victory. We have the Conſuls elect to lead our armies "againſt him: But, though we greatly depend upon their courage and "conduct, ſtill, however, the uncertain event of war leaves us much "to fear. Be aſſured, therefore, *that our principal reliance is upon you* "*and* BRUTUS, *whom we hope ſoon to ſee in* Italy; *and* BRUTUS, *indeed*, "*we expect every day.* Should we have defeated our enemies, as I hope "we ſhall, before your arrival, the authority, nevertheleſs, of two ſuch "illuſtrious citizens, will be of infinite ſervice in raiſing up the Repub- "lic, and fixing it upon ſome tolerable baſis. All our buſineſs, in- "deed, will by no means be over, notwithſtanding we ſhould be deli- "vered from the infamous deſigns of our enemies: *As there are many* "*other diſorders of a different kind, which it will be ſtill neceſſary to redreſs.*" [He glances at the enormous pretenſions of *Octavius* and his veterans.]

Middl. p. 452. *Lepidus*'s wife was *M. Brutus*'s ſiſter, by whom he had ſons, whoſe fortunes were neceſſarily ruined by the decree, which confiſcated the father's eſtate: For which reaſon, *Servilia*, their grandmother, and *Caſſius*'s wife, their aunt, ſollicited *Cicero* very earneſtly, either *that the decree itſelf might not paſs, or that the children ſhould be excepted out of it*: But *Cicero* did not think he could conſent to oblige them: For, ſince the firſt was thought neceſſary, the ſecond followed of courſe; and he gave *Brutus* a particular account of the caſe in the following letter:

Ep. ad Brut. Middl. Ed. xvii. p. 116. "Though I was juſt going to write to you by *Meſſala Corvinus*, yet I "would not let our friend *Vetus* come without a letter. The Republic, "*Brutus*, is now in the utmoſt danger, and, after we had conquered, "we are forced again to fight, by the perfidy and madneſs of *M. Lepi-* "*dus*, on which occaſion, when, for the care, with which I have charged "myſelf, of the Republic, I had many things to make me uneaſy, yet "nothing vexed me more, than *that I could not yield to the prayers of your* "*mother and ſiſter*; for I imagined that I ſhould eaſily ſatisfy you, on "which I lay the greateſt ſtreſs. For *Lepidus*'s caſe could not, by any "means, be diſtinguiſhed from *Antony*'s; nay, in all people's judg- "ment, was even worſe; ſince, after he had received the higheſt ho- "nours from the Senate, and, but a few days before, had ſent an ex- "cellent letter to them; on a ſudden, he not only received the broken "remains of our enemies, but now wages a moſt cruel war againſt us

" by land and ſea; the event of which is wholly uncertain. When we Y. R. 710.
" are deſired, therefore, to extend mercy to his children, not a word is Bef. Chr.
" ſaid, why, if their father ſhould conquer, (which the gods forbid) 409 42. Conſ.
" we are not to expect the laſt puniſhment from him. I am not igno-
" rant how hard it is that children ſhould ſuffer for the crimes of their
" parents: But it was wiſely contrived by the laws, that the love of
" their children ſhould make parents more affectionate to their coun-
" try. Wherefore, it is *Lepidus* who is cruel to his children, not he
" who adjudges *Lepidus* an enemy: For if, laying down his arms, he
" were to be condemned only of violence, in which no defence could be
" made for him, his children would ſuffer the ſame calamity by the
" confiſcation of his eſtate. Yet what your mother and ſiſter are now
" ſolliciting againſt, in favour of the children, the very ſame and much
" worſe *Lepidus*, *Antony*, and our other enemies, are at this very mo-
" ment threatening to us all. Wherefore our greateſt hope is in you
" and your army: It is of the utmoſt conſequence both to the Re-
" public in general, and to your honour and glory in particular, that,
" as I wrote to you before, you come as ſoon as poſſible into *Italy*: For
" the Republic is in great want, not only of your forces, but of your
" counſels. I ſerved *Vetus* with pleaſure, as you deſired me, for his
" ſingular benevolence and duty to you: I found him extremely zealous
" and affectionate both to you and the Republic: I ſhall ſee my ſon, I
" hope, very ſoon; for I depend on his coming with you quickly into
" *Italy*."

Brutus, who, in general, diſapproved of *Cicero*'s violent and mercileſs proceedings, was particularly ſhocked at the projected decree againſt *Lepidus*, and, being informed by his mother and ſiſter of *Cicero*'s fierceneſs, he ſent him the following letter, which is worded with great energy, to make an impreſſion upon him: " Other people's fears oblige Ep. ad
" me to entertain ſome apprehenſions, myſelf, on *Lepidus*'s account: Brut. xiii.
" If he ſhould withdraw himſelf from us (which will prove, I hope, a Middl. Edit.
" raſh and injurious ſuſpicion of him) I beg and beſeech you, *Cicero*, xviii. p.
" conjuring you by our friendſhip and your affection to me, to forget 122.
" that my ſiſter's children are *Lepidus*'s ſons, and to conſider me in the
" place of their father. If I obtain this of you, you will not ſcruple,
" I am ſure, to do whatever you can for them. Other people live dif-
" ferently with their relations: But I can never do enough for my ſiſ-
" ter's children to ſatisfy either my inclination or my duty. But what
" is there in which honeſt men can oblige me (if in reality I have de-
" ſerved to be obliged in any thing) or in which I can be of ſervice to
" my mother, ſiſter, and the boys; if their uncle *Brutus* has not as
" much weight with you, and the Senate, to protect, as their father
" *Lepidus*, to hurt them? *I feel ſo much uneaſineſs and indignation, that I*
" *neither can nor ought to write more fully to you: For, if, in a caſe ſo im-*
" *portant and ſo neceſſary, there could be any occaſion for words to excite and*

" *confirm*

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" *confirm you, there is no hope that you will do what I wiſh, and what is pro-*
" *per.* Do not expect therefore any long prayers from me: Conſider
" only what I am; and that I ought to obtain it; either from *Cicero*,
" a man the moſt intimately united with me; or, without regard to
" our private friendſhip, from a conſular Senator of ſuch eminence:
" Pray ſend me word, as ſoon as you can, what you reſolve to do.
" *July the 1ſt.*" *Cicero*, perceiving from this letter, *what he had no*
Ad Brut. 15. *notion of before*, how great a ſtreſs *Brutus* laid on procuring this favour for his nephews, prevailed with the Senate to ſuſpend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more ſettled [k].

Lepidus and *Antony* were no ſooner joined, than a correſpondence was ſet on foot between them and *Octavius*; who, from the death of the Conſuls, ſhewed but little regard to the authority of *Cicero*, or the Senate; and wanted only an occaſion of breaking with them. He ſaw that he had no ſhare in their affection; that it was all engroſſed by *Brutus* and *Caſſius* and their adherents: That theſe Commanders had raiſed formidable forces, and were maſters of all the eaſtern provinces, which they now held legally in virtue of a decree of the Senate: That *Sextus Pompey* was the authoriſed Admiral of the Republic; that the Senate meant nothing more by the decrees in his favour, than to make uſe of him as a tool to deſtroy *Antony*, and that they would readily concur after that in his own deſtruction: They had been ſo impolitic as to ſlight him, by leaving him out of the number of Commiſſioners named for the diſtribution of rewards to the ſoldiers; and even to put ſome public affronts upon him, pretending to diſpoſe of his ſoldiers without his conſent, and to treat with them without his privacy: His good friend *Cicero*, in the gaiety of his heart, after the defeat of *Antony*, and in anſwer to *Brutus*'s friends, who reproached him with accumulating extraordinary honours upon *Octavius*, had ſpoken of the young man in ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of *advancing* or *taking him off*; this at leaſt was reported of him, and the report was credited. *Octavius* however waited a while to ſee what became of *Antony*; till, finding him received and ſupported by *Lepidus*, he began to think

[k] " The great ſollicitude, ſays Dr. *Mid-*
" *dleton*, p. 124, in a note upon this letter,
" which *Brutus* peeviſhly expreſſes on the
" account of his nephews, and *his demand to*
" *have the laws ſuſpended in their favour*, at
" a time of ſuch confuſion, when the liberty
" of *Rome* was at ſtake, ſeems *to be much out*
" *of character*; for, if *Lepidus* had returned
" to his duty, of which *Brutus* profeſſes
" ſome hopes, the caſe of the children would
" be ſet right of courſe; or, upon the con-
" cluſion of the war, which ſide ſoever
" got the better, their fortunes would ne-
" ceſſarily have been repaired, either by
" their father or their uncle." But where was the propriety of making the law in the preſent conjuncture, to declare enemies of the ſtate ſuch powerful men, and half the forces of the Republic, who were ſuing for peace; to plunge the Commonwealth into a moſt dangerous and inexpiable war, in which all their preſent dependence was upon the ſon of the tyrant, and veteran troops, who had already ſhewn their unfavourable inclinations; and who, according to *Dr. Middleton*, were actually treating with *Lepidus* and *Antony*?

it his beſt ſcheme to enter into the league with them; and to concur, in what ſeemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the deſign of revenging the death of his uncle. Inſtead, therefore, of proſecuting the war any farther, he was perſuaded by his friends to make a demand of the conſulſhip, though he was not above *twenty years old.* Moſt of the ancient writers ſay that *Cicero* was duped upon this occaſion, and drawn in by *Octavius* to favour his pretenſions to the conſulſhip, by the hopes of being made his collegue, and governing him in this office. But whether *Cicero* encouraged and favoured *Octavius* underhand, or no; it appears that neither he nor any other magiſtrate would undertake to propoſe him. The demand of it, therefore, was made by a deputation of his officers; and, when the Senate received it more coldly than they expected, *Cornelius*, a Centurion, throwing back his robe, and ſhewing them his ſword, boldly declared, *that, if they would not make him Conſul, that ſhould.* But *Octavius* himſelf ſoon put an end to their ſcruples by marching with his legions in a hoſtile manner to the city. The Prætors placed a guard in different parts of it, and ſeized upon the *Janiculum* with the reſt of the troops and two legions, which were lately come by the Senate's order from *Africa.* But *Octavius* met with no oppoſition, and the legions on the *Janiculum* went over to him.

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Plut. in Cic.

Suet. in Oct. 26. App. l. iii. p. 582. Dio, l. xlvi. p. 319.

App. ibid. 584. Dio, ibid. 320.

The reader who is deſirous to form a true notion of the characters of *Brutus* and *Cicero*, and of their politics, cannot but be pleaſed to find here the following intereſting letters:

M. Brutus to Cicero.

"HOW great a joy it gave me to hear of the ſucceſs of our *Bru-* "*tus*, [*Decimus*] and *the Conſuls*," [he does not condeſcend to name *Octavius*] "it is eaſier for you to imagine than me to expreſs. I am "pleaſed, and rejoice on ſeveral accounts, but particularly on this; "that *Brutus*'s ſally was not only ſalutary to himſelf, but of the greateſt "ſervice towards completing the victory." [He expreſſes no concern for the death of the Conſuls, whoſe intentions he had always ſuſpected] "As to what you write, *that the caſe of the three* Antonys *is one and the "ſame, and that it is my part to determine what I ought to judge of it:* I "lay down no other rule to myſelf, but this; that it is the right of the "Senate, and people of *Rome*, to paſs judgment on thoſe citizens "who have been taken fighting againſt us. But I am to blame, you "will ſay, for giving the title of citizens to thoſe who bear an hoſtile "diſpoſition to the Republic. Yes, I do it with the greateſt juſtice: "For where the Senate has not yet decreed, nor the Roman people "commanded any thing, there I neither arrogantly take upon myſelf to "prejudge, nor to impoſe my will as a law. Nor have I changed my "mind with regard to that perſon; from whom, when I was under no "neceſſity of killing him, I neither took away any thing cruelly, nor re-

Ad Brut. Ep. iv. Mid. Edit. Ep. xi. p. 71.

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" mitted any thing idly, but kept him in my power as long as the war " continued [1]. *I take it to be much the more decent part, and what the* " *Republic would more eaſily allow to us, not to perſecute the fortunes of the* " *miſerable, than to heap infinite honours on the powerful, which tend to in-* " *flame their ambition and arrogance.* In reſpect to which, *Cicero*, thou " beſt and braveſt of men, and of all moſt juſtly dear to me, both upon " my own and the public account, you ſeem to truſt too much to your " hopes; and, as ſoon as any one happens to have done what is right, " immediately to grant and give up every thing to him. As if a mind, " corrupted by extravagant conceſſions, could not be drawn to abuſe " them to ill purpoſes. Such is your humanity, you will not take it ill " to be admoniſhed; eſpecially where the public ſafety is at ſtake. " You will go on however to act, as you ſhall judge for the beſt; and ſo " too will I, whenever you will inſtruct me. Now is the time, *Cicero*; " now the time for us to act ſo, that we may not rejoice in vain for *An-* " *tony*'s ruin; nor, by our method of extirpating the firſt evil, give occa- " ſion to another ſtill worſe to ſprout up. Nothing bad can now hap- " pen to us, either through our inadvertency or permiſſion, without " ſome fault in us all; but eſpecially in you; whoſe authority the Se- " nate and people of *Rome* not only ſuffer, but deſire to ſee as great as " can poſſibly be allowed to any ſingle man in a free State: Which it " is your buſineſs to maintain, by recommending not only *honeſt*, but " *prudent* meaſures. Nor is any other prudence required from you for " the time to come, but a moderation in conferring honours. All other " virtues are ſo eminent in you, that you may be compared with any of " the ancients. This one part, which flows from a grateful and gene- " rous mind, requires a more cautious and temperate generoſity. For " the Senate ought to grant nothing to any man, that may either be an " example, or a ſupport to the diſaffected. *I am in pain therefore about* " *the conſulſhip: Leſt this* Cæſar *of yours ſhould think himſelf raiſed higher* " *already by your decrees, than it would be, from his preſent heighth, to be* " *advanced ſtill to a Conſul.*" [This was penned on the 15*th* of *May*, after the firſt account of *Antony*'s defeat.] " For if *Antony* took the en- " ſigns of royalty, left to him by another, for an occaſion of making " himſelf our King; in what diſpoſition, think you, will he be, who by " the authority, not of the tyrant, whom we have killed, but of the Se- " nate itſelf, imagines himſelf encouraged to pretend to what power ſo- " ever he pleaſes? Wherefore I ſhall then at laſt applaud your felicity " and prudent foreſight, when I begin to know for certain, that *Cæſar* " will be content with the extraordinary honours which he has hitherto " received. *Will you make me anſwerable then*, you will ſay, *for another*

[1] By *Antony*'s defeat and flight out of *Italy*, *Brutus* ſeems to have thought the war at an end, and was meditating therefore either to diſmiſs his priſoner *Antonius*, or to ſend him to *Rome*, that his caſe might be determined by the Senate. *Middl.* p. 78.

" *man's fault? Yes, ſurely, as far as it might have been foreſeen and pre-* Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.
" *vented.* I wiſh that you could look into the fears which I conceive
" in my breaſt about him.—After I had written this letter, we heard
" that you were made Conſul. If ever I ſee that day, I ſhall then
" begin to form to myſelf the true figure of a Republic, ſubſiſting again
" upon its own ſtrength: Your ſon is in good health, and is ſent before
" me into *Macedonia*, with the horſe. *May the 15th.* From my camp."

Cicero appears no more upon the ſtage. He retired probably to one of his country-houſes, where he had time to reflect and meditate upon his unſucceſsful management of the public affairs. It had from the beginning been ſuch as did not pleaſe *Brutus*: Who thought that he might have proceeded with leſs violence againſt *Antony*, who was not of a cruel nature; and he diſapproved of the fierce decree againſt *Lepidus*. Theſe meaſures threw him entirely upon *Octavius*, whom he ſervilely courted and raiſed to that power, which now effectually put an end to the hopes of reſtoring any form of a Commonwealth. In many inſtances *Brutus* freely intimated to *Cicero* his diſapprobation of his conduct; but, when things were carried beyond redreſs, he was very reſerved upon that head, and ſtudiouſly avoided to take any notice of his acts; which clearly implied, that there was ſomething in them that diſpleaſed him. *Atticus* therefore, as a common friend, was employed to ſound him, and to learn the cauſe of his ſecret diſguſt, which produced this anſwer from *Brutus*, one of the moſt precious pieces which antiquity has tranſmitted to us:

Brutus to Atticus.

" YOU write me word, *that* Cicero *wonders why I never take any* Ad Brut. Ep. 17. Middl. Ep. 15, p. 95.
" *notice of his acts.* Since you require it then, and extort it from me,
" I will tell you what I think of them. That *Cicero* has done every
" thing with the beſt intention, I certainly know; for what can I poſ-
" ſibly be more aſſured of, than of his diſpoſition towards the Repub-
" lic? Yet ſome things he ſeems to have done; what ſhall I ſay? *im-*
" *prudently?* Of a man of all others the moſt prudent! or *ambitiouſly?*
" Of one, who, FOR THE SAKE OF THE REPUBLIC, *has not ſcrupled to*
" *make the powerful Antony his enemy!* I am at a loſs what to write, ex-
" cept this one thing; *that the ambition and licentiouſneſs of the boy have*
" *been encouraged, rather than repreſſed by* Cicero; *and that he carries his*
" *indulgence of him ſo far, as not to abſtain even from opprobrious language,*
" *and ſuch as reflects doubly upon himſelf: Since he has taken away the life*
" *of more than one,*" [*Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, Ceparius, Ca-*
tiline's accomplices, were put to death in an illegal manner] " *and muſt*
" *firſt confeſs himſelf to be an aſſaſſin, before he can reproach Caſca with*

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" *what he objects to him*; *and treat* Caſca, *as* Beſtia *once treated him*[m]. " Or becauſe we are not boaſting every moment of the *ides of March*, " as he is of *his nones of December*, what better pretext can he have for " cenſuring our moſt laudable act, than *Beſtia* and *Clodius* had for in- " veighing againſt his conſulſhip? Our *Cicero* brags that he in his gown " has ſuſtained the war againſt *Antony*. But of what ſervice is that to " me, if the ſucceſſion to *Antony*'s place be claimed as the reward of op- " preſſing *Antony?* And if the avenger of that evil has been the au- " thor of another, which is likely to be more firmly grounded, and to " take a deeper root, if we ſuffer it? As if all that he is doing came " from one, *not afraid of a maſter*; no, *but of having* Antony *for that* " *maſter*. But, for my part, I cannot think myſelf obliged to a man, " who, as long as he does not ſerve an angry lord, has no quarrel with " ſervitude itſelf; nay, decrees triumphs, and pay, and every kind of " honour to him. It is a ſhame for any one to deſire ſuch a condition " of life as he has now taken upon himſelf. Is this the part of a Con- " ſular? This, of *Cicero?* Since you would not ſuffer me to be ſilent, " you will read what muſt neceſſarily make you uneaſy: For I feel " within myſelf what an uneaſineſs it gives me to write it. Nor am I " ignorant what your ſentiments are with regard to the Republic; " which, though deſperate, you think poſſible ſtill to be retrieved. " Nor, in truth, *Atticus*, do I blame you. For your years, your princi- " ples, your children, make you averſe to action: Which I perceived " alſo from the account of our friend *Flavius*[n]. But to return to *Cicero*.

[m] " *Manutius* profeſſes himſelf unable to " conceive *how* Cicero *ſhould ever call* Caſca " *a murderer*; yet cannot collect *any thing* " *leſs* from *Brutus*'s words. But the thing " is impoſſible, and inconſiſtent with every " word that *Cicero* had been ſaying, and " every act that he had been doing from the " time of *Cæſar*'s death: And, in relation " particularly to *Caſca*, he had refuſed to " enter into any meaſures with *Octavius*, " but upon the expreſs condition of his ſuf- " fering *Caſca* to take quiet poſſeſſion of the " *Tribunate*: It is certain therefore that " *Brutus* had either been *miſinformed*, or was " charging *Cicero* with the *conſequential* " *meaning of ſome ſaying* which was never in- " tended by him; in adviſing *Caſca*, per- " haps, to manage *Octavius*, in the height " of his power, with more temper and " moderation, leſt he ſhould otherwiſe be " provoked to conſider him as *an aſſaſſin*, " and treat him as ſuch: For an intimation " of that kind would have been ſufficient to " the fierce ſpirit of *Brutus*, for taking it as " a direct condemnation of *Caſca*'s act of " ſtabbing *Cæſar*, to which *Cicero* had al- " ways given the higheſt applauſe." *Middl. Life of Cicero, Vol. II. p.* 488. Unluckily, there are too many inſtances of theſe inconſiſtencies both in *Cicero*'s words and deeds. *Octavius*'s circumſtances were changed; he was no longer in the dependence of *Cicero* and his Senate, and began to declare himſelf openly againſt his father's murderers: This was ſufficient to engage *Cicero* to change his ſtile, at leaſt in the preſence of *Octavius* and his adherents.

[n] This is explained by a ſtory related by *Cornelius Nepos*, that a ſcheme having been projected for raiſing a fund of money for the ſupport of *Brutus*, and his forces, by a voluntary contribution of the Roman Knights, *Flavius* propoſed the affair to *Atticus*, as *Brutus*'s particular friend, and one of the richeſt of that order, deſiring that he would undertake the management, and put himſelf at the head of it. But *Atticus* anſwered, that *Brutus was welcome to make what uſe he pleaſed*

cero. What difference is there between him and *Salvidienus*" [one of *Octavius*'s moſt zealous followers] " or what more would *Salvidienus* " himſelf decree to *Octavius*°. He is afraid ſtill, you will ſay, of the re- " mains of the civil war. But can any one be ſo afraid of a routed " enemy, as to think neither the power of one, who is at the head of a " conquering army, nor the raſhneſs of a boy, at all to be feared? Or " does he do all this, becauſe he thinks that every thing ought freely to " be given up to him, on the account of his great power? Oh the " ſtrange folly of fear! *to be ſo cautious of ſhunning what we are afraid* " *of, that, inſtead of avoiding it, as we might perhaps have done, we for-* " *wardly invite and draw it upon ourſelves.* We have too great a dread " of death, and of exile, and of poverty. Theſe *Cicero* looks upon as " the chief ills of life; and as long as he can find people who will " grant him what he deſires; who will reſpect and applaud him; he " has no objection to ſlavery, provided it be an honourable one; if any " thing can be honourable, in a ſtate of the moſt wretched and abject " contumely. Let *Octavius* then call him *father*; refer all things to " him, praiſe, thank him: Yet it will be ſeen at laſt, that his words are " contrary to his acts. For what is ſo oppoſite to the common ſenſe of " mankind, as to hold any one in the place of a *father*, who cannot be " ranked in the number even of freemen? And yet all that this excel- " lent man is aiming at, all that he is doing, tends only to this, *that* " *Octavius may be kind to him.* I can no longer ſet any value on thoſe " arts, of which I know *Cicero* to be ſo great a maſter: For of what uſe " to him are all the fine things that he has written with ſuch eloquence, " for the liberty of his country, or on dignity, death, exile, poverty? " How much better does *Philippus* ſeem to underſtand theſe ſubjects, " who was more reſerved in his conceſſions to a ſon-in-law, than *Cicero* " to a ſtranger? Let him forbear then in his boaſtings to inſult even " our miſeries. For what is it to us, that *Antony* is vanquiſhed, if his " fall has made room only for another to poſſeſs his place? Though " your letters even ſtill ſpeak dubiouſly of him. Let *Cicero* then live " on, ſince he can ſubmit to it, ſuppliant and obnoxious; if he has no " regard, either to his years, or his honours, or the acts of his paſt life. " As for me, I will wage war with the thing itſelf: That is, with ty-

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pleaſed of his fortunes, as far as they would go; but that, for his part, he would not have any conference or meeting with any perſon whatſoever, on any ſuch occaſion. Middleton's note on this letter, p. 106.

° When *Octavius* marched with his army againſt *Antony*, *Cicero*, as we have ſeen above, moved the Senate to decree him the legal command of that army, as *Proprætor*; and that he ſhould carry on the war in conjunction with the two Conſuls; and ſhould have a ſeat in the Senate, with the rank of a *Prætor*. After the firſt battle of *Mutina*, they decreed to him likewiſe, at *Cicero*'s motion, *a thankſgiving of fifty days*, with the title of *Imperator*, in common with the Conſuls; and, after the ſecond battle and the death of the Conſuls, they decreed to him the *leſſer triumph*, or an *ovation*: Indeed, it was not poſſible to do more for him: A triumph over *the late Conſul* and *the Roman legions!* after it had been deemed a crime in *Cæſar* to have triumphed over the *revolted Spaniards* headed by the ſons of *Pompey!*

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"ranny, with extraordinary commands, with dominion, and every power "that ſeeks to advance itſelf above the laws: Nor ſhall any condition "of ſervitude, how advantageous ſoever, divert me from it; though "*Antony*, as you write, be an honeſt man, which was never my opinion "of him. But, as to a Maſter, our anceſtors would never endure one, "though it were even a parent. If I did not love you as much as *Ci-*"*cero* perſuades himſelf that he is beloved by *Octavius*, I would not have "written this to you. It grieves me to reflect, how much you are now "diſguſted; you who love all your friends ſo warmly, and, above all, "*Cicero*. But, aſſure yourſelf, that I have abated nothing of my par-"ticular affection, though a great deal of my judgment of him. For "it cannot poſſibly be otherwiſe, but that every man's opinion of "things muſt be agreeable to the light in which they appear to him."

There is no probability that *Atticus* ſhewed the foregoing letter to *Cicero*; but as *Brutus*, in his letters to *Cicero* himſelf, frequently intimated his diſſatisfaction and diſlike of *Cicero*'s management, *Cicero* took occaſion, in the following letter, to lay open the whole progreſs of it, from the time of *Cæſar*'s death, in order to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of each ſtep: And the ingenious author of *Cicero*'s life thinks that it is a complete apology, and ſhews *that Cicero's conduct was in all reſpects uniform, great, and glorious; never deviating from the grand point which he had in view, the liberty of his country: Whatever* BRUTUS, *or any one elſe, may have ſaid.*

CICERO to BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. xv. Middl. Ed. xxi p. 145.

"YOU have *Meſſala* with you. How is it poſſible therefore for me "to explain, by letter, though ever ſo accurately drawn, the preſent ſtate "of our public tranſactions, more preciſely than he; who both knows "them all more perfectly, and can deſcribe and relate them to you "more elegantly than any man? For do not imagine, *Brutus*, (though "there is no occaſion for me to write what you know already your-"ſelf, but that I cannot paſs over in ſilence ſuch an excellence of all "good qualities) do not imagine, I ſay, that, for probity, conſtancy, "care, and zeal for the Republic, there is any one equal to him; ſo "that eloquence, in which he wonderfully excels, ſcarce finds a place "amongſt his other praiſes: Since, even in that, his wiſdom ſhines the "moſt eminent, by his having formed himſelf, with ſo much judgment "and art, to the trueſt manner of ſpeaking. Yet his induſtry all the "while is ſo remarkable; and he ſpends ſo much of his time in ſtudy, "that he ſeems to owe but little to his parts, which are ſtill the great-"eſt. But I am carried too far by my love for him: For it is not the "purpoſe of this epiſtle to praiſe *Meſſala*; eſpecially to *Brutus*, to whom "his virtue is not leſs known than to myſelf; and theſe very ſtudies,

"which

" which I am praiſing, ſtill more known: Whom, when I could not " take leave of without regret, I comforted myſelf with reflecting, that, " by going away to you, as it were to my ſecond ſelf, he both diſcharged " his duty, and purſued the ſureſt path to glory. But ſo much for that. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" I come now, after a long interval, to conſider a certain letter of yours [p], " wherein, while you allow me to have done well in many things, you " find fault with me for one; *that, in conferring honours, I have been too* " *free and even prodigal.* You charge me with this: Other people, pro- " bably, with *being too ſevere in puniſhing*; or you yourſelf, perhaps, with " both. If ſo, I deſire that my judgment on each may be fully known to " you. Not that I mean to juſtify myſelf only by *Solon*'s maxim, the wiſeſt " of the ſeven, and the only Legiſlator of them all; who uſed to ſay, " that *the public weal was compriſed in two things*; *rewards and puniſh-* " *ments*; in which, however, as in every thing elſe, there is a certain " medium and temperament to be obſerved. But it is not my deſign, " at this time, to diſcuſs ſo great a ſubject; yet I think it not impro- " per *to lay open the motives of my opinions and votes in the Senate, from* " *the beginning of this war.*

" After the death of *Cæſar*, and thoſe your memorable *ides of March*, " you cannot forget, *Brutus*, what I declared to have been omitted " by you [q]; and what a tempeſt I foreſaw hanging over the Republic. " You had freed us from a great plague; wiped off a great ſtain from " the *Roman* people; acquired to yourſelves divine glory: Yet all the " equipage of kingly power was left ſtill to *Lepidus* and *Antony*: The one " inconſtant, the other vicious; both of them afraid of peace, and ene- " mies to the public quiet. While theſe were wiſhing to raiſe freſh diſ- " turbances in the State, we had no troops about us, which we could op- " poſe to them: For the whole city was eager and unanimous in aſſerting " its liberty. I was then thought too violent; whilſt you, perhaps more " wiſely, withdrew yourſelves from that city, which you had delivered; " and refuſed the help of all *Italy*, that offered to arm itſelf in your " cauſe [r]. Wherefore, when I ſaw the city in the hands of *Rebels*; and " oppreſſed by the arms of *Antony*; and that neither you nor *Caſſius* " could be ſafe in it; I thought it time for me to quit it too. For a " city overpowered by Traitors, without the means of relieving itſelf,

[p] The letter, here referred to, ſeems to be the 11th, and is cited above in the text: It is dated *May the* 15th, whereas this was written about *the end of July*, after an interval of above two months.

[q] The omiſſion here ſignified, and frequently complained of by *Cicero*, in his letters to *Brutus* and the other Conſpirators, was that *of not killing Antony*. The mild *Cicero* would have been glad to have ſeen *Lepidus* killed alſo, and the whole crew of the wicked *Cæſareans*.

[r] If the city had been ſo eager and unanimous in aſſerting its liberty, and all *Italy* was ready to arm itſelf: It is indeed quite inconceivable how the Conſpirators ſhould have been ſo weak as to fly firſt to the *Capitol*, then out of *Rome*, and laſtly out of *Italy*.

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" is a wretched ſpectacle [s]. Yet my mind, always the ſame, and ever " fixed on the love of my country, could not bear the thought of leaving " it in its diſtreſs. In the midſt, therefore, of my voyage to *Greece*, " and in the very ſeaſon of the *Eteſian* winds, when an uncommon " South wind, as if diſpleaſed with my reſolution, had driven me back " to *Italy*, I found you at *Velia*, and was greatly concerned at it. For " you were retreating, *Brutus*; were retreating, I ſay; ſince your *Stoics* " will not allow their wiſe man *to fly*. As ſoon as I came to *Rome*, I " expoſed myſelf to the wickedneſs and rage of *Antony:* Whom, when " I had exaſperated againſt me, I began to enter into meaſures, in the " very ſpirit of the *Brutus's* (for ſuch are peculiar to your blood) for " the delivery of the Republic. I ſhall omit the long recital of what " followed, ſince it relates to myſelf; and obſerve only, that this young " *Cæſar*, by whom, if we are willing to confeſs the truth, we ſubſiſt at " this day, flowed from the ſource of my counſels. I decreed him no " honours, *Brutus*, but what were due; none but what were neceſſary. " For when we firſt began to recover any liberty, while the divine vir- " tue of *D. Brutus* had not yet ſhewn itſelf ſo far that we could know " its real force; and our whole defence was in the boy, who had repel- " led *Antony* from our necks; what honour was not really due to him? " Though I gave him nothing ſtill but the praiſe of words; and that " even moderate. I decreed him, indeed, *a legal command*" [as Propræ- tor, with the rank of Prætor in the Senate;] " which, though it ſeemed " honourable to one of his age, was yet neceſſary to one who had an " army: For what is an army without ſuch a command? *Philippus* de- " creed him a ſtatue; *Servius* the privilege of ſuing for offices before " the legal time; which time was ſhortened afterwards by *Servilius*. " Nothing was then thought too much. But men are apt, I know not " how, to be more liberal in fear, than grateful in ſucceſs. When *D.* " *Brutus* was delivered from the ſiege; a day of all others the moſt " joyous to the city, and which happened alſo to be his birth-day; I " decreed that his name ſhould be aſcribed for ever to that day in the " public *calendars*. In which I followed the example of our anceſtors, " who paid the ſame honours to a woman, *Larentia* [t]; at whoſe altar " you Prieſts perform ſacred rites in the *Velabrum*. By giving this to " *D. Brutus*, my deſign was, to fix in the *calendars* a perpetual memo-

[s] After all, theſe Rebels and Traitors were the acknowledged magiſtrates, and formed the legal adminiſtration: And *Cicero* took a commiſſion of Lieutenant from one of the principal Rebels, his dear *Dolabella*.

[t] The old writers give various accounts of the hiſtory of this *Larentia*, and of the origin of the rites, which were annually performed to her. The common tradition is, that ſhe was *Romulus's* nurſe, and left ſome conſiderable lands at her death to the people of *Rome*; and that *Romulus*, out of piety to her memory, appointed a yearly feſtival and ſacrifice to be celebrated at her ſepulchre. *Aul. Gell.* vi. 7. *Macrob. Sat.* i. 10. The *Velabrum* was a ſtreet or ſquare in old *Rome*, where the *Forum*, *Boarium*, and the *Temple of Janus* ſtood. *Marlian. Rom. topogr.* l. iv. c. 4. *Middl. note on this letter, p.* 161.

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" rial of a moſt acceptable victory. But I perceived, on that day, that Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.
" there was more malevolence than gratitude in many of the Senate.
" During theſe ſame days, I poured out honours, (ſince you will have
" it ſo) on the deceaſed *Hirtius* and *Panſa*, and *Aquila* alſo: And who
" can find fault with it, but thoſe, who, when fear is once over, forget
" their paſt danger? But, beſides the grateful remembrance of paſt ſer-
" vices, there was a view in it that reached to poſterity: For I was de-
" ſirous that there ſhould remain an eternal monument of the public
" hatred to our moſt cruel enemies. There is one thing, I doubt,
" which does not pleaſe you; for it does not pleaſe your people here;
" who, though excellent men, have but little experience in public af-
" fairs; *that I decreed an ovation to Cæſar:* But, for my part, though I
" may, perhaps, be miſtaken: *Nor am I yet one of thoſe who are the moſt*
" *pleaſed always with what is their own*;" [This is the character *Cicero* gives of *Brutus* in many of his letters to *Atticus:*] " I cannot but think
" that I have adviſed nothing more prudent, during this war. Why it
" is ſo is not proper to be explained, leſt I be thought to have been
" more provident in it than grateful. But even this is too much. Let
" us paſs, therefore, to other things. I decreed honours to *D. Bru-*
" *tus*; decreed them to *Plancus*. They muſt be men of great ſouls,
" who are attracted by glory: But the Senate alſo is certainly wiſe, in
" trying every art that is honeſt, by which any one can be engaged to
" the ſervice of the Republic. But I am blamed in the caſe of *Lepi-*
" *dus*, to whom, after I had raiſed a ſtatue in the *Roſtra*, I preſently
" threw it down again. My view was to reclaim him by that honour
" from deſperate meaſures; but the madneſs of an inconſtant man got
" the better of my prudence: Nor was there yet ſo much harm in erect-
" ing, as good in demoliſhing that ſtatue.

" But I have ſaid enough concerning *honours*, and muſt ſay a word
" or two about *puniſhments:* For I have often obſerved, from your let-
" ters, that you are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency, by
" your treatment of thoſe whom you have conquered in war. I can
" imagine nothing to be done by you but what is wiſely done: But to
" omit the puniſhment of wickedneſs, which we call pardoning, though
" it may be tolerable in other caſes, I take to be pernicious in this war.
" For, of all the civil wars that have been in my memory, there was not
" one, in which, what ſide ſoever got the better, there would not have
" remained ſome form of a Commonwealth: Yet in this, what ſort of
" a Republic we are like to have, if we conquer, I would not eaſily
" affirm; but, if we are conquered, we are ſure to have none. My
" votes, therefore, were ſevere againſt *Antony*; ſevere againſt *Lepidus*;
" not from any ſpirit of revenge; but to deter wicked citizens, at the
" preſent, from making war againſt their country; and to leave an ex-
" ample to poſterity, that none hereafter might be diſpoſed to imitate
" ſuch raſhneſs. Yet this very vote was not more mine, than it was

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" every body's: in which, there seems, I own, to be something cruel, " that the punishment should reach to children, who have done nothing " to deserve it: But the constitution is both ancient, and of all cities: " *Themistocles*'s children were reduced to want: And, since the same pu- " nishment falls upon citizens, condemned of public crimes, how was " it possible for us to be more gentle towards enemies? But what reason " can that man have to complain of me, who, if he had conquered, must " needs confess, that he would have treated me even with greater se- " verity?

" You have now the grounds of my opinions, as far as they relate " to the case of *rewards* and *punishments*: For, as to other points, you " have heard, I suppose, what my sentiments and votes have been. " But the mention of these is not so necessary: What I am going to " mention, *Brutus*, is greatly so: That you come with your army to " *Italy*, as soon as possible. There is the utmost expectation of you. " Whenever you set foot in *Italy*, all the world will run to you. For " whether it be our lot to conquer, (as we had already done, if *Lepi-* " *dus* had not been desirous to overturn all, and perish himself with his " friends) there will be a great want of your authority, in order to settle " some state of a city amongst us: Or, if there be any danger or " struggle still behind, our greatest hope is in your authority, as well " as in the strength of your army. But hasten to us, for God's sake: " For you know how much depends on opportunity; how much on dis- " patch. What diligence I shall use in the care of your sister's children " you will be informed, I hope, by the letters of your mother and sis- " ter: In whose cause I have more regard to your will, which is ever " most dear to me, than, as some think, to my own constancy. But " it is my desire both to be, and to appear, constant in nothing so much " as in loving you."

Middl. p. 473.

When *Cicero* saw the public affairs taking a turn quite contrary to his hopes, and that *Octavius*, especially by his demand of the consulship, as well as by every other step, seemed to be entering into measures to oppress the Republic, and to revenge his uncle's death; he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him, by letters, to a reconciliation with *Brutus*, and the observance of that *amnesty*, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. *Atticus*, imagining that *Brutus* would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what *Cicero* had written upon that subject. But, instead of pleasing, it provoked *Brutus* only the more; and he signified his mind upon it both to *Cicero* and *Atticus*, in such a style, says Dr. *Middleton*, as confirms what *Cicero* had long before observed, and more than once declared to him, that *his letters were generally churlish, unmannerly, and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what,*

Ad Att. vi. n. 3.

nor to whom he was writing. That to *Cicero* has been tranſmitted to us, and is as follows: Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

BRUTUS to CICERO.

Ad Brut. xvi. Middl. Ed. xxii. p. 164.

"I HAVE read a part of your letter, which you ſent to *Octavius*, "tranſmitted to me by *Atticus*. Your zeal and concern for my ſafety "gave me no new pleaſure: For it is not only common, but our daily "news, to hear ſomething which you have ſaid or done with your uſual "fidelity, in the ſupport of my honour and dignity. Yet that ſame "part of your letter affected me with the moſt ſenſible grief which my "mind could poſſibly receive. For you compliment him ſo highly for "his ſervices to the Republic, and in a ſtrain ſo ſuppliant and abject; "that—What ſhall I ſay?—I am aſhamed of the wretched ſtate to "which we are reduced—yet it muſt be ſaid,—you recommend my "ſafety to him; to which what death is not preferable? And plainly "ſhew, that our ſervitude is not yet aboliſhed, but our Maſter only "changed. Recollect your words, and deny them, if you dare, to "be the prayers of a ſlave to his King. *There is one thing*, you ſay, "*which is required and expected from him, that he will allow thoſe citizens "to live in ſafety, of whom all honeſt men, and the People of Rome, think "well.* But what, if he will not allow it? Shall we be the leſs ſafe for "that? It is better not to be ſafe, than to be made ſafe by him. For "my part, I can never think all the gods ſo averſe to the ſafety of the "*Roman* people, that *Octavius* muſt be intreated for the life of any one "citizen; I will not ſay for the deliverers of the world. It is a pleaſure "to talk thus magnificently; and it becomes me ſurely to thoſe who "know not either what to fear for any one, or what to aſk of any one. "Can you, *Cicero*, allow *Octavius* to have this power, and be ſtill a "friend to him? Or, if you have any value for me, would you wiſh "to ſee me at *Rome*, when I muſt firſt be recommended to the boy, "that he would permit me to be there? What reaſon have you to thank "him, if you think it neceſſary to beg of him, that he would grant and "ſuffer us to live in ſafety? Or is it to be reckoned a kindneſs, that "he chuſes to ſee himſelf, rather than *Antony*, in the condition to have "ſuch petitions addreſſed to him. One may ſupplicate, indeed, the "*ſucceſſor*, but never the *avenger* of another's tyranny; that thoſe who "have deſerved well of the Republic may be ſafe. It was this weak- "neſs and deſpair, not more blameable, indeed, in you than in all, "which firſt puſhed on *Cæſar* to the ambition of reigning; and after "his death determined *Antony* to attempt to ſeize his place; and has "raiſed this boy ſo high, that you judge it neceſſary to addreſs your "prayers to him, for the preſervation of men of our rank; and that "we can be ſaved only by the mercy of one, ſcarce yet a man; and by "no other means. But, if we had remembered ourſelves to be *Ro-* "*mans*, theſe moſt infamous men would not be more daring to graſp

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" at dominion, than we to repel it: Nor would *Antony* be more encou-
" raged by *Cæſar*'s reign, than deterred by his fate. How can you, a
" Conſular, and the avenger of ſo many treaſons, (by ſuppreſſing which,
" you have but poſtponed our ruin, I fear, for a little time) reflect on
" what you have done, and yet approve theſe things; or bear them ſo
" tamely, as to ſeem at leaſt to approve them? For what particular
" hatred had you to *Antony?* No other, but becauſe he aſſumed all
" this to himſelf; that our lives ſhould be begged of him; our ſafety
" be precarious, from whom he had received his liberty; and the Re-
" public depend upon his will and pleaſure. You thought it neceſſary
" to take up arms to prevent him from tyranniſing over us: But was it
" your intent, that, by preventing him, we might ſue to another, who
" would ſuffer himſelf to be advanced into his place; or that the Re-
" public might be free and miſtreſs of itſelf? As if our quarrel was
" not, perhaps, to ſlavery, but to the conditions of it. But we might
" have had, not only an eaſy maſter in *Antony*, if we would have been
" content with that fortune, but whatever ſhare with him we pleaſed
" of favours and honours. For what could he deny to thoſe whoſe
" patience, he ſaw, was the beſt ſupport of his government? But no-
" thing was of ſuch value to us, that we would ſell our faith and liber-
" ty for it. Would not the very boy, whom the name of *Cæſar* ſeems
" to incite againſt the deſtroyers of *Cæſar*, think it worth any price, if
" there was room to traffick with him, to be enabled, by our help, to
" maintain all that power, which he now enjoys? Since we have a mind
" to live, and to be rich, and to be Conſulars? But then *Cæſar* muſt
" have periſhed in vain. For what reaſon had we to rejoice at his death,
" if after it we were ſtill to continue ſlaves? Let other people be as
" indolent as they pleaſe; but, as for me, may the gods and goddeſſes
" deprive me ſooner of every thing, than the reſolution of not allowing
" to the heir of him, whom I killed, what I did not allow to the man
" himſelf; nor would ſuffer even in my father, were he living; *to*
" *have more power than the laws and the Senate.* How can you imagine
" that the reſt of you can ever be free under him, without whoſe leave
" there is no place for us in that city? Or how is it poſſible for you,
" after all, to obtain what you aſk? You beg, *that he would allow us*
" *to be ſafe.* Shall we then receive ſafety, think you, when we have
" received life from him? But how can we receive it, if we firſt part
" with our honour and our liberty? Do you fancy, that to live at
" *Rome* is to be ſafe? It is the thing, and not the place, which muſt
" ſecure that to me: For I was never ſafe while *Cæſar* lived, till I had
" reſolved with myſelf upon that attempt: Nor can I in any place live
" in exile, as long as I hate ſlavery and inſults above all other evils.
" Is not this to fall back again into the ſame ſtate of darkneſs; when
" he who has taken upon him the name of the tyrant (though in the
" cities of *Greece*, when the tyrants are deſtroyed, their children alſo

" periſh with them) muſt be intreated, that the avengers of tyranny Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.
" may be ſafe? Can I ever wiſh to ſee that city, or think it a city,
" which has not the power even to accept liberty, when offered, and
" even forced upon it; but has more dread of the name of their late
" King, in the perſon of a boy, than confidence in itſelf; though it
" has ſeen that very King taken off in the utmoſt height of power, by
" the virtue of a few? Do not recommend me, therefore, any more to
" your *Cæſar:* Nor yourſelf indeed, if you will hearken to me. You
" ſet a very high value on the few years which remain to you at that
" age, if for the ſake of them you can ſupplicate that boy. But take
" care, after all, leſt what you have done, and are doing, ſo laudably
" againſt *Antony*, inſtead of being applauded, as the effect of a great
" mind, *be not charged to the account of your fear.* For if you are pleaſed
" with *Octavius* ſo, as to petition him for our ſafety, you will be thought,
" *not to have diſliked a Maſter, but to have wanted a more friendly one.*
" As to your praiſing him, for the things that he has hitherto done, I
" entirely approve it; for they deſerve to be praiſed, provided that he
" undertook them to repel other men's power, not to advance his own.
" But when you adjudge him, not only to have this power, but that
" you yourſelf ought to ſubmit to it ſo far, as to intreat him, that he
" would not deſtroy us; you pay him too great a recompence: For
" you aſcribe that very thing to him, which the Republic ſeemed to
" enjoy through him: Nor does it ever enter into your thoughts, that,
" if *Octavius* be worthy of any honours, becauſe he wages war with *An-*
" *tony*; that thoſe, who extirpated the very evil, of which theſe are but
" the relics, can never be ſufficiently requited by the *Roman* people;
" though they were to heap upon them every thing that they could be-
" ſtow. But ſee how much ſtronger people's fears are than their me-
" mories, becauſe *Antony* ſtill lives and is in arms. As to *Cæſar*, all
" that could and ought to be done is paſt, and cannot be recalled. Is
" *Octavius* then a perſon of ſo great importance that the people of
" *Rome* are to expect from him what he will determine upon us? Or
" are we of ſo little that any ſingle man is to be intreated for our ſafety?
" As for me, may I never return to you, if I ever either ſupplicate any
" man, or do not reſtrain thoſe who are diſpoſed to do it, from ſuppli-
" cating for themſelves: Or I will remove to a diſtance from all ſuch,
" who can be ſlaves, and fancy myſelf at *Rome*, wherever I can live
" free; and ſhall pity you, whoſe fond deſire of life neither age nor
" honours, nor the example of other men's virtue, can moderate. For
" my part, I ſhall ever think myſelf happy as long as I can pleaſe my-
" ſelf with the perſuaſion, that my piety has been fully requited. For
" what can be happier than for a man, conſcious of virtuous acts, and
" content with liberty, to deſpiſe all human affairs? Yet I will never
" yield to thoſe who are fond of yielding, or be conquered by thoſe
" who are willing to be conquered themſelves; but will firſt try and at-

" tempt

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" tempt every thing, nor ever deſiſt from dragging our city out of " ſlavery. If ſuch fortune attends me, as I ought to have; we ſhall " all rejoice: If not, I ſhall rejoice myſelf. For how can this life be " ſpent better, than in thoughts and acts which tend to make my coun- " trymen free? I beg and beſeech you, *Cicero*, not to deſert the cauſe " through wearineſs or diffidence. In repelling preſent evils, have your " eye always on the future, leſt they inſinuate themſelves before you " are aware. Conſider, that the fortitude and the courage, with which " you delivered the Republic, when Conſul, and now again, when " Conſular, are nothing without conſtancy and equability. The caſe " of tried virtue, I own, is harder than of untried: We require ſer- " vices from it as debts; and, if any thing diſappoints us, we blame " with reſentment, as if we had been deceived by it. Wherefore, for " *Cicero* to withſtand *Antony*, though it be a part highly commendable, " yet, becauſe ſuch a Conſul ſeemed, of courſe, to promiſe us ſuch a " Conſular, nobody wonders at it. But if the ſame *Cicero*, in the caſe " of others, ſhould waver at laſt in that reſolution, which he exerted " with ſuch firmneſs and greatneſs of mind againſt *Antony*, he would " deprive himſelf, not only of the hopes of future glory, but forfeit " even that which is paſt: For nothing is great in itſelf but what flows " from the reſult of our judgment: Nor does it become any man, more " than you, to love the Republic, and to be the patron of liberty; on " the account either of your natural talents, or your former acts, or " the wiſhes and expectations of all men. *Octavius*, therefore, muſt " not be intreated to ſuffer us to live in ſafety. Do you rather rouſe your- " ſelf ſo far as to think that city, in which you have acted the nobleſt " part, free and flouriſhing, as long as there are leaders ſtill to the " people, to reſiſt the deſigns of traitors."

M. *Crevier*, ſpeaking of this letter of *Brutus*, ſays, *that we ſee in it with admiration the great ſuperiority that virtue alone gives one man over another of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents, the greateſt dignities, and the moſt advanced age.* Dr. *Middleton*'s judgment is very different: " If we com- " pare, ſays he, theſe two letters, we ſhall perceive, in *Cicero*'s, *an ex-* " *tenſive view and true judgment of things*, tempered with the greateſt " politeneſs and affection for his friend, and an unwillingneſs to diſ- " guſt, where he thought it neceſſary even to blame. In *Brutus*'s, a " churliſh and moroſe arrogance, claiming infinite honours to himſelf, " yet allowing none to any body elſe; inſolently chiding and dictating " to one, as much ſuperior to him in wiſdom, as he was in years; the " whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the *Stoics*, enforced with- " out any regard to times and circumſtances: *That a wiſe man has a ſuf-* " *ficiency of all things within himſelf.* There are, indeed, many noble " ſentiments in it, worthy of old *Rome*, which *Cicero*, in a *proper ſea-* " *ſon*, would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not

Middl. p. 487.

" principles

" principles to act upon in a conjuncture ſo critical; and the rigid ap- Y. R. 710.
" plication of them is the leſs excuſable in *Brutus*, becauſe he himſelf Bef. Chr.
" did not always practiſe what he profeſſed; but was too apt to forget 42.
" both the *Stoic* and the *Roman.*" But it muſt be conſidered, that 409 Conſ.
Brutus and *Caſſius* were at this time at the head of two formidable armies, and maſters of all the eaſtern world, while the Chiefs in the weſt were making war upon one another: In theſe circumſtances, *Brutus* did not doubt but he would be able to vindicate his *ides of March*; and his letter is certainly written with a ſpirit agreeable to the character of a tyrant-killer, authoriſed and armed to defend the liberty of his country. No words can expreſs ſufficiently the meanneſs and folly of good *Cicero*'s prayer in ſuch a conjuncture; and there is no one in *Brutus*'s caſe but would have conceived the greateſt indignation upon the occaſion, without being a *Stoic*, or a *Roman.* As to *Cicero*'s letter, in which we are told, *there is an extenſive view, and true judgment of things*, there is not one argument in it to juſtify *Cicero*'s violent and outrageous behaviour towards *Antony*, and afterwards towards *Lepidus*; which threw him entirely upon *Octavius*; nor any one reaſon given which could induce *Brutus* to hope that he could lead *Octavius* to the defence of liberty; and the meaſures he took to lead him to it were ſuch as to make the moſt ſanguine friends to the cauſe deſpair of his ever bringing it about.

CHAP. XV.

OCTAVIUS *is choſen Conſul, with Pedius, his coheir to Cæſar.* POLLIO *and* PLANCUS *join* ANTONY *and* LEPIDUS. *D. Brutus is killed in his flight. The conſpirators are impeached in form, and condemned at Rome. The law againſt* DOLABELLA *is repealed: His end.* OCTAVIUS *joins* ANTONY *and* LEPIDUS, *and ſettles with them the plan of a triple league. They enter Rome; are choſen reformers of the State, under the name of* TRIUMVIRI, *for five years. They publiſh an edict of proſcription. The death of* CICERO.

OCTAVIUS was choſen Conſul in the legal form by an aſſembly of the people, with *Q. Pedius* [t], his kinſman, and coheir in part of his uncle's eſtate, in *the month of Sextilis*; which, on the account of this fortunate beginning of his honours, was called afterwards from his own ſurname *Auguſtus* [u].

Appian

[t] They were ſubſtituted in the place of the deceaſed Conſuls, *Hirtius* and *Panſa*; and, in their room, were afterwards ſubſtituted *P. Ventidius* and *C. Carinnas.*

[u] He entered upon his conſulſhip, not on *the 22d of September*, the day before his birthday, as *Velleius Paterculus* places it; but on *the 19th of Auguſt*, as *Dio*, l. lvi. p. 590, puts it: From which date many reckoned the beginning of his reign. He died 56 years after, on the ſame day, a circumſtance to which the people gave great attention;

quod

A. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 43 Conſ.

Appian and *Dio* tell us, that his firſt care was to get his adoption by *Julius Cæſar* confirmed in the moſt ſolemn manner by a law of the people; and that he took henceforth the name of *Caius Julius Cæſar Octavianus*; but he had certainly taken this name from the beginning, in virtue of his uncle's will, and afterwards of a decree of the Senate. He ſecured, on entering on his magiſtracy, the public money which he found in *Rome*, and divided it among his ſoldiers.

App. l. iii. p. 486. Dio, l. xxvi. p. 321.

About this time *Pollio*, who was averſe to the violent proceedings of *Cicero*'s Senate, came to the aſſiſtance of *Antony* and *Lepidus* with two of his beſt legions. This acceſſion made the army of the rebels much ſuperior to that of *Plancus* and *D. Brutus*; who, ſince their junction, had kept upon the defenſive, not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to force their way into *Italy*. The conſent of theſe Generals, and the unexpected turn of *Antony*'s affairs, ſtaggered the fidelity of *Plancus*, whom we ſhall find hereafter to have had a weak and ſervile mind, and the low talents of a courtier, rather than thoſe of a *Roman* General; and he not only deſerted his collegue *D. Brutus*, but endeavoured to betray him to his enemies [x], which was done with the conſent and approbation of *Octavius*, with whom *Plancus* kept a correſpondence by letters, and by the mediation of his Lieutenant *Furnius*, who was diſpatched to him about the end of *July* [y]. *D. Brutus* thus abandoned, and left to ſhift for himſelf,

quod idem dies accepti imperii princeps et vitæ ſupremus fuit. Tacit. Annal. l. i. c. 9. As he ſeized upon the conſulate againſt the will of the Senate, ſo we ſhall ſoon ſee him lay it down without their conſent; and from this moment neither Senate nor people ever recovered ſo much as the appearance of liberty. He was at this time, according to *Livy*, l. 119, *nineteen* years old, that is, he was in his *twentieth* year, as *Suetonius* in *Oct.* 26, *Eutropius*, l. vii. *Plutarch* in *Bruto*, unanimouſly affirm, and the laſt cites *Auguſtus*'s Memoirs.

[x] Plancus deinde *dubia*, id eſt, *ſua fide*, diu quarum eſſet partium ſecum luctatus, ac ſibi difficile conſentiens, et nunc adjuter Bruti deſignati Conſulis, Collegæ ſui, Senatuſque, ſe litteris venditans, mox ejuſdem proditor; *Aſinius* autem *Pollio* firmus propoſito, et Julianis partibus fidus, Pompeianis adverſus; uterque exercitus tradidere Antonio. D. Brutus deſertus primo a Planco, poſt inſidiis ejuſdem petitus,—*Vell. Pat.* ii. 63, 64.

[y] The following letter is the laſt of *Plancus*'s correſpondence with *Cicero*, and bears the loweſt date of any in the collection of *Cicero*'s familiar letters.

PLANCUS, Conſul elect, to CICERO.

Ep. Fam. x. 24. Melm. xv. 18.

"I CANNOT forbear to expreſs, upon every occaſion, the ſentiments I entertain "of your repeated favours: Though, at the ſame time, it is with ſome reſerve that I in- "dulge myſelf in this ſatisfaction. The great intimacy indeed, which you allow me to "enjoy with you, renders all formal acknowledgments of this kind unneceſſary: Nor "would I make ſo cheap a return to the many important obligations I owe to you, as that "of mere empty profeſſions I had much rather reſerve the proofs of my gratitude to "ſome future opportunity of teſtifying it in perſon: And, if I live, I will convince "you by the aſſiduity of my good offices, and by every inſtance of reſpect and eſteem, "that you have not a friend, nor even a relation, who is ſo warmly attached to you as "myſelf. In the mean time, I am at a loſs to determine, whether the daily pleaſure, or "the

ſelf, with a needy and mutinous army; eager to deſert, and ready to give him up to his enemies; had no other way to ſave himſelf, than by flying Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

" the laſting honour I ſhall derive from your affectionate regard, will be greateſt.——
" I find the intereſt of my troops has been a part of your care. It was not with any in-
" tention of advancing my own power, that I was deſirous they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by
" the Senate: As I am conſcious of having no views, but what regard the welfare of the
" Republic. My reaſons were, in the firſt place, becauſe I thought they deſerved to be
" rewarded; and, in the next place, becauſe I was deſirous they might upon all occaſions
" be ſtill more attached to the Commonwealth. I hoped likewiſe by this means ſo
" ſtrongly to fortify them againſt all ſollicitations, that I might be anſwerable for their
" continuing to act with the ſame unſhaken fidelity, which they have hitherto preſerved.
" ——I have kept entirely upon the defenſive; and, though I am well appriſed with
" how much juſt impatience the public wiſhes for a deciſive action, yet I perſuade myſelf
" that the Senate will approve my conduct. If any misfortune indeed ſhould attend our
" armies in this part of the world, the Republic would not very ſoon be in a condition
" to oppoſe any ſudden incurſion of theſe rapacious traitors. As to the ſtate of our forces,
" I imagine you already know that thoſe under my command conſiſt of three veteran le-
" gions, together with one new raiſed regiment: Which laſt, however, is compoſed of far
" the beſt diſciplined troops I ever ſaw of this ſort. *Brutus* [*Decimus*] on the other ſide is at
" the head of ten legions; one of which is veteran; another has been upon the eſtabliſh-
" ment about two years; and all the reſt are lately raiſed. Thus, you ſee, tho' our army
" is very numerous, it is not extremely ſtrong. The Republic indeed has but too often
" had occaſion to be convinced, how little is to be expected from raw and unexperienced
" forces. However, if we had been joined, either by the *African* legions, which are com-
" poſed wholly of veteran troops, or by *Cæſar*'s, we ſhould without heſitation have hazar-
" ded a general engagement. As the troops of the latter were ſomewhat nearer than the
" former, *I frequently preſſed Cæſar by letters to advance; and he accordingly promiſed to join*
" *us with all expedition.* But other views, I perceive, have diverted him from theſe in-
" tentions. Nevertheleſs, I have diſpatched my Lieutenant *Furnius* with another letter to
" him, if happily it may any thing avail. You are ſenſible, my dear *Cicero*, that I take
" an equal part with you in the affection you bear to *Octavius*. He has a right to my
" friendſhip; not only from that intimacy which I enjoyed with his uncle, but in regard
" alſo to his own diſpoſition; which, as far as I could ever diſcover, is regulated by prin-
" ciples of great moderation and humanity. It would ill indeed become that diſtin-
" guiſhed amity, which ſubſiſted between *Julius Cæſar* and myſelf, not to look upon *Oc-*
" *tavius* with all the tenderneſs which is due to the ſon of my friend; after he has been
" adopted as ſuch by *Cæſar*'s will, and *that adoption approved by the Senate.* What I am
" going to ſay therefore is more the dictates of concern than reſentment: But it muſt be
" acknowledged, that *if* ANTONY *ſtill lives, if he has been joined by* LEPIDUS, *if their*
" *armies are by no means contemptible: In a word, all their hopes and all their attempts are*
" *ſingly owing to* CÆSAR. Not to look farther back than to his promiſe of joining me:
" Had he fulfilled the aſſurances he gave me for that purpoſe, the war would by this time
" either have been totally at an end, or driven into *Spain*; where the enemy could not
" have carried it on without great diſadvantage, as that province is utterly averſe to them.
" I am at a loſs to conceive, therefore, *with what view*, or by whoſe advice, *Cæſar* was
" diverted from a meaſure ſo greatly to his intereſt and his honour, in order to turn his
" purſuits towards a conſulſhip of a few months duration; much to the terror at the ſame
" time of the Republic, and with pretenſions too, exceedingly ridiculous. The remon-
" ſtrances of his friends might be extremely ſerviceable upon this occaſion, both to him-
" ſelf and to the Commonwealth. But none of them, I am perſuaded, would have ſo
" much influence over him as yours; as there is no man who is ſo much obliged to you,
" except myſelf. For I ſhall ever acknowledge that the favours I have received from you
" are great and innumerable. I have given inſtructions to *Furnius* to ſollicit *Cæſar* upon
" this ſubject: And, if I ſhould have that authority with him which I am ſure I ought, he

" will

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flying to his name-ſake in *Macedonia:* But the diſtance was ſo great, and the country ſo guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till, having diſmiſſed all his attendants, and having wandered for ſome time alone in diſguiſe and diſtreſs, he committed himſelf to the protection of an old acquaintance and hoſt, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery, or accident, he was ſurpriſed by *Antony*'s ſoldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General [z].

Vell. Pat. ii. 64. App. l. iii. p. 588.

Appian, iii. 586.

Liv. l. 120. Vell. Pat. ii. 69. Suet. in Ner. 3. Plut. in Brut. Dio, xlvi. 322.

Octavius, on his ſide, veſted with the ſovereign authority, kept no meaſures with the party of the Conſpirators. The decree againſt *Dolabella*, whoſe death was not yet known in *Rome*, was revoked; and a law was publiſhed, by the Conſul *Pedius*, to bring to trial and juſtice all thoſe who had been concerned, either in adviſing, or effecting *Cæſar*'s death: In conſequence of which all the Conſpirators were preſently impeached in form by different accuſers: *L. Cornificius* was the accuſer of *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Agrippa* of *Caſſius:* And, as none of them appeared to their citations, they were all condemned of courſe, and, by a ſecond law, *interdicted from fire and water. Sextus Pompey*, alſo, though he had borne no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irre-

" will hereafter thank me for my advice. In the mean time, we have a very difficult part " to ſuſtain here: As, on the one hand, we do not think ourſelves altogether ſtrong " enough to hazard an engagement: And, on the other, muſt take care not to expoſe " the Republic to greater dangers by declining one. However, if *Cæſar* ſhould comply " with the dictates of his intereſt and his honour; or if the *African* legions ſhould ſpee- " dily join us; you may depend upon having nothing to fear from this quarter.—Let me " intreat you to continue your friendſhip to me, and to be aſſured that I am intirely yours. " From my camp, *July* the 28*th*."

Plancus was, at this time, the occaſional founder of the town of *Lyons*, by ſettling, at the confluence of the *Saone* and the *Rhone*, the inhabitants of *Vienne*, who were driven out of their poſſeſſions by the *Allobroges*, during theſe diſſenſions of the *Roman* Generals. Though *Vienne* returned ſoon again under the *Roman* power, yet this new colony ſtill ſubſiſted, and, by the advantages of its ſituation, became more flouriſhing than its mother city.

[z] Several of the old writers have reproached his memory with a ſhameful cowardice in the manner of his ſuffering death: *Quid?* D. BRUTUS *extremum et infelix momentum vitæ quanto dedecore emit! Nam à* FURIO, *quem ad eum occidendum* ANTONIUS *miſerat, comprehenſus, non ſolùm cervicem gladio ſubtraxit; verum etiam conſtantius eam præbere admonitus, ipſis his verbis juravit:* ITA UT VIVAM, DABO. *O fati unctationem ærumnoſam!* Val. Max. l. ix. c. 13. Senec. Ep. 82. Dio, l. 46. Dr. *Middleton* rejects this account, and thinks ſuch cowardice *unworthy of the man who killed* CÆSAR *and commanded armies*, and altogether *inconſiſtent with the character of his former life:* As if he could be looked upon in any other light, than as a monſter of ingratitude, perfidy, and cruelty; qualities with which cowardice ſuits admirably well. DECIMUS BRUTUS *deſertus primò a* PLANCO, *poſt infidiis ejuſdem petitus, paulatim relinquente eum exercitu, fugiens, in hoſpitis cujuſdam nobilis viri, nomine Camelii, domo ab iis quos miſerat* ANTONIUS *jugulatus eſt*; JUSTISSIMASQUE OPTIME DE SE MERITO VIRO CÆSARI POENAS DEDIT: CUJUS CUM PRIMUS OMNIUM AMICORUM FUISSET, INTERFECTOR FUIT, ET FORTUNÆ, EX QUA FRUCTUM TULERAT, INVIDIAM IN AUTHOREM RELEGABAT; CENSEBATQUE ÆQUUM, QUÆ ACCEPERAT A CÆSARE, RETINERE; CÆSAREM, QUI ILLA DEDERAT, PERIRE. Vell. Pat. ii. 64.

concileable

concileable enemy to the *Cæſarean* cauſe. And now *Octavius* diſtributed to the citizens the legacies, which his uncle had left them by his will. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42.

Soon after theſe proceedings, the news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *D. Brutus*. *Minutius Baſilus*, another of *Cæſar*'s aſſaſſins, was murdered, about this time, by his ſlaves, enraged at his barbarous treatment of them. 409 Conſ. App. iii. 588. Oroſ. vi. 18.

The news alſo of *Dolabella*'s defeat and death was not known in *Rome* till after *Pedius*'s law [a]. *Dolabella*, after his ſucceſs againſt *Trebonius*, having pillaged the province of *Aſia* of its money, and of all things uſeful for war, marched forward to execute his grand deſign upon *Syria*; for which he had been making all this preparation: But *Caſſius* was beforehand with him, and, having got poſſeſſion of that country, and of all the armies in it, was much ſuperior to him in force. *Dolabella*, however, made his way with ſome ſucceſs through *Cilicia*, and came before *Antioch* in *Syria*, but was denied admittance into it; and, after ſome vain attempts to take it, being repulſed with loſs, marched to *Laodicea*, which had before invited, and now opened its gates to him. Here *Caſſius* came up with him, and preſently inveſted the place, where, after he had deſtroyed *Dolabella*'s fleet in two or three naval engagements, he ſhut him up cloſely by ſea as well as by land, till *Dolabella*, ſeeing no way to eſcape, and the town unable to hold out any longer, put an end to his own life, by the aſſiſtance of one of his ſlaves, to prevent his falling alive into *Caſſius*'s hands, and ſuffering the ſame treatment he had ſhewn to *Trebonius*: But *Caſſius* generouſly ordered his body to be buried, with that of his Lieutenant *Octavius*, who killed himſelf alſo with him. Middl. p. 483. App. i. iv. 625. Dio, xlvii. 344. Ep. Fam. xii. 13. 15.

The people of *Laodicea*, if we believe *Dio*, were only fined in a ſum of money; but *Appian* ſays, that *Caſſius* committed great extortions and cruelties, and reduced the town to the utmoſt miſery. The ſame author relates, that the town of *Tarſus*, which had alſo favoured *Dolabella*, was fined 1500 talents, [290,625 l.] and that, in order to raiſe this ſum, the magiſtrates were obliged to ſell not only the ornaments of their city, but alſo ſome of their citizens for ſlaves.

Octavius had no ſooner ſettled the affairs of the city, and ſubdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards *Gaul*, to meet *Antony* and *Lepidus*; who had already paſſed the *Alps*, and brought their atmies into *Italy*, in order to have a perſonal interview with him; which had been privately concerted for ſettling the terms of a triple league, Middl. p. 488. Liv. 120. Flor. iv. 6. Plut. Cic. & Brut. App. iv. 589. Dio, xlvi. 325.

[a] Dr. *Middleton* is certainly miſtaken, when he ſays, "*Not long after the battle of* "*Modena*, the news of *Dolabella*'s defeat "and *death*, from *Aſia*, brought a freſh occaſion of joy to *Cicero* and his friends at "*Rome*:" It appears, by a letter to *C. Caſſius*, written after the 30*th of June*, and copied above in the text, as alſo by another of *Caſſius*, the Quæſtor, to *Cicero*, dated from *Cyprus*, *June* the 13*th*, [Ep. Fam. xii. 13.] that *Dolabella* was not yet deſtroyed: And in none of *Cicero*'s letters is his death mentioned.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ. and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themſelves. The place appointed for the interview was a ſmall iſland about two miles from *Bononia*, formed by the river *Rhenus*, which runs near to that city: Here they met, not without jealouſy and ſuſpicion of danger from each other; being all three attended by their choiceſt troops, each with five legions, diſpoſed in ſeparate camps within ſight of the iſland. *Lepidus* entered it the firſt, as an equal friend to the other two, to ſee that the place was clear and free from treachery; and, when he had given the ſignal agreed upon, *Antony* and *Octavius* advanced from the oppoſite banks of the river, and paſſed into the iſland by bridges, which they left guarded on each ſide by three hundred of their own men. It is reported that their firſt care, inſtead of embracing, was to ſearch one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under their cloaths; and, when that ceremony was over, *Octavius* took his ſeat betwixt the other two, in the moſt honourable place, on account of his being Conſul. They ſpent three days in cloſe conference to adjuſt the plan of their accommodation; the ſubſtance of which was: "That the "three ſhould be inveſted jointly with the ſupreme power, for the term "of five years, with the title of *Triumvirs for ſettling the State of the Re-* "*public*; that they ſhould act in all caſes by common conſent; nomi- "nate the Magiſtrates and Governors both at home and abroad; and "determine all affairs relating to the Public, by their ſole will and plea- "ſure: That *Octavius* ſhould have, for his peculiar province, *Africa*, "with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the other iſlands of the *Mediterranean*; *Le-* "*pidus*, *Spain*, with the *Narboneſe Gaul*; *Antony*, the other *two Gauls*, "on both ſides of the *Alps*: And that *Octavius* ſhould reſign the con- "ſulſhip to *Ventidius* for the remainder of the year: That *Antony* and "*Octavius* ſhould proſecute the war againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, each of "them at the head of twenty legions; and *Lepidus*, with three legions, "be left to guard the city: And, at the end of the war, that eighteen "cities or colonies, the beſt and richeſt of *Italy*, together with their lands "and diſtricts, ſhould be taken from their owners, and aſſigned to the "perpetual poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, as a reward of their faithful ſer- "vices." Theſe conditions were publiſhed to their ſeveral armies, and received by them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which, at the deſire of the ſoldiers, was ratified likewiſe by a marriage, agreed to be conſummated between *Octavius* and *Clodia*, the daughter of *Antony*'s wife *Fulvia*, by her firſt huſband, *P. Clodius*.

The laſt thing that they adjuſted was the liſt of a proſcription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the hiſtorians tell us, occaſioned much difficulty and warm conteſts amongſt them, till each of them, in his turn, conſented to ſacrifice ſome of his beſt friends to the revenge and reſentment of his collegues. The whole liſt is ſaid to have conſiſted of *three hundred Senators and two thouſand Knights*.

They

They reſerved the publication of it till their arrival at *Rome*, excepting only a few of the moſt obnoxious, the heads of the Republican party, about ſeventeen in all; the chief of whom was *Cicero*. Theſe they marked out for immediate deſtruction, and ſent their emiſſaries away directly, to ſurpriſe and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: Four of the number were preſently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the reſt hunted out by the ſoldiers in private houſes and temples; which preſently filled the city with an univerſal terror and conſternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy. So that the Conſul *Pedius* was forced to run about the ſtreets all the night, to quiet the minds and appeaſe the fears of the people, and, as ſoon as it was light, publiſhed the names of *the Seventeen*, who were principally ſought for, with an aſſurance of ſafety and indemnity to all others: But he himſelf was ſo ſhocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that he died *the day following*. Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conſ.

The Triumvirs ſoon arrived, and made their entry on three ſeveral days: *Octavius* the firſt, then *Lepidus*, and laſt of all *Antony*; each attended with a prætorian cohort and one legion. *P. Titius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, immediately propoſed a law, for the conſtituting of three Sovereign Magiſtrates, Reformers of the Republic, for five years, *M. Antonius*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavius*, who took poſſeſſion of their office on the *27th of November*. Then they gave out their edict of proſcription, and retaliated, upon the nobles and ariſtocratic faction, the cruelties of *Sylla*: This edict *Appian* pretends to give us, but it is a moſt ſorry piece, and drawn up very probably by himſelf. *Cicero* was at his *Tuſculan* villa with his brother and nephew, when he firſt received the news of the proſcription, and of their being included in it. Notwithſtanding the prophetic ſpirit, with which he is commonly ſuppoſed to have been endowed, he did not, probably, foreſee this dire event [b]. Undoubtedly

[b] After *Antony*'s defeat, imagining all danger to be over on that ſide, he had ſent *M. Brutus* in purſuit of *Dolabella*, and it was decreed by the Senate, that the war againſt this Rebel ſhould be carried on jointly by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. But, before *Dolabella* was deſtroyed, he was very importunate in his letters to engage them to bring their armies immediately into *Italy*, and comply with a vote of the Senate, which he had moved for, after the junction of *Lepidus* and *Antony*, by the advice of *D. Brutus*:

CICERO to M. BRUTUS.

"WE have yet had no letters from you, nor ſo much as any report, to inform us, that, "in purſuance *of the vote of the Senate*, you were bringing your army into *Italy*: Which "that you would do, and with all ſpeed, the Republic earneſtly deſired of you. *For our* "*inteſtine evil gains ground upon us every day; nor do we find more trouble from our enemies* "*abroad, than from thoſe at home: Who were troubleſome, indeed, from the beginning of the* "*war, but more eaſily kept under.*" [The partiſans of *Antony* and *Lepidus*.] For the Senate, "was then in higher ſpirits, rouſed not only by my votes, but exhortations. *Panſa* at "the head of it was ſufficiently briſk and vigorous againſt all the reſt of that claſs; but, "above all, againſt his father-in-law: [*Calenus*] who, during his conſulſhip, wanted Ad Brut. Ep. x. Middl. Ed. 19. p. 127.

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf. Undoubtedly he depended, for his own and his family's ſafety, on the power of *Octavius*, who had given him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his protection.

" neither courage from the beginning, nor fidelity to the laſt. The war was ſo managed " at *Mutina*, that you could find no fault with *Cæſar*, though ſome with *Hirtius*. The " fortune of this war, if compared with a proſperous State, is uncertain; if with an ad- " verſe one, good. The Republic was victorious; *Antony*'s forces routed; he himſelf " driven out of *Italy* by *Decimus*. But ſo many blunders enſued, that the victory ſlipped, " as it were, out of our hands: For our Generals did not think fit to purſue the frightened, " diſarmed, diſabled Rebels:" [His pupil *Octavius* would not, and *Decimus* could not] " and an opportunity was given to *Lepidus*, to make us feel the effects of his levity; tho' " felt by us, indeed, often before, but now to our greater miſchief. The armies of *Brutus* " and *Plancus* are good, but raw:" [*Plancus* had four legions, three of which were vete- ran; *Decimus*, of ten, had but one veteran:] " The *Gallic* auxiliaries faithful and nu- " merous. But, as to *Cæſar*, who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and *is in- " deed of an excellent diſpoſition, and wonderful conſtancy*, ſome people, by moſt wicked let- " ters, meſſages, and fallacious accounts of things, have puſhed him to an aſſured hope " of the conſulſhip. Which, as ſoon as I perceived, I never ceaſed admoniſhing him in his " abſence, nor reproaching his friends here preſent, who ſeemed to encourage his ambi- " tion: Nor did I ſcruple to lay open the ſource of thoſe traiterous counſels in the Se- " nate; nor do I ever remember the Senate or the Magiſtrates to have behaved better on " any occaſion. For it never happened before, in voting an extraordinary honour to a " powerful, or rather moſt powerful man, (ſince power is now meaſured by force and " arms) that no Tribune, nor any other Magiſtrate, nor ſo much as a private Senator " would move for it *. Yet, in the midſt of all this firmneſs and virtue, the city is ſtill " alarmed: For we are inſulted, *Brutus*, both by the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and " the inſolence of the Generals. Every one demands to have as much power in the State " as he has force to extort it: No reaſon, no moderation, no law, no cuſtom, no duty, is at " all regarded; no judgment or opinion of the citizens; no reverence for poſterity." [Had not this been the State of *Rome*. even as far back as from the time of the *Gracchi?*] *I had* " *foreſeen all this long beforehand*, and was flying out of *Italy*, at the time when the fame of " your edicts called me back again. But you, *Brutus*, gave me freſh courage at *Velia:* " For, tho' it grieved me to think that I was going to that city, from which you, who had " given liberty to it, was forced to fly, (which had happened alſo formerly to me, in a " caſe of ſimilar danger, but of more unhappy iſſue) I yet went on and came to *Rome*; " and,

* Dr. *Middleton*, p. 456, thinks that this letter evidently proves, that *Cicero* never favoured *Octavius*'s pretenſions to the conſulſhip, but was, of all men, the moſt averſe to his deſign, and the moſt active in diſſuading him from purſuing it. Mr. *Melmoth*, (Vol. iii. p. 382.) on the other ſide, is of opinion, that it does not diſcredit the evidence of *Plutarch*, *Appian*, and *Dio*. " There ſeems, ſays he, to be the ſtrongeſt " reaſon to queſtion either the *authenticity*, or the *veracity*, of this letter: Becauſe it is moſt certain, " from one of *Cicero*'s *Philippics*, that he actually did favour the earlieſt poſſible promotion of *Octa- " vius* to the conſulate. *Quid eſt enim, P. C.* ſays he, *cur eum* (Octavium) *non* QUAMPRIMUM " AMPLISSIMOS HONORES *capere cupiamus? Legibus enim annalibus cum grandiorem ætatem ad " conſulatum conſtituebant, adoleſcentiæ temeritatem verebantur. C. Cæſar ineunte ætate docuit, " ab excellenti, eximiaque virtute, progreſſum ætatis expectari non oportere: In hoc ſpes libertatis " poſita eſt; ab hoc accepta jam ſalus, huic ſummi honores et exquiruntur et parati ſunt.* Philipp. " v. 17, 18. Could *Cicero* after this, *without being guilty of the wildeſt and weakeſt inconſiſtency*, " admoniſh *Octavius* by letter againſt his deſigns upon the conſulſhip; reproach thoſe to their face who " encouraged him in that ambitious view; and lay open the ſource of theſe traiterous counſels in the Se- " nate: When he had himſelf, in the ſpeech and in the paſſage above cited, ſaid every thing that his " wit and his eloquence could ſuggeſt, in favour of *Octavius*'s premature advancement to the conſular " office? . . . In farther confirmation of that hiſtorical evidence, for which I am contending, it may " be obſerved, that *Plutarch* cites the authority of *Octavius* himſelf for what he affirms concerning " the private agreement between *Octavius* and *Cicero*, in regard to the conſulate. And it is pro- " bable he took this piece of ſecret hiſtory from thoſe Memoirs, which *Octavius* wrote of his own life, " as it is certain that both *Plutarch* and *Appian* made great uſe of them in compiling their hiſtories."

protection. And the old hiſtorians tell us, that *Octavius* did not give up *Cicero* to the revenge of his collegues, without the greateſt reluctance, and Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 409 Conf.

" and, *without the ſupport of any guard, ſhook the power of Antony*; and, by my advice " and authority, ſecured to us the troops of *Cæſar*, which the occaſion offered, againſt his " traiterous arms. In whom, *if he continues in the ſame diſpoſition and deference to my ad-* " *vice*, we are likely to have a ſufficient guard." [It muſt be owned that the behaviour of this docile pupil, ſince the raiſing of the ſiege of *Mutina*, does much honour to the tutor.] " But if the counſels of the diſaffected ſhould have more influence with him than " mine; or if the imbecillity of his age ſhould not be able to ſuſtain the weight of the " affairs, which he has now upon his hands; all our hopes are in you. For which rea- " ſon, *fly to us*, I beſeech you; and perfect your work of freeing the Republic, which you " have freed rather, as yet, by your virtue and greatneſs of mind, than in fact and re- " ality. All the world will run to you. Exhort *Caſſius* by letter to do the ſame. There " is no hope of liberty any where but in the ſtrength of your camps. We have *both the* " *Generals, and the armies in the Weſt, wholly firm to us*: I have ſome confidence alſo, *that* " *theſe troops of the young man are ſtill firm*: But there are ſo many at work to pervert " them, *that I am ſometimes afraid leſt they make an impreſſion on him*" [What! was he not already perverted, when, in contempt of the laws and the Senate, he demanded the conſulſhip by a deputation of his officers, and marched his army towards *Rome*.] " You " ſee the whole ſtate of the Republic, as it ſtood at the time when I was ſending away " this letter. I wiſh that things may henceforward take a better turn: But if it ſhould fall " out otherwiſe (which omen the gods avert!) I ſhall lament the fate of the Republic, " which ought to be immortal: But what a poor ſhare of life is left at theſe years for me?" Vell. Pat. ii. 66. Plut. in Ant. Suet. in Aug. 27.

In a letter that ſoon followed the foregoing, he writes: " I beg of you, my *Brutus*, with " the greateſt earneſtneſs, that you would not diſmiſs my ſon; but bring him hither along " with you. This you muſt do inſtantly, if you have any regard for the Republic, for " which you was born. For the war is renewed upon us by the great treachery of *Lepi-* " *dus*: And, *as for Cæſar's army*, which was the beſt, *it is not only of no ſervice to us,* " *but obliges us even to call for yours*. Whenever you ſhall ſet foot in *Italy*, there will not " be a ſingle citizen, whom we can truly call by that name, who will not preſently be in " your camp. We have *D. Brutus*, indeed, happily united with *Plancus*: But you are " not ignorant, how uncertain the minds of men infected with party, as well as the events " of battles, are." [Of the Generals of the Weſt, who were all firm in the laſt letter, *Pollio* ſeems in this to be given up, and *Plancus* is now ſuſpected.] " Nay, ſhould we con- " quer, as I hope we ſhall, there will be a great want of your advice and authority, to " ſettle all our affairs. *Help us, therefore, for God's ſake, and that as ſoon as poſſible:* " *And aſſure yourſelf that you did not do a greater ſervice to your country on* THE IDES OF " MARCH, *when you delivered your fellow-citizens from ſlavery, than you will do by coming* " *to us quickly*. JULY THE 12*th*." Middl. Ed. 20. p. 139.

But, after all theſe repeated entreaties and remonſtrances of *Cicero*, neither *Brutus*, nor *Caſſius*, ſeem to have entertained the leaſt thought of coming with their armies to *Italy*. *Caſſius*, indeed, by being more remote, and having *Dolabella* to oppoſe, could not come ſo readily, and was not ſo much expected as *Brutus*, who, before the battle of *Mutina*, had drawn all his legions to the ſea-coaſt, and kept them at *Apollonia* and *Dyrrhachium*, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for *Italy*, if any accident had made his aſſiſtance neceſſary; for which *Cicero* highly commends him. But, upon the news of *Antony*'s defeat, taking all the danger to be over (as well as *Cicero* and his Senate;) he (with their approbation) marched directly away to the remoteſt parts of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, to oppoſe the attempts of *Dolabella* * (who ſent about that time five cohorts Middl. p. 466. Ad Brut. ii. Ad Brut. ii.

* " ON the 27*th of April*, when we were debating on the means of proſecuting the war againſt " thoſe who are adjudged to be enemies, *Servilius* moved, that *Ventidius* alſo ſhould be included in " that number; and that *Caſſius* ſhould purſue *Dolabella*: To whom, when I had aſſented, I made " this

Y. R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42. 709 Conſ. and after a ſtruggle of two days to preſerve him. It was the deſign of the triumvirate to keep their reſolution a ſecret, if poſſible, to the moment

horts as far as the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* upon the *Helleſpont*,) and from that time ſeemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all *Cicero*'s letters. His conduct, however, ſeems to have been extremely prudent. He was ſenſible that his arrival with an armed force would ſtartle the veterans and all the *Cæſarean* party, and drive them into one camp: And he might well ſuſpect the fidelity of his troops, and that they were not ſufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be truſted in the field againſt the veterans in *Italy*; whoſe example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might very probably induce them to deſert, and betray their Commanders. We find that, even while the Conſuls lived, *Brutus* was cautious of letting them know at *Rome*, how proſperouſly *Caſſius*'s affairs went on in *Syria*, for fear of giving umbrage to their enemies; and the following letter ſhews us that *Cicero*'s ſcheme, of bringing *Brutus* into *Italy*, was not approved of by his relations and friends in *Rome*. I lay it before the reader alſo upon other accounts:

CICERO to M. BRUTUS.

Ad Brut. Ep. xviii. Middl. Ed. Ep. xxiii. p. 181.

"AFTER I had often exhorted you by letters to come, as ſoon as poſſible, to the "relief of the Republic, and bring your army into *Italy*; and never imagined that your "own people had any ſcruples about it; I was deſired, by that moſt prudent and dili"gent woman, your mother, all whoſe thoughts and cares are employed on you, that I "would come to her on the 24*th of July*; which I did, as I ought, without delay. "When I came I found *Caſca*, *Labeo*, and *Scaptius* with her. She preſently entered into "the affair, and aſked my opinion, whether we ſhould ſend for you to *Italy*; and whe"ther I thought it beſt for you to come, or to continue abroad. I declared what I took "to be moſt for your honour and reputation, that, without loſs of time, you ſhould bring "preſent help to the tottering and declining State. For what miſchief may we not ex"pect from that war, where the conquering armies refuſed to purſue a flying enemy? "Where a General unhurt, unprovoked, poſſeſſed of the higheſt honours, and the greateſt "fortunes; with a wife and children, and near relation to you; has declared war againſt "the Commonwealth? I may add, where, in ſo great a concord of the Senate and the "people, there reſides ſtill ſo much diſorder within the walls? But the greateſt grief, "which I feel, while I am now writing, is to reflect, that, when the Republic had taken "my word *for a youth*, or rather *a boy*, I ſhall hardly have it in my power to make good "what I promiſed for him. For it is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment to "engage

"this farther motion: *That you alſo, if you thought it of uſe and benefit to the Republic, ſhould carry* "*on the war againſt Dolabella*; but, if you could not do it with convenience to the public affairs, "or did not think it for the public ſervice, that you ſhould keep your army in the ſame quarters where "you now are. The Senate could not decree any thing more honourable to you, than that it ſhould "be left to you to determine what was the moſt conducive to the ſervice of the Republic. *My opinion* "*of the matter is this*: That, if *Dolabella* has any troops, any camp, any place, where he can make "a ſtand, it concerns your character and dignity to purſue him. As to our *Caſſius*'s forces, we know "nothing at all about them: For we have neither received any letters from him, nor any intelligence "that we could depend upon as certain. You are very ſenſible of what importance it is, that *Dola*- "*bella* ſhould be deſtroyed: Not only that he may ſuffer the puniſhment due to his treaſon, but that "the Chiefs of the Rebels may not have a place to reſort to, in their flight from *Mutina*. *That this* "*was my opinion even before, you may recollect from my former letters: Though at that time our* "*only refuge was in your camp, and our hopes of ſafety in your army. Wherefore now, when we* "*are delivered, as I hope, from all danger, we ought to be more intent on the ruin of Dolabella.*" Ad Brut. v. "I highly applaud your reſolution, of not removing your army from *Apollonia* and "*Dyrrhachium*, before you had heard of *Antony*'s flight, *Brutus*'s eruption, and the victory of the *Ro*- "*man* people. As to what you write, therefore, that you have ſince reſolved to lead your army into "the *Cherſoneſe*, nor to ſuffer the Empire of *Rome* to be inſulted by a moſt wicked enemy; you do "what is agreeable to your dignity and the public ſervice." *Ad Brut.* ii.

ment of execution; in order to ſurpriſe thoſe whom they had deſtined to deſtruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to eſcape. Some of *Cicero*'s friends, perhaps by the contrivance of *Octavius*, found means, however, to give him early notice of it; upon which he immediately ſet forward with his brother and nephew, towards *Aſtura*, the neareſt villa which he had upon the ſea, with intent to tranſport themſelves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But *Quintus*, being wholly unprepared for ſo ſudden a voyage, reſolved to turn back with his ſon to *Rome*, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and neceſſaries for their ſupport abroad. The diligence of *Antony*'s emiſſaries eluded all their caution. The ſon was found out firſt; who is ſaid to have been more ſollicitous for the preſervation of his father, than to provide for his own ſafety. Upon his re-

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 fuſal

" engage one's ſelf for another's ſentiments and principles, eſpecially in affairs of im-
" portance, than for money: For money may be paid, and the loſs itſelf is tolerable:
" But how can you pay what you are engaged for to the Republic, unleſs he, for whom
" you ſtand engaged, will ſuffer it to be paid? *Yet I am ſtill in hopes to hold him, tho' many*
" *are plucking him away from me:*" [What can *Cicero* mean here, unleſs it is, that he hopes to engage *Octavius*'s mercy for *Brutus* and *Caſſius?*] " For his diſpoſition ſeems good, tho'
" his age is flexible; and many are always at hand to corrupt him; who, by throwing in
" his way the ſplendor of falſe honour, think themſelves ſure of dazzling his good ſenſe
" and underſtanding. Wherefore, to all my other labours, this new one is added, of ſet-
" ting all engines at work to hold faſt the young man, *leſt I incur the imputation of raſh-*
" *neſs*. Though what raſhneſs is it after all? For in reality, I bound him, for whom I
" was engaged, more ſtrongly than myſelf. Nor has the Republic as yet any cauſe to
" repent, that I was his ſponſor: Since he has been hitherto the more firm and conſtant
" in acting for us, as well from his own temper, as for the ſake of my promiſe. The
" greateſt difficulty in the Republic, if I miſtake not, is the want of money: For honeſt
" men grow every day more and more averſe to the name of tribute *; and what was ga-
" thered from the hundredth penny, [a tax of one *per cent.* paid by the month,] where the
" rich are ſhamefully rated, is all ſpent in rewarding the *two legions*." [Though they refuſed to obey a decree of the Senate ordering them to ſerve under *D. Brutus.*] " There is
" an infinite expence upon us to ſupport the armies, which now defend us; and alſo
" yours; for our *Caſſius* ſeems likely to come ſufficiently provided. But I long to talk
" over this, and many things, with you in perſon; and that quickly. As to your ſiſter's
" children, I did not wait, *Brutus*, for your writing to me: The times themſelves, ſince
" the war will be drawn into length, reſerve the whole affair to you." [Such was *Cicero*'s *foreſight*, notwithſtanding the many proofs of *Octavius*'s diſaffection to what was called the cauſe of the Republic:] " But, from the firſt, when I could not foreſee the continuance
" of the war, I pleaded the cauſe of the children in the Senate, in a manner which you
" have been informed of, I gueſs, by your mother's letters: Nor can there be any caſe
" where I will not both ſay and do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever I think
" agreeable either to your inclination, or to your intereſt. *The 26th of July.*"

* This tribute ſeems to have been a ſort of capitation-tax, proportioned to each man's ſubſtance; and had been wholly diſuſed in *Rome*, ever ſince the conqueſt of *Macedonia* by *P. Æmilius*; which produced a revenue ſufficient to eaſe the Republic ever after from that burden, till the preſent neceſſity obliged them to renew it. *Plin. H. Nat.* xxxiii. 3. " From the averſion, ſays Dr. *Middleton*, which
" *even the honeſt* are here ſaid to have ſhewn to the renewal of it, one cannot but reflect on the fatal
" effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected the Republic in this age, and haſtened its
" ruin." But what diſguſted *theſe honeſt* was, probably, to ſee their money employed in recompenſing *veteran ſoldiers*, traitors to the cauſe of the Republic, and rebels to the Senate; which nothing but *Cicero*'s exceſſive complaiſance for *Octavius*, or the dread of him, could make him approve.

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fuſal to diſcover where his father lay hid, he was put to the rack by the ſoldiers; till the father, to reſcue his ſon from torture, came out of his hiding place, and voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf, making no other requeſt to his executioners, than that they would diſpatch him the firſt of the two. The ſon urged the ſame petition, to ſpare him the miſery of being the ſpectator of his father's murder; ſo that the aſſaſſins, to ſatisfy them both, taking each of them apart, killed them by agreement at the ſame time. *Cicero*, in the mean while, found a veſſel ready for him at *Aſtura*, in which he preſently embarked: But, the winds being croſs and turbulent, and the ſea wholly uneaſy to him, after he had ſailed about twelve leagues along the coaſt, he landed at *Circæum*, and ſpent a night near that place in great anxiety and irreſolution. The queſtion was, what courſe he ſhould ſteer; and whether he ſhould fly to *Brutus*, or to *Caſſius*, or to *S. Pompeius*; but, after all his deliberations, none of them pleaſed him ſo much as the expedient of dying [c]. According to *Plutarch*, he had ſome thoughts of returning to the city, and killing himſelf in *Cæſar*'s houſe, in order to leave the guilt and curſe of his blood upon *Cæſar*'s perfidy and ingratitude: But the importunity of his ſervants prevailed with him to ſail forward to *Cajeta*; where he went again on ſhore, to repoſe himſelf in his *Formian* villa, about a mile from the coaſt; weary of life and the ſea; and declaring that he would die in that country, which he had ſo often ſaved [d]. Here he ſlept ſoundly for ſeveral hours; tho', as moſt writers tell us, "a great number of crows "were fluttering all the while and making a ſtrange noiſe about his win-"dows, as if to rouſe and warn him of his approaching fate; and that "one of them made its way into the chamber, and pulled away his very "bed-cloaths; till his ſlaves, admoniſhed by this prodigy, and aſhamed "to ſee brute creatures more ſollicitous for his ſafety than themſelves, "forced him into a litter, or portable chair, and carried him away to-"wards the ſhip, through the private ways and walks of his woods; ha-"ving juſt heard, that ſoldiers were already come into the country in "queſt of him, and were then not far from the villa." As ſoon as they were gone, the ſoldiers arrived at the houſe; and, perceiving him to be fled, purſued immediately towards the ſea, and overtook him in the wood. Their leader was one *Popilius Lænas*, a Tribune, or Colonel of the army, whom *Cicero* had formerly defended and preſerved in a capital cauſe. As ſoon as the ſoldiers appeared, the ſervants prepared themſelves to fight, being reſolved to defend their maſter's life at the hazard of their own. But *Cicero* commanded them to ſet him down, and make no reſiſtance: Then, looking upon his executioners with a preſence of mind and firmneſs,

Plut. Cic. App. 601. Dio, p. 333.

Middl. p. 495.

Plut. Cic.

Liv. fragm.

[c] Cremutius Cordus ait, Ciceroni cùm cogitaſſet, utrumne Brutum, an Caſſium, an S. Pompeium peteret, omnia diſplicuiſſe præter mortem. *Senec. Suaſor.* vi.

[d] Tædium tandem eum et fugæ et vitæ cepit: regreſſuſque ad ſuperiorem villam, quæ paulo plus mille paſſibus à mari abeſt; *moriar*, inquit, *in patria ſæpe ſervata.* Liv. fragm. apud Senec. Suaſor. i.

which

which almoſt daunted them, and, thruſting his neck as forwardly as he could out of the litter, he bad them do their work, and take what they wanted: Upon which they preſently cut off his head and both his hands, and returned with them in all haſte and great joy towards *Rome*, as the moſt agreeable preſent which they could poſſibly carry to *Antony*. *Popilius* charged himſelf with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head, which had ſaved his own. He found *Antony* in the Forum, ſurrounded with guards and crowds of people; but upon ſhewing, from a diſtance, the ſpoils, which he had brought, he was rewarded upon the ſpot with the honour of a crown, and about eight thouſand pounds ſterling. *Antony* ordered the head to be fixed upon the Roſtra between the two hands; a ſad ſpectacle to the city: It drew tears from every eye to ſee thoſe mangled members, which uſed to exert themſelves ſo glorioufly from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the *Roman* people, ſo lamentably expoſed to the ſcorn of ſycophants and traitors. *The deaths of the reſt*, ſays an hiſtorian of that age, *cauſed only a private and particular ſorrow; but Cicero's an univerſal one.* Yet it muſt be owned, *that he had ſo much the leſs reaſon to complain of his fate, as it is certain that he ſuffered nothing more than he would have inflicted, had fortune put* ANTONY *in his power:* And that he had brought this ruin upon himſelf and his friends by his raſh and cruel counſels. *Brutus*, who immediately revenged his death upon *C. Antonius*, the Triumvir's brother, is reported, upon receiving of the news, to have ſaid, *that he was more aſhamed of the cauſe of it than afflicted at the loſs.* He was killed on the *7th* of *December*, about ten days from the ſettlement of the triumvirate, after he had lived *ſixty-three years, eleven months, and five days*[e].

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A a a 2 *Antony*,

[e] *Middl. p.* 499. "The odium of *Cicero's* "death fell chiefly on *Antony*, yet it left a "ſtain of perfidy and ingratitude alſo on *Au-* "*guſtus*; which explains the reaſon of that "ſilence, which is obſerved about him, by "the writers of that age; and why his name "is not ſo much as mentioned either by *Ho-* "*race* or *Virgil.* . . . . . *Livy*, though he "ſeems to extenuate the crime of *Cicero's* "murder, yet, after *a high encomium of his* "VIRTUE *, declares, that to praiſe him "as he deſerved required the eloquence of "*Cicero* himſelf. . . . . *In the ſucceeding* "*generation, as the particular envy to Ci-* "*cero* ſubſided, by the death of thoſe whom "private intereſts and perſonal quarrels had "engaged to hate him while living, and "defame him when dead, ſo his name and "memory began to ſhine out in its proper "luſtre: And, in the reign even of *Tibe-* "*rius*, when an eminent ſtateſman and hiſ- "torian, *Cremutius Cordus*, was condemned to

* The fragment of *Livy* is as follows: *Vixit tres et ſexaginta annos, ut, ſi vis abſuiſſet, ne immatura quidem mors videri poſſit. Ingenium et operibus, et præmiis operum felix: Ipſe fortunæ diu proſperæ: Et in longo tenore felicitatis, magnus interim ictus vulneribus, Exſilio, ruinâ partium pro quibus ſteterat, filiæ morte, exitu tam triſti atque acerbo, omnium adverſorum nihil, ut viro dignum erat, tulit, præter mortem: Quæ vere æſtimanti minus indigna videri potuit, quod à victore inimico nil crudelius paſſus erat, quam quod ejuſdem fortunæ compos ipſe feciſſet. Si quis tamen virtutibus vitia penſârit, vir magnus, acer, memorabilis fuit, et in cujus laudes perſequendas Ciceronе laudatore opus fuerit.* Ap. Senec. Suaſor. vii. Here, I ſhould think, there is no high encomium of his virtue.

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Antony, ſatiated with *Cicero*'s blood, declared the proſcription at an end, in regard to himſelf. He granted his mother, *Julia*, the life of her brother, *L. Cæſar*; to his friend, *Calenus*, that of the learned *Varro*; and wrote with his own hand to *Atticus*, who had concealed himſelf, with his friend, *Q. Gallius Canus*, that both he and his friend were ſafe, and, by his orders, both blotted out of the liſt of the proſcribed [f].

" to die for praiſing *Brutus*, yet *Paterculus* " could not forbear breaking out into the " following warm expoſtulation with *An-* " *tony*, on the ſubject of *Cicero*'s death: " *Thou haſt done nothing, Antony; haſt done* " *nothing, I ſay, by ſetting a price on that di-* " *vine and illuſtrious head, and, by a deteſ-* " *table reward, procuring the death of ſo* " *great a Conſul and Preſerver of the Repub-* " *lic. Thou haſt ſnatched from* CICERO *a* " *troubleſome being; a declining age; a life* " *more miſerable, under thy dominion, than* " *death itſelf; but, ſo far from diminiſhing* " *the glory of his deeds and ſayings, thou haſt* " *increaſed it. He lives and will live in the* " *memory of all ages; and as long as this ſyſ-* " *tem of nature, whether by chance or provi-* " *dence, or what way ſoever formed, (which* " *he alone of all the Romans comprehended in his* " *mind, and illuſtrated with his eloquence)* " *ſhall remain intire, it will draw the praiſes* " *of* CICERO *along with it; and all poſte-* " *rity will admire his writings againſt thee,* " *and curſe thy act againſt him.*" [Undoubtedly, this hiſtorian greatly paid his court to the reigning family, in charging *Antony* with the whole odium of the proſcription.] " From this period, all the *Roman* writers, " whether poets or hiſtorians, ſeem to vie " with each other in celebrating the praiſes " of *Cicero*, as the parent of *Roman* wit and " eloquence *; who had done more honour " to his country, by his writings, than all " *their conquerors by their arms, and extended* " *the bounds of their learning beyond thoſe of* " *their empire.* So that their very Empe- " rors, near three centuries after his death, " began to reverence him in the claſs of *their* " *inferior deities:* A rank which he would " have preſerved to this day, if he had hap- " pened to live in *papal Rome*; where he " could not have failed, as *Eraſmus* ſays, from " the innocence of his life, of obtaining the " honour and title of *a Saint.*" This aſſertion his ingenious and zealous panegyriſt proves, at length, from *Cicero*'s writings, which contain certainly the nobleſt principles of morality, and an eloquent expoſition of all the duties of man. But his *moral* character muſt be ſhewn from his practice, from his actions, and the motives of his actions, not from theory and leſſons of morality: And theſe actions, with their ſprings, having been laid before the reader in the foregoing pages, we ſhall leave him to pronounce concerning it.

[f] If theſe facts are true, and *Antony* was not of a cruel diſpoſition, as we are told by *Plutarch*, how can we then give credit to the moſt inhuman facts related of him by this ſame *Plutarch* and other authors? We are told, that, in all this ſcene of miſery, he gave himſelf up to all the exceſſes of debauchery imaginable, that his houſe was filled with buffoons and players, and that he ſquandered away, amongſt the vileſt of mankind, the price of the blood of the moſt illuſtrious citizens. *Nonius*, it is ſaid, was put to death, becauſe he would not part with a fine *opal*; the famous *Verres*, becauſe he would not give up two *Corinthian* vaſes: One *Fidueſtius* was wantonly killed, becauſe he had been proſcribed by *Sylla*: *Atilius*, a boy, very rich, had the *toga virilis* put on him, and was immediately proſcribed: *Fulvia* was ſuffered to plunder and deſtroy whom ſhe pleaſed: A head of a Senator, called, by *Valerius Maximus*, *Cæſetius Ruſus*, being brought to *Antony*, when at table, he examined it with attention, then told the bearers, *I know him not: This is an affair of my wife's.* This man had refuſed to lett his houſe to *Fulvia*, and, leſt *Rome* ſhould miſtake the cauſe of his death, his head, it is ſaid, was fixed upon the houſe, and not in the Forum. Theſe facts are altogether incredible, as well as her behaviour towards *Cicero*'s head, which, ſome hiſtorians tell us, was ſent to her by *Antony*, before he fixed it upon the Roſtra; and that this fair Lady placed it upon her knees, loaded it with reproaches, ſpit upon it, opened the mouth and pulled out the tongue, which ſhe pierced a thouſand times with her bodkin.

* Our panegyriſt adds: *And as the moſt illuſtrious of their Patriots.*

Lepidus,

Lepidus, on his ſide, ſuffered his brother, *L. Paulus*, to eſcape, who went to *Brutus*'s camp, and, after the battle of *Philippi*, might have returned to *Rome*, but choſe to paſs the remainder of his days at *Miletum:* And *Meſſala*, though in *Brutus*'s camp, was declared free from all proſecution by proclamation, in which it was ſaid: *As the relations of Meſſala have certified to us, that he was not in Rome at the time that* CÆSAR *was killed, we eraſe his name out of the liſt of the proſcribed.* As to *Octavius*, *Suetonius* tells us, that, though he oppoſed the proſcription at firſt, yet he ſhewed himſelf more cruel and bloody in urging it afterwards, than either of the other two; and relates, upon the authority of one *Junius Saturninus*, that, after the proſcription was over, when *Lepidus* made an apology to the Senate for their proceedings, and gave hopes of a more gentle adminiſtration for the future, young *Cæſar*, on his ſide, declared, that he ſhould ſet no bounds to the proſcription but his pleaſure, and ſtill reſerved to himſelf the liberty of puniſhing ſuch as were guilty. But theſe accounts, though adopted by all modern authors, are not ſupported by any authentic or probable facts[z].

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The greateſt number of the proſcribed found means to eſcape, and they fled either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africa* to *Cornificius*, or to young *Pompey*, who, having been appointed Commander-general of the ſeas by the Senate, had, under this title, aſſembled a conſiderable force, and made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of *Sicily*: And who, at this time, ſtationed ſmall veſſels all along the coaſt, to carry the proſcribed from the cruelty of the Triumvirs.

The Triumvirs, having taken vengeance of their enemies in *Rome* and *Italy*, began now to think of levying the money neceſſary to carry on the war againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius:* And they are accuſed of having put in practice every method of extortion, and of having ſeized upon the treaſures depoſited in the hands of the Veſtal Virgins; yet, the ſums

[z] He is accuſed of having proſcribed *C. Toranius*, formerly his tutor and his father's colleague in the ædileſhip. We hear, however, of no other inſtance of his cruelty at this time. But, before the triumvirate, *Suetonius* indeed, *Aug.* 27, lays an atrocious act to his charge: He ſays, that *Q. Gallius*, Prætor of the city, when he came to wait upon him, had unfortunately under his robe a double tablet *(duplices tabulas)* a ſort of pocket-book, which *Octavius* judged to be a poniard; upon which ſuſpicion, not venturing to make ſearch, *leſt it ſhould be found to be ſomething elſe*, he ordered him to be carried off by his guards and put to the torture, as if he had been a ſlave: And, becauſe the Prætor would not own that he had a deſign to kill him, *Octavius* pulled out his eyes with his own hands, and ordered him to be executed. However, *Suetonius* has informed us that *Octavius* did not own the fact, and in his Memoirs told a quite different ſtory: That *Gallius* deſired a private conference with him, with a view of murdering him; for which reaſon he put him in priſon, but afterwards baniſhed him the city; and that he periſhed either in a ſtorm at ſea, or by the hands of robbers. Such is the evidence of *Octavius*'s ſingular cruelty. *Plutarch* moraliſes at length upon the unnatural bargain made by the Triumvirs, when *Antony* conſented to give up his uncle, and *Lepidus*, his brother, to the vengeance of young *Cæſar*, in exchange for *Cicero*. If that was the caſe, why did not this cruel monſter, *Octavius*, inſiſt upon the execution of this part of the treaty, after his friend had fallen the victim of it?

amaſſed

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amaſſed not being ſufficient, they deviſed a new tax never known before. This ſingular expedient was a tax upon women. They drew up a liſt of 1400 Ladies of *Rome*, mothers, daughters or relations of their enemies: Theſe alliances were far enough fetched, for riches alone were ſufficient to make them guilty in this caſe. Theſe were ordered to make a declaration of their eſtates, in order to be taxed as ſhould be thought proper. *Appian* tells us that the Ladies aſſembled on this occaſion, and went in a body to the female relations of the Triumvirs; and that they were well received by *Octavia*, ſiſter to young *Octavius*; and by *Julia*, *Antony*'s mother; but were not admitted by the haughty *Fulvia*, his wife. And that, upon this, they went to the Forum, and, both people and ſoldiers making way for them, they advanced to the tribunal of the Triumvirs, where *Hortenſia*, the daughter of the famous Orator, made a ſpeech, in the name of all the reſt, to this effect:

Echard, B. iii. ch. 4. *Appian.*

"My Lords, theſe unhappy Ladies, whom you ſee here imploring "your juſtice and bounty, would never have preſumed to appear in this "place, had they not firſt made uſe of all poſſible means, which either "their native modeſty might allow, or their beſt underſtandings could "inform them of. Though our appearing here may ſeem contrary to "the rules of decency preſcribed to our ſex, which we have hitherto "moſt ſtrictly obſerved, yet the loſs of our fathers, our children, of "our brothers and our huſbands, is ſufficient to excuſe us; nay, and "to vindicate us too, when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence "for our further misfortunes. You pretend you have been affronted, "but what have the women done that they muſt be impoveriſhed? "If they are as blameable as the men, why don't you proſcribe them "too? Certainly none of our ſex have ever declared you your country's "enemies: We have neither plundered your goods, nor ſuborned your "ſoldiers: We have raiſed no troops againſt you, nor oppoſed thoſe ho"nours and offices to which you pretend. We preſume not to govern "the Republic, nor is it our ambition which has drawn the preſent mi"ſeries and misfortunes on our heads; empire, dignities, and ho"nours were never deſigned for our ſex. We, alas! have done nothing "to affront you, nothing to offend you, nor any thing to move you to "this ſevere treatment of us. But you tell us that you have a war to "ſupport. And when have mankind been free from war? And yet "have women ever been taxed on that account? The univerſal conſent "of nations has confirmed an exception in their favour, which nature "herſelf has granted us. Formerly, indeed, the *Roman* women, in the "extreme exigency of the Republic, when in danger of becoming a "prey to the *Carthaginians*, contributed towards the expences of the "State, but they did it voluntarily: That which they gave was not "levied upon their eſtates, dowries, and houſes; they only appro"priated to it the ornaments of their perſons: Nor were they ſubject "to any eſtimation, or informations of accuſers. What is then the dan-

" ger which you apprehend at preſent? Do the *Gauls* or *Parthians* in- Y.R. 710. Bef. Chr. 42.
" vade *Italy?* In that caſe you will find us no leſs generous than our
" mothers; but think not that we will contribute our eſtates to main- 409 Conſ.
" tain civil wars, and enable you to deſtroy one another. Such a de-
" mand was never made either by *Cæſar* or *Pompey*, in their wars; nor
" by *Marius* and *Cinna*, during their cruelties; no, not by *Sylla* him-
" ſelf, who firſt ſet up tyranny in *Rome:* Yet, after all, you adorn
" yourſelves with the glorious title of Reformers of the State[h]." This diſcourſe appeared ſo bold and dangerous to the Triumvirs, that they immediately ſent their Lictors to cauſe the Ladies to retire; but, perceiving that the multitude began to cry out againſt ſuch violence, they promiſed to re-conſider the affair, and afterwards drew up another liſt of 400 women, inſtead of 1400; but, to make good the ſum they wanted, they taxed all the citizens and foreigners, without diſtinction, who were worth one hundred thouſand drachmas, or upwards of 3200 pounds ſterling.

During all this confuſion, *Lepidus* and *Plancus* obtained a decree for a triumph on account of ſome inconſiderable ſucceſs in *Gaul*; and, while the city was in the greateſt conſternation, they calmly iſſued out proclamations for public rejoicings. *Plancus* triumphed the *29th of December*, and *Lepidus* on the *31ſt*. The ſoldiers ſung in the proceſſion this line, *De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant Conſules:* ſignifying very properly that their triumph was rather over their *germani*, or brothers, than over the *Gauls*.

Octavius reſigned, as had been agreed, the conſular faſces, before the end of the year, in favour of *Ventidius*, who had *C. Corinnas* for his collegue, in the room of *Pedius*. They enjoyed them only a part of the month of *December*, and they were transferred for the following year to *Lepidus* and *Plancus*.

In order to gratify the ambition of more of their friends, the Triumvirs not only named one of the ædiles to the vacant prætorſhip of *Ventidius*, but made all the other Prætors reſign five days before the expiration of their office, that others might be named in their places, and enjoy the title and rank of antient Prætors. In fine, they appointed magiſtrates for ſeveral years; by which means they confirmed their power, by putting, for a long time, all the magiſtracies in the hands of thoſe who were attached to them and intereſted in the ſupport of their government. On the *1ſt* of *January*, the Triumvirs ſolemnly ſwore to obſerve the acts of *Cæſar*, and made all the magiſtrates take the ſame oath.

[h] Hortenſia, Q. Hortenſii filia, cùm ordo matronarum gravi tributo à triumviris eſſet oneratus, nec quiſquam virorum patrocinium eis accommodare auderet; cauſam fœminarum apud Triumviros conſtanter et feliciter regit. Repræſentata enim patris facundia impetravit, ut major pars imperatæ pecuniæ his remitteretur. *Val. Max.* l. viii. c. 3.

THE

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

ELEVENTH BOOK.

From the Eſtabliſhment of the SECOND TRIUMVIRATE to the Settlement of the Empire on OCTAVIUS.

CHAP. I.

BRUTUS *and* CASSIUS *reduce the* Lycians *and* Rhodians, *and march their armies into* Macedonia. ANTONY *and* OCTAVIUS *carry over their legions into the ſame province. The firſt battle of* Philippi, *and the death of* CASSIUS. *The ſecond battle of* Philippi, *and the death of* BRUTUS. *The* TRIUMVIRS *make a new diviſion of the Empire.*

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II. }
L. MUNACIUS PLANCUS, } Conſuls.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

BRUTUS and *Caſſius* were now maſters of all the Eaſtern provinces, where they had made great exactions, and raiſed an army of 19 legions and 20,000 horſe: And the latter was preparing for an expedition into *Egypt* againſt *Cleopatra*, when he was recalled by *Brutus*, upon the news that *Antony* and *Octavius* had joined their forces. *Caſſius*, therefore, leaving *Syria* to his brother's ſon with one ſingle legion, marched into leſſer *Aſia*, and met *Brutus* at *Smyrna*, where they conſulted about the conduct of the war. *Brutus* moved to have the armies paſs into *Greece* and *Macedonia* immediately, and there wait for *Octavius* and *Antony*; but to *Caſſius* it appeared the wiſer meaſure to reduce the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*; who had refuſed to pay any contributions, and were powerful at ſea. It ſeemed to him of the moſt dangerous conſequence to leave ſuch conſiderable enemies behind them;

and this expedition, accordingly, was entered upon without delay, and in a ſhort time, completed. The *Rhodians* were ſeverely plundered by *Caſſius*, and ſcarce any thing, beſide their lives, was left them; but the unfortunate *Lycians*, who had to do with the mild and humane philoſopher, *Brutus*, fared much worſe. *Xanthus*, their capital town, was burnt to the ground, and all the inhabitants deſtroyed. Thoſe who ſurrendered at diſcretion he deprived of all their public and private money. After theſe military operations [i], the two Commanders met again at *Sardis*, and were there proclaimed *Emperors* by their two armies [k], and ſoon paſſed over into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*; whither the Triumvirs had ſent two Lieutenants, *Decidius Saxa* and *Norbanus*, with eight legions, while they themſelves made a fruitleſs attempt to drive *Sextus* out of *Sicily*: For they foreſaw he would be a thorn in their ſide, and, in concert with the fleets commanded by *Murcus* and *Domitius*, interrupt their communication with *Italy* and the other tranſmarine provinces.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

[i] *Plutarch* tells us that the deſtruction of the inhabitants of *Xanthus* happened againſt the will and earneſt endeavours of *Brutus*, and was entirely owing to an unaccountable fury and frenzy with which they were ſeized, which made them ſet fire to their own houſes and deſtroy one another: But the contrary is owned in the following letter of *Brutus* to the *Rhodians*: *Xanthios, cum à nobis deficiſſent, extremo ſupplicio affecimus. Nam uſque ad parvulos omnibus cæſis, eorum urbem igne & ferro diruimus. Patarenſibus, quia fidi nobis extiterant, tributa relaxavimus ac liberos & ſui juris eſſe conceſſimus. Atque pro reſtauratione eorum, quæ demolita erant, quinquaginta talenta dono dedimus. Liceat & vobis conſulere ac videre, utrum vos pro hoſtibus quemadmodum Xanthiis, an pro amicis ceu Patareni, haberi velitis.* And this letter *Plutarch* himſelf has cited, but in fewer words: *Xanthii beneficium meum deſpicientes, deſperationis ſuæ habuerunt patrium ſepulchrum. Patarenſes qui ſe in fidem meam contulerunt, nuſquam deſiderant in adminiſtrandis rebus ſuis libertatem. Itaque licet vobis quoque vel Patarenſium judicium vel fortunam legere Xanthiorum.* *Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that *Caſſius* behaved with greater moderation than *Brutus*: *Dum ea in Italia geruntur, acri ac proſperrimo bello Caſſius Rhodum, rem immanis operis, ceperat; Brutus Lycios devicerat . . . . cum per omnia repugnans naturæ ſuæ Caſſius, etiam Bruti clementiam vinceret.* Vell. Pat. ii. 69.

[k] Here it was that *Brutus* is reported to have ſeen a ghoſt in his tent. He ever employed, ſays *Plutarch*, the greateſt part of the night in diſpatching of affairs and reading; and one night, being thus employed, when there was a general ſilence in the camp, and eſpecially about his tent, of a ſudden he heard an unuſual noiſe at the door, which opened at the ſame time. *Brutus*, caſting his eye towards the place, perceived the frightful picture of a hideous ſpectre, of a proportion much more than natural, which preſented itſelf before him: He had, notwithſtanding, the courage to ſpeak to it, demanding, *Art thou a god, or art thou a man, and for what reaſon comeſt thou hither? I am*, replied the ſpirit, *thy evil genius, and thou ſhalt ſee me again near Philippi. Brutus* anſwered, *Well, I will ſee thee:* And immediately it diſappeared. He preſently called up his ſlaves, who all told him, *that they had neither ſeen nor heard any thing.* He continued walking all the reſt of the night, and, early in the morning, went to give an account of what had happened to *Caſſius*, who, being an *Epicurean*, told him, *that all this proceeded from the weakneſs of his ſenſes, and the ſtrength of his imagination at that time. However*, continued he, *let us not believe that there are any ſuch ſpirits, that have either voice, human ſhape, or power over us; though I could wiſh there were, that we might not only rely upon the greatneſs of our forces, but likewiſe upon the aſſiſtance of thoſe immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cauſe ſo juſt and ſacred as ours is. Plutarch* tells us, that the ſame ſpirit appeared again before the battle of *Philippi*.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

Decidius and *Norbanus* marched their troops through *Epirus* and *Macedonia* beyond *Philippi*, and encamped at the entry of a narrow paſs formed by two mountains, being the only commodious way from the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace* into *Macedonia:* They had then behind them *Philippi*, and upon the right, towards the ſea, *Neapolis*, a ſea-port town ſituated over-againſt the iſland of *Thaſos:* And here they intended to wait the arrival of their Generals. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* would have found it difficult to force the paſſage, if *Rhaſcupolis*, a *Thracian* Chieftain in their camp, had not led them over the mountains by a particular way, which had been judged impracticable by the enemy. *Bibulus*, ſon-in-law to *Brutus*, commanded the detachment, and took with him proviſions and water for three days; and, after incredible fatigues, when the ſoldiers began to murmur, and to ſuſpect *Rhaſcupolis* of treachery, at laſt, on the fourth day, they had a view of the plain and the river, and, upon this ſight, they raiſed a ſhout of joy, which gave notice of their approach to the two Lieutenants, who otherwiſe would have been ſurrounded unawares. *Saxa* and *Norbanus* immediately retired to *Amphipolis*, which they fortified with great diſpatch. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* marched on beyond *Philippi*, and encamped upon a riſing ground not far from the town: Behind them was the ſea, which furniſhed them with all kinds of proviſions: The iſland of *Thaſos* which was at twelve miles diſtance ſerved them for a general magazine; and, at the diſtance of nine miles, was the town of *Neapolis*, which afforded them a ſecure port for their fleet. *Antony* ſoon came up with them: For, upon the firſt news of the retreat of his Lieutenants, fearing leſt he ſhould loſe *Amphipolis*, he had made forced marches and arrived ſooner than he was expected. He had the ſatisfaction to find not only his Lieutenants maſters of *Amphipolis*, but the town well-fortified. He there depoſited all his baggage, leaving a legion to defend it: While, with the reſt of his troops, he advanced, and, following the example, which *Cæſar* had ſhewn him in all his wars, of approaching as near as poſſible to an enemy, he encamped at only a mile's diſtance. Here he was joined a few days after by *Octavius*. Their combined armies conſiſted of nineteen legions, compoſed chiefly of *Cæſar*'s old ſoldiers, and not only complete as to their number, but augmented by a great many ſupernumeraries. Thus their infantry amounted to one hundred thouſand men, but their cavalry, conſiſting only of thirteen thouſand, was leſs numerous than that of the enemy. They were much ſtreightened for proviſions, having only *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* open to them; *Sextus Pompey* cutting off from them all communication with *Africa*, and *Murcus* and *Domitius* with *Italy*. This made *Antony* extremely deſirous of coming to a battle; but *Caſſius*, being ſenſible of his motive, refuſed to engage him, and reſtrained the impatience of his ſanguine collegue. At laſt *Antony*, with great labour and induſtry, made a way through a large fen, and raiſed ſome forts oppoſite to the enemy's camp. *Caſſius*, on his ſide, formed lines and

threw up works againſt him: And in this ſituation, ſays *Appian*, the forwardneſs of the two armies, who were near to each other, drew on a general action, though much againſt *Caſſius*'s will, who declared, *that he was forced, in the ſame manner that Pompey had been, to expoſe the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of a battle.* A different ſtory is related by *Plutarch.* He tells us, that *Caſſius*, overcome by the importunity of his collegue and the reſt of his officers, unwillingly conſented to give battle. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Caſſius*, before the general engagement, aſked *Brutus*'s opinion concerning what they ought to do, if they ſhould happen to be unſucceſsful, and *Brutus* anſwered: *That he had formerly, in his writings, condemned the death of Cato, and maintained that ſuch a manner of avoiding diſgrace was an inſult upon the gods, and unworthy of a man of courage; but that he had now changed his opinion, and was reſolved to lay down that life, which he had already ſacrificed to his country on the ides of March, and to change it for a happier one, if fortune proved his enemy. We may then venture to engage the enemy*, replied *Caſſius*, embracing him; *for either we will be Conquerors ourſelves, or have no cauſe to fear thoſe who are ſo.* V. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

The forces of the Triumvirs were commanded by *Antony* alone; *Octavius* not being recovered of the illneſs with which he had been ſeized before he left *Italy*: And, both armies being drawn up, *Brutus*'s men attacked thoſe of *Octavius* with little order, but with ſo much fury, that, at the firſt onſet, they overthrew all that oppoſed them, and, preſſing forward with great ſlaughter, they entered the very camp of *Octavius*, who had juſt before retired to that of his collegue. *Antony* was, on his ſide, very hotly engaged with *Caſſius*, but, in a ſhort time, found means to open a paſſage through the lines, and, charging *Caſſius*'s troops upon the flank, totally routed them; then, purſuing the victory, he ſoon became maſter of his camp. *Caſſius*, having laboured in vain to rally his ſoldiers, retired to a hill not far off, expecting the event of the battle on his partner's ſide. Whence, deſcrying a body of cavalry making towards him, he ſent *Titinius* to diſcover whether they were friends or enemies. *Titinius* was received with great joy into the ranks, and, inſtead of riding back directly, marched on with the body of horſe towards his General, who, not doubting but that *Brutus* had been routed, and that his friend *Titinius* was taken priſoner, cried out, *Alas! to preſerve the remainder of a miſerable life, I have ruined my beſt friend!* And inſtantly, retiring into his tent, killed himſelf. *Titinius* arrived ſoon after with the cavalry, all rejoicing: But their joy was ſuddenly daſhed; and *Titinius*, accuſing himſelf of being the cauſe of ſo terrible a misfortune by his imprudence, in great deſpair, flew himſelf upon the body of his friend. Vell. Pat. ii. 70. Plut. in Brut.

Brutus was very ſenſible of his loſs by the death of his companion, whom he called the laſt of the *Romans*, and cauſed his body to be privately removed to the iſland of *Thaſos*, leſt the ſight of it ſhould make

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

Plut. in Brut.

a bad impreſſion on the minds of the ſoldiers; and though, according to the report of *Meſſala*, his party had loſt but 8000 men, while the enemy had loſt 16,000, yet he kept for twenty days within his intrenchments, refuſing to accept the battle which *Antony* offered him. We are told he hoped to ſtarve his enemies, who were now in extreme want of proviſions, and whoſe fleet had been lately totally defeated; a circumſtance *Brutus* was ignorant of ſeveral days after it was known in *Antony*'s camp; which intimates that few or none deſerted from the *Triumvirs* to him. And *Plutarch*, who is ſo laviſh in his praiſes, relates, that he was obliged to put to death all the ſlaves he had made priſoners in the late battle, and diſmiſs the reſt, leſt they ſhould debauch his army: And that he found it neceſſary alſo to promiſe his ſoldiers a donative of 2000 drachma's a man, together with the plunder of *Theſſalonica* and *Lacedæmon*, two of the wealthieſt cities in thoſe parts, in order to raiſe their courage. At laſt, ſeveral of his officers having left his camp to join his enemies, the fear of a general deſertion determined him to put all to the deciſion of a ſecond battle. We are told, that the eagerneſs of the ſoldiers was ſuch on *both* ſides, that they betook themſelves immediately to their ſwords, fighting with great fury, till, after much bloodſhed, *Brutus*'s party was borne down by main force, and intirely defeated. *Brutus* himſelf fled to a neighbouring hill [1], and there remained all night. When, in the morning, he ſaw all was loſt, he cried out in the words of an ancient poet, *O unhappy Virtue, I follow thee as a ſolid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or, at beſt, a ſlave of fortune.* Yet ſhortly after he told ſome of his friends, *that he looked upon himſelf as much happier than any of his Conquerors, ſince he ſhould enjoy that reputation which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injuſtice could never deſerve.* Then, going aſide with a particular friend, called *Strato*, he with great earneſtneſs begged of him to do him the laſt office of a friend; and, ſeeing him very unwilling to perform ſo hard a duty, he called for a ſlave: *Ah then*, cried *Strato*, *it ſhall never be ſaid, that the great Brutus ſtood in need of a ſlave for want of a friend:* So, turning away his head, he preſented the point of his ſword to *Brutus*, who threw himſelf upon it and immediately expired.

[1] *Plutarch* tells us, that he ran a great riſk of being taken; that, being purſued cloſely by a troop of *Thracians*, *Lucilius*, a friend of his, delivered himſelf up to them, telling them, that he was *Brutus:* Upon which he was immediately conducted to *Antony*. When, in his preſence, he owned, that, to ſave his General, he had deceived the ſoldiers; and was ready to atone, by his ſufferings, for the offence. The *Thracians* were filled with indignation. *Be not troubled*, ſaid *Antony, at the miſtake; you have taken a much better prize. You wanted to take an enemy, and you have brought me a friend. I take all the gods to witneſs, that I ſhould have been very much perplexed how to behave to Brutus. But men, ſuch as Lucilius, I love much better to have for my friends than my enemies. Plutarch*, according to his cuſtom, in order to lengthen out this laſt ſcene of *Brutus*'s life, and make it more intereſting, has collected a great many particularities too minute to find a place in this general hiſtory.

Thus

Thus fell theſe two famous champions for liberty, called the *laſt of the Romans:* Deſerted at once by fortune with the ſame precipitation, with which ſhe had given them the command of half the Empire. *Caſſius*, who profeſſed the *Epicurean* philoſophy, left behind him no reputation for virtue; and it was every one's opinion that he hated the tyrant more than tyranny, and had intereſted and private views in the aſſaſſination of *Cæſar*. *Brutus* was, by his birth, his alliances, his connections, his riches, the head of the young nobility: And he was reverenced in his life and after his death, for the gravity of his manners, his extenſive learning, his eloquence, his capacity; but, if we attend to facts, we ſhall find his glory greatly ſullied by many inſtances of avarice, of pride, and of cruelty, which are even reported by his panegyriſts, *Cicero* and *Plutarch*. A very ingenious and celebrated writer thinks that theſe two Generals killed themſelves with a haſte not to be vindicated; and that it is impoſſible to read this period of their lives without *pitying the Republic which was ſo abandoned.* When one conſiders, however, how very indifferent the provinces were in all theſe quarrels; how heartily they deteſted the Generals whom they had been forced to ſupply with money; and that the ſoldiers were all engaged to them againſt their will, or allured by immenſe liberalities, and greater promiſes; it is plain that their defeat was irreparable, and that they had no other place to fly to but *Sicily*, which was ſtill held by young *Pompey*, whither the Triumvirs would have followed them with all their forces.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

Monteſquieu, Grandeur des Romains.

All ſuch as had any ſhare in *Cæſar*'s death ſlew themſelves with their own hands, but the reſt rallying, to the number of 14,000, under the conduct of *Meſſala* and *Bibulus*, ſent deputies to the *Triumvirs* for an honourable compoſition, which the two Generals readily granted. *M. Cicero*, with ſome other perſons of diſtinction, eſcaped to the iſland of *Thaſos*, where they went on board a ſquadron commanded by *Caſſius* of *Parma*, which ſailed to the *Ionian* ſea, and joined the fleets of *Statius Murcus* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*. The firſt of theſe Commanders declared his reſolution to conduct his fleet to *Sextus Pompey*, which he ſoon executed: But *Domitius* choſe to act an independent part.

The Triumvirs employed themſelves for ſome days after their victory in puniſhing their enemies. *Antony* ſacrificed *Hortenſius* to the manes of his brother *Caius*, and put to death alſo ſome others: *Cato*'s ſon, *Varro*, and *Lucullus* are mentioned by *Paterculus*. *Livius Druſus*, the father of that *Livia*, who was afterwards married to *Octavius*, killed himſelf in his tent; and *Quintilius Varus*, adorned with all the marks of thoſe honours he had borne, cauſed himſelf to be ſlain by one of his freedmen. *Suetonius* tells us that *Octavius*, who had but a ſmall ſhare in the victory, behaved with great cruelty and inſolence to the vanquiſhed, that he ſent the head of *Brutus* to be thrown at the pedeſtal of *Cæſar*'s ſtatue in *Rome*, and treated the moſt illuſtrious *Romans* with barbarity and abuſive language. To one, who humbly begged the favour

Vell. Pat. 71.

Suet. in Aug. 13.

of

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 710 Conſ.

of a burial, he anſwered, *that what he requeſted would ſoon be at the diſpoſal of the birds of prey.* A father and a ſon, who ſued for their lives, were ordered by him to caſt lots which of them ſhould live, or to determine it betwixt them by the ſword; but the father, refuſing to accept of ſuch a favour, delivered himſelf up to the executioner, and the ſon ſtabbed himſelf. His cruelty, it is ſaid, was ſo exceſſive, that, when the priſoners were produced before him, loaded with chains, all of them, and particularly *M. Favonius*, reproached him with it, while they ſaluted *Antony* with reſpect by the title of *Imperator* [m].

The two Generals, having ſatiated their revenge, made a new diviſion of the provinces of the Empire, by which the feeble *Lepidus* was ſpoiled of all, excepting the province of *Africa*, properly ſo called. *Octavius* got *Spain* and *Numidia*: *Antony* all *Tranſalpine Gaul*, with that part of *Africa* which *Coruficius* poſſeſſed. *Ciſalpine Gaul* was incorporated into *Italy*, which they all pretended to defend by their arms, and to which, as their common country, they had a right to return with their legions. At the ſame time *Antony* undertook to go into the Eaſtern provinces to raiſe money for the ſoldiers rewards: And *Octavius* took upon him to lead the old troops into *Italy*, and put them in poſſeſſion of the lands that were promiſed them. *Antony*'s commiſſion aſſured him immenſe wealth, and was the more brilliant of the two; but that of *Octavius* gave him all power in *Italy*, and ſecured to him the affection of the veterans, who were to receive from him the long-wiſhed for recompence of their ſervices.

[m] Nothing ſhews more plainly how little we can depend upon the truth of theſe particularities related by the old hiſtorians, than the account they have given us of the death of *Portia*. They ſay that this Lady, upon the news of her huſband's unhappy fate, reſolved not to ſurvive him; and that, by the care of her relations and friends, all inſtruments of death being removed out of her way, ſhe deſtroyed herſelf by ſwallowing burning coals. Now it is almoſt certain ſhe died of a lingering diſeaſe before the battle of *Philippi*. For *Plutarch* himſelf mentions a letter of *Brutus* extant in his days, of the authenticity of which, indeed, he entertained ſome doubt, in which he lamented her death, and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her laſt ſickneſs. Certain, however, it is, as Dr. *Middleton* obſerves, that, in a letter to *Atticus*, he ſpeaks of *Portia*'s indiſpoſition, and that there is a letter of condolence to him from *Cicero*, which can hardly be applied to any other occaſion but that of her death. See *Ep.* ix. *ad Brut.*

CHAP. II.

ANTONY's *progreſs through* Greece *and* Aſia. CLEOPATRA's *magnificence. She obtains of* ANTONY *all her requeſts, and is followed by him into* Egypt. OCTAVIUS's *behaviour in* Italy: *He is croſſed in his operations by* Fulvia *and* L. Antonius, *who raiſe a civil commotion: He forces* L. Antonius *to ſurrender himſelf at diſcretion in* Peruſium, *and his enemies to leave* Italy.

ANTONY

ANTONY firſt viſited *Greece*, where he frequented the conferences of the philoſophers; was initiated into the myſteries at *Athens*; made great preſents to that and other cities; courted the *Græcians* in every manner, and was repaid with the moſt refined flattery. Then, leaving *Cenſorinus* to command in that country, he paſſed over into *Aſia*, with all his troops, conſiſting of eight legions. There all the Princes of the Eaſt, who acknowledged the *Roman* power, came to make their court to him, and the faireſt Princeſſes ſtrove to gain his favour, either by the charms of their beauty, or the magnificence of their preſents. This croud of Sovereigns, which daily waited in his antichamber with their praiſes and ſubmiſſions, did moſt agreeably ſoothe his voluptuous and ambitious temper. He pardoned all thoſe of *Brutus*'s party, who here ſurrendered to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the Conſpirators; and *Quintus*, who was charged with having betrayed *Dolabella* to *Caſſius* in *Laodicea*. But then he took away the eſtates of ſeveral wealthy citizens to inrich his flatterers and buffoons; and, aſſembling the deputies of all the ſubjects and allies of the *Romans* in thoſe parts, in a formal ſpeech he inſiſted upon his neceſſities and their duties, and ſqueezed out of the inhabitants almoſt all the money that had been left them by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*. After having raiſed two hundred thouſand talents, an immenſe ſum, he demanded ſtill new contributions; and all this money was preſently ſpent in the moſt extravagant luxury, and vaineſt prodigalities, ſo that the country was, at the ſame time, a theatre of mirth and miſery. *Strabo* atteſts, that a player was charged with gathering the tribute of four cities; and *Plutarch* relates, that a cook, who pleaſed his taſte, was recompenſed with the houſe and goods of a rich citizen of *Magneſia*. In his progreſs through the country, he frequently gave extraordinary demonſtrations of generoſity; particularly to the towns which had ſuffered for their attachment to *Dolabella*, and the *Cæſarean* cauſe. He made himſelf ſovereign Judge of the differences between the Kings of thoſe countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Syſenes*, for whom the beauty of his mother, *Glaphyra*, was ſo powerful an advocate, as to carry the crown from his competitor.

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

Plut. in Anton. Appian, p. 673.

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But, among all thoſe Sovereigns of the Eaſt, who depended upon *Antony*, *Cleopatra* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed. She had ſent troops to the aſſiſtance of *Dolabella*, as has been related above, under the conduct of *Allienus*, who had been obliged to give them up to *Caſſius*: And ſhe had alſo ſent a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Triumvirs which a ſtorm diſabled, but ſhe might have done more for the cauſe; and *Serapion*, her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had fought for *Caſſius*: *Antony*, therefore, when he was at *Tarſus*, cited her to his tribunal. She made no difficulty to obey his ſummons; and, conſcious of her power over men of *Antony*'s character, ſhe ſet out with an aſſurance of making a conqueſt of him. Never did any Princeſs appear in a manner ſo ſingular and magnificent. Arrived at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, ſhe embarked in a veſſel,

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 41o Conſ.

veſſel, whoſe ſtern was of gold, the ſails of purple ſilk, and whoſe oars, covered with plates of ſilver, gently kept time to a concert of muſic. The Queen was laid under a canopy of rich cloth of gold, adorned like *Venus* riſing out of the ſea, with lovely children about her, like *Cupids*, fanning her; and her women were dreſſed like Nereids, leaning negligently on the ſides and ſhrouds of the veſſel. The ſweets of the perfumes that were burning reached the banks of the river, which were covered with an infinite number of people. *Antony*, who was mounted on a throne, to make a ſhew of majeſty, found himſelf deſerted by all his attendants: All ran to ſee ſuch an extraordinary ſight. He ſent to deſire her to land and ſup with him: but ſhe deſired his company firſt; a requeſt which he thought himſelf bound in civility to comply with. He was extremely ſurpriſed at the neatneſs and magnificence of the entertainment, with the ingenious diſpoſition of the lights and many other peculiar contrivances [n]. The next day, he, in his turn, would treat her, and endeavoured to ſurpaſs her in ſumptuouſneſs, but he ſoon perceived he was far ſhort of it; whereupon he turned all into mirth and raillery, which ſhe joined with, and carried on with all the delicacy and dexterity imaginable; till, at laſt, taking a more ſerious turn in her diſcourſes, ſhe told him, *that ſhe came not thither to clear herſelf, but to be recompenſed for the great ſervices ſhe had done to him and Octavius, in aſſiſting Dolabella; in commanding a fleet in perſon againſt Caſſius and his Commanders*, with many other things, which ſhe related with that artifice, that wit and inimitable grace, that *Antony* could no longer defend his heart; but, from that moment, entertained a paſſion for her which was the cauſe of all the future misfortunes of his life. The firſt uſe ſhe made of her power was to obtain an order for taking her ſiſter *Arſinoë* out of the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, and putting her to death: Another for ſeizing *Serapion* in the temple of *Hercules* at *Tyre*, by whoſe execution ſhe ſatisfied her vengeance, and juſtified herſelf towards *Antony* for the ſuccours ſent to *Caſſius*: A third to ſeize, in the iſland of *Aradus*, an impoſtor, who pretended to be that *Ptolemy*, *Cleopatra*'s brother, who had been vanquiſhed by *Cæſar*, and, according to the common report, had been drowned in the *Nile*. After having, in this manner, ſecured her power, ſhe ſet out for *Egypt*.

[n] An ancient writer, quoted by *Athenæus*, iv. 11, has informed us, that ſhe repeated ſeveral times theſe entertainments, and always in a new taſte and with new ornaments; giving to *Antony* each time all the equipage and furniture of the feaſt, the veſſels of gold adorned with precious ſtones, and the tapeſtry and cloths of gold with which the walls and floor were covered. His friends alſo, it is ſaid, who were entertained at twelve different tables, divided the couches on which they had ſupped, and the veſſels of gold in which they had been ſerved: And, when they retired, ſhe made preſents, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed, of litters with men to carry them; or of horſes richly harneſſed; and to all, young *Ethiopian* ſlaves to carry torches before them. The ſame author relates, that, at the third entertainment, the floor of the hall was ſtrewed with roſes a cubit deep.

Antony entertained no longer any thoughts of marching againſt the *Parthians*. After a rapid progreſs through *Syria*, in which he haſtily decided the affairs referred to him; and a fruitleſs attempt to ſurpriſe and plunder the town of *Palmyra*; he ſent his forces into winter-quarters under the command of *Decidius Saxa*, and flew after *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*: Where he ſpent the whole following year in all the eaſe and ſoftneſs to which his vicious temper prompted him, and in all the delights and pleaſures which that luxurious nation could furniſh. Y.R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

While *Antony* remained thus idle in *Egypt*, *Octavius* was buſy about ſettling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the lands for ſatisfying the veterans. This he found very difficult, and not a little dangerous, on account of the general odium it brought upon him; for it was abſolutely neceſſary either to give up the ſeveral towns allotted for their recompence, or to ſatisfy his ſoldiers with a proportionable quantity of money, which the exhauſted treaſury could not furniſh. Almoſt all the inhabitants of theſe towns came in great multitudes to *Rome*; vaſt numbers of women with children in their arms, whoſe tender years and innocence drew every one's compaſſion, daily filled the temples and public places with their lamentations: And the people of *Rome* talked very freely and boldly upon this account. Theſe complaints and murmurings *Octavius* bore with all the diſcretion imaginable; he firſt borrowed what money he could; but, finding that not ſufficient, he at laſt broke through all difficulties, and began to give his ſoldiers places and lands for their inheritance, as he firſt deſigned. This he was forced to by the inſolence of the ſoldiery, who were very ſenſible of the obligations and regard due to them from the *Triumvirs*. *Appian* has recorded two inſtances of their haughty behaviour, which ſhew how little authority *Octavius* poſſeſſed over them. One of the common ſoldiers, having had the aſſurance to ſeat himſelf, in the theatre, with the Knights, *Octavius* ordered him to be taken away, becauſe he perceived that the people were offended at it: This the ſoldiers reſented, and, after the play, gathered about their General, and loudly called for their comrade, ſuſpecting that he had been puniſhed with death or impriſonment. The ſoldier ſoon appeared, and then they would have it that he had been juſt releaſed from priſon; which he denying, he was treated by them with contempt and indignation as a lyar and a traitor to his companions. At another time, when *Octavius* had appointed them a meeting in the field of *Mars*, for a diviſion of lands, they all aſſembled before it was light, and began to murmur at their General's tardineſs in making his appearance: And a Centurion, who reproved them for it, was affronted, purſued, and killed by them, and his body placed in *Octavius*'s way. *Octavius*, informed of their behaviour, went nevertheleſs to the field, and, ſeeing the body of the Centurion, turned unconcernedly from it: And, as if it had been the crime of ſome particular man, and an offence againſt themſelves, he exhorted them, for the future, to ſpare one another, and

Y. R. 711. Bef. Chr. 41. 410 Conſ.

made his intended diviſion. Theſe two examples, ſays *Appian*, among many others, ſhew how difficult it is to govern the ſpirit of the ſoldiers, when the Generals are not commiſſioned to the command of their armies by lawful authority, and troops are levied, not for the ſervice of their country, but for the intereſt of private men, who are obliged to ſoothe them and depend more on the power of their largeſſes than on the fidelity of their adherents or the authority of the laws.

L. ANTONIUS
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II. } Conſuls.

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

L. Antonius [o], brother to the Triumvir, was now Conſul with *P. Servilius Iſauricus* II. *Cicero* every-where repreſents *Lucius* as a vain, weak man; and *Dio* tells us, that he was entirely governed by *Fulvia*, *Antony*'s wife, who poſſeſſed all authority in *Rome*. This imperious Lady was greatly grieved to ſee her huſband deliver himſelf up firſt to *Glaphyra*, wife to *Archelaus*, Grand Pontiff of *Comana*; and afterwards to *Cleopatra*; and reſolved, by any means, to bring him home, which ſhe believed nothing but a war could effect [p]. Many plauſible pretexts were made uſe of by her to produce a breach between *Antony* and *Octavius*, and theſe ſhe eaſily found in the preſent unſettled and troubleſome times. *Octavius*, upon the firſt marks of her ill-will, ſent her daughter back to her, aſſuring her, at the ſame time, that ſhe was a virgin. In concert with *L. Antonius*, ſhe laboured to unite the citizens, who had been turned out of their poſſeſſions, and the ſoldiers, againſt *Octavius*: They received, therefore, on one hand, the complaints of the oppreſſed and promiſed them *Antony*'s protection: And, on the other, they publicly declared, that the confiſcated goods of the proſcribed, and the money raiſed by *Antony* in the Eaſtern provinces, were ſufficient to pay off the rewards due to the ſoldiers. They inveighed alſo againſt the triumviral power, and gave it out that *Antony* was ready to reſtore the ancient government; and their conduct ſeems to have been extremely well calculated to gain the affections of the people. They began by demanding of *Octavius* to divide the charge of eſtabliſhing the veterans in the colo-

Vell. Pat. ii. 74.

[o] He triumphed the *firſt of January* for ſome trifling exploits in the *Alps*. *Velleius Paterculus* ſays of him: *Vitiorum fratris ſui conſors, ſed virtutum, quæ interdum in illo erant, expers.* L. ii. c. 74.

Dio xl. 22.

[p] In an epigram of *Octavius* againſt *Fulvia*, preſerved by *Martial*, ſhe is accuſed of having ſollicited the young *Triumvir*, in order to avenge herſelf of the infidelity of *Antony*; a very improbable charge which the Abbé *de St. Real* inſiſts much upon, as well as ſeveral other authors. "Octave, ſays this writer, "qui n'aimoit que par po-"litique, & dont on a dit qu'il n'eut ja-"mais d'autres amours, que celles que ſon "interêt ou ſon ambition lui inſpirerent," [Certainly neither his intereſt nor ambition were concerned in his ſtrong and laſting attachment for *Livia*] "ne voulut point e-"touffer dans ſa naiſſance une guerre formi-"dable, qu'il auroit pu terminer en paroiſ-"ſant moins cruel a une *jeune & belle* per-"ſonne. Conſid. ſur Antoine." I don't know whether *Fulvia* was a *belle perſonne*, but certainly the widow of *Clodius*, who died above twelve years before, and whoſe daughter was actually married to *Octavius*, could not be a very *jeune perſonne*.

nies,

nies, ſo that he might regulate whatever concerned his own ſoldiers, and they what concerned thoſe of *Antony*. *Octavius* alledged, in oppoſition to this, the authority of the convention made with his collegue; whereby it was ſtipulated that the direction of this whole affair ſhould be left entirely to him. The young Triumvir found himſelf in very difficult circumſtances. He had incurred the odium of all *Italy*; he had the coaſts to defend againſt the fleets of *Pompey* and *Domitius*; and it was incumbent on him to procure corn for the people and ſoldiers, which was now very ſcarce, as almoſt all the paſſages by ſea were ſtopped up by his enemies, and the produce of the land was conſumed by the return of ſo many legions into *Italy*. Diſorders were committed every day in the city, ſo that all trading was ruined and moſt of the ſhops ſhut up: *Ventidius*, *Pollio*, *Calenus*, *Plancus*, and others, commanded ſeveral ſmall armies in different parts of the country; *Lucius Antony* himſelf had raiſed a conſiderable force: And *M. Antony* was in great favour with the ſoldiers, who much eſteemed him for his bravery, and loved him for his generoſity. *Octavius* reſolved, therefore, if poſſible, to avoid a rupture, and ſeems to have conſented to the demands of *Fulvia* and *L. Antonius*. The latter, taking *Antony*'s children with him, went a progreſs through the ſouthern part of *Italy*: But, upon a quick motion of *Octavius*'s cavalry to the coaſt of the *Bruttii*, in order to hinder *Pompey* from landing there, he fled precipitately to *Antony*'s colonies, and put himſelf and his nephews under their protection; accuſing *Octavius* of infidelity towards his collegue. *Octavius*, on the contrary, ſent to acquaint them, that there was no ſhadow of change in the friendſhip betwixt him and *Antony*, but that *Lucius* ſought a pretence to make them arm againſt each other, becauſe he was an enemy to the triumvirate, in the maintenance of whoſe power the ſoldiery were concerned, if they would not be driven from their colonies; and that, as for his horſe, they were ſtill in the country of the *Bruttii*, executing his orders. In conſequence of this miſunderſtanding, the *Antonian* officers held a congreſs at *Theanum*; where they preſcribed the following terms of peace to *Octavius* and to *L. Antony*: "That the Triumvirs ſhould not diſturb the Conſuls in the "government of the Commonwealth; that they ſhould give lands only "to thoſe who had ſerved at *Philippi*; that the money ariſing from the "eſtates already forfeited, and the prices of thoſe yet to be expoſed to "ſale, ſhould be equally divided between the veterans in *Antony*'s colo-"nies, and the other triumviral troops in *Italy*; that neither party ſhould "make any new levies of men; but that two of the *Antonian* legions "ſhould be employed by *Octavius*, in the expedition againſt *Pompey*; "that *Salvidienus* might paſs the *Alps* and go into *Spain*, to take the "command of the legions in that province, without being impeded by "*Aſinius Pollio*; and that *Lucius*, ſatisfied with theſe conditions, ſhould "diſmiſs his guards, and follow the functions of his office in a peaceful "manner." Theſe articles were agreed upon; but none of them were

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 411 Conſ.

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 41 Conſ.

carried into execution, except that *Salvidienus* cleared the paſſage of the *Alps*, and joined the army in *Spain*. *Lucius*, pretending that his life was in danger, retired to the fortreſs of *Præneſte*; *Fulvia* fled to *Lepidus*, putting herſelf and her children under his protection; and both ſent meſſengers to *Antony* with letters to give him the alarm, and bring him into *Italy*.

In this extremity of affairs, *Octavius*, dreading that *Pompey* might take advantage of the diſpute between him and *Fulvia*, ſent a deputation of his officers to *Præneſte*, to endeavour, if poſſible, to bring about a reconciliation. Theſe invited *Lucius* to their meeting: But he was hindered from complying with their requeſt by *Manius Rufus*, *Antony*'s agent, who was influenced by *Fulvia*. After a ſhort conſultation, *Manius* anſwered them in the following terms: "That, while *Antony* was "buſy in raiſing money among ſtrangers, *Octavius* by his cringing and "flexibility ſecured to himſelf all the *militia*, and all the ſtrong places "in *Italy*: That he had taken away from *Antony Nether Gaul*, by en- "franchiſing it and incorporating it into *Italy*: That, inſtead of eighteen "towns deſigned for the reward of the veterans, he had granted them "almoſt the whole country: That, inſtead of twenty-eight legions that "were to be provided for, he was planting four-and-thirty legions in "*Italy*: that he had taken money out of the temples, which had never "been done before, whatever famine had been in the city; and that, on "pretence of a war with *Pompey*, but indeed to gain over to himſelf the "ſoldiery, and to employ them againſt *Antony*: that he had ſold the goods "of the proſcribed at ſuch low rates, that it was rather giving than ſelling "them: And that, if he really deſired peace, he ought firſt to give an "account of what he had done, and ſhould do nothing, for the future, "but what ſhould be reſolved upon by common deliberation." This was propoſing to take every thing out of the hands of *Octavius*; who, ſeeing *Antony*'s party bent upon war, made his preparations with the greateſt diligence. Two legions that were quartered in the city of *Ancona*, informed of this beginning of a civil commotion, ſent deputies to *Rome*, to entreat *Octavius* to conſent to an accommodation. *Octavius* anſwered, that he had no deſign againſt *Antony*, but that *Lucius* would make war upon him. This gave occaſion to another negotiation with *Lucius*, who was engaged by theſe deputies, in conjunction with ſeveral of *Antony*'s officers, to conſent to meet *Octavius* at *Gabii*, a town which lay at an equal diſtance from *Rome* and *Præneſte*: But, a party of *Octavius*'s cavalry having inſulted a detachment which *L. Antonius* had ſent to reconnoitre the road, *Lucius* retreated to his fortreſs, and neither entreaties nor menaces could prevail upon him to come to the place of meeting. Manifeſtoes were publiſhed on both ſides, and an open war declared. *Manius* publiſhed letters from *Antony*, by which he approved of his brother's proceedings, and required of his officers and ſoldiers to ſupport him.

Octavius,

Octavius, who, beſides his own proper army, had moſt of the diſ- Y. R. 712.
miſſed veterans on his ſide, and whoſe troops acted with the greateſt ce- Bef. Chr.
lerity and concert, was an over-match for *Lucius*. The Conſul had for him 40.
the good wiſhes of the city and country, becauſe he had ſhewed a regard 411 Conſ.
for the complaints of thoſe who had been turned out of their eſtates, and had declared againſt the continuation of the triumviral authority, and many towns throughout *Italy* declared for him. *Rome* itſelf, though guarded by two legions under the command of *Lepidus*, joyfully received him, as ſoon as *Octavius* left it to go into *Umbria*: But he had but ſix legions of new-raiſed troops under his own command, and a precarious authority over the Lieutenants, who commanded *Antony*'s legions, quartered in the diſtant parts of *Italy*. Hearing that *Salvidienus* was upon his march with a numerous army from *Gaul*, in order to join *Octavius*, and was followed in the rear by *Aſinius Pollio* and *Ventidius*, two of his brother's Lieutenants, he marched to meet him, with a view of hemming him in between his army and thoſe of his friends: But he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides: For *Agrippa* marched after him into *Inſubria*, and hindered his retreat: And *Salvidienus* guarded the paſſages with ſuch care, that he prevented his joining *Pollio* and *Ventidius*. Not daring, in theſe circumſtances, to venture a battle, he retired to *Peru-* Perugia.
ſia, a ſtrong town in *Hetruria*, hoping that the Commanders in his intereſt would find means to come up with him. But *Ventidius* and *Pollio* did not exert themſelves, and *Octavius*, bringing up all the remainder of his troops, effectually blockaded him. *Fulvia* was at *Præneſte* with a number of Senators and Knights; where, according to *Dio*, ſhe governed with an abſolute authority, preſiding in council and haranguing the ſoldiers with a ſword by her ſide: She there raiſed a new army, which ſhe put under the command of *Plancus*, and was very preſſing in her ſollicitations to procure the junction of the ſeveral Commanders: But, whether they diſapproved of this unſeaſonable war, or ſaw it was impoſſible to diſengage *Lucius Antonius*, *Ventidius* retired to *Ravenna*, *Pollio* to *Ariminum*, *Plancus* to *Spoletum*, and the other Commanders, after ſome motions, remained quiet, and waited the event. *Lucius* defended the town with great bravery, and made ſeveral bold and deſperate ſallies, but with no proportionable ſucceſs; till, finding his ſoldiers reduced to the utmoſt miſeries of famine, he at laſt came out in perſon, and, giving himſelf up into *Octavius*'s hands, with great earneſtneſs interceded for his poor ſoldiers, and begged that his puniſhment might atone for their crimes. *Appian* who gives him a fair character, as a lover of the public welfare and an enemy to the power of the triumvirate, makes him ſpeak to his army and to *Octavius* in a very ſpirited ſtrain. The young Triumvir received him very honourably and with much generoſity; and all *Lucius*'s ſoldiers were pardoned, at the deſire of *Octavius*'s own men: The town was deſtined to be plundered, but one of the inhabitants ſet fire to his houſe before he ſtabbed himſelf, and the flames, being

Y. R. 712. Bef. Chr. 40. 41 Conſ.

ing ſpread by the wind, conſumed the whole city. *Ventidius*, and the other Lieutenants of *Antony*, made towards the ſea-coaſt. *Calenus*, who commanded ſeveral legions in the *Alps*, dying at this time, his ſon ſurrendered them to *Octavius*: *Fulvia* fled to *Greece* with *Plancus*: *Julia*, *Antony*'s mother, with ſeveral of her ſon's principal friends, and, among the reſt, with *Tiberius Nero*, huſband to *Livia*, and father of the Emperor *Tiberius*, ſailed for *Sicily*, and received from *Pompey* ſhips to conduct them where they thought proper. Thus ended this dangerous war; and *Octavius* returned to *Rome*, where he entered in his triumphal robes, and crowned with laurel [q]. *L. Antonius* was ſent by *Octavius* into *Spain* with the honourable title of Proconſul, but without any real power; and he probably died there ſoon after, for there is no more mention of him in hiſtory.

CHAP. III.

ANTONY *carries over his troops into* Italy, *and is joined in his paſſage by* DOMITIUS, *with his fleet.* SEXTUS POMPEY, *courted by* OCTAVIUS, *offers his aſſiſtance to* ANTONY. *The differences of the two* TRIUMVIRS *are compoſed by their common friends, and* Antony *marries* Octavia. *An agreement is made with* Pompey. *A new diviſion is made of the Empire.* VENTIDIUS's *exploits againſt the* Parthians.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS II. }
C. ASINIUS POLLIO. } Conſuls.

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 42 Conſ.

ANTONY was ſtill immerſed in pleaſure at *Alexandria*, when he received the account of his brother's defeat, and the ruin of his party in *Italy*; and that *Octavius* had made himſelf maſter of both *Gauls*, and had got all the legions into his hands that were quartered in thoſe parts. About the ſame time he received advice that the *Par-*

[q] *Suetonius, in Aug.* 15, writes that, "after the taking of *Perufia*, *Octavius* put "many of the priſoners to death, anſwering all that offered to beg pardon, or excuſe themſelves, briefly—*death was the "word.*" Some authors add, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, "that three hundred of the equeſtrian and ſenatorian order, culled out of "the reſt, were ſlaughtered like victims, at "an altar raiſed to *Julius Cæſar* on the "ides of *March*: And others have affirmed, that he entered upon this war, on "purpoſe to engage his ſecret enemies, and "ſuch whoſe fear more than affection for "him kept them quiet, to declare themſelves now that they had an opportunity "of doing it with *Lucius Antony* at their "head; and that, by the defeat of them, "and the confiſcation of their eſtates, he "might be enabled to make good his promiſes to the veteran ſoldiers."

Appian writes, that he only put to death the Senators of *Perufia*, with a few of his moſt inveterate enemies; and that he was conſtrained to this ſtep by his ſoldiers. *Paterculus* alſo has ſaid the ſame thing: *In Perufinos magis ira militum, quam voluntate ſævitum ducis.* Lib. ii. p. 74.

thians,

thians, commanded by *Pacorus*, their King's ſon, and *Labienus*[*], had made themſelves maſters of *Syria* and *Judea*, had ſacked *Jeruſalem*, and carried away *Hircanus*, the High-prieſt, and *Herod*'s brother, priſoners. These diſagreeable and diſgraceful tidings rouſed him from his lethargy: He immediately gathered together two hundred ſhips, and a conſiderable army which he had ready in thoſe parts. His deſign was to march immediately againſt the *Parthians*; but the preſſing letters he received from his wife *Fulvia*, and his friends, obliged him to turn towards *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence paſſing by the iſles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, he arrived at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*. He much blamed her and his brother *Lucius* for occaſioning the late diſorders, and here he underſtood that *Octavius* had lately married *Scribonia*, the ſiſter of *Libo*, *Pompey*'s father-in-law, a Lady much more advanced in years than himſelf; and in which alliance he could have no other view than to gain over *Pompey* to his party for the ſake of his ſhipping, of which he was almoſt deſtitute. *Antony* advanced therefore towards *Italy*, leaving *Fulvia* ſick at *Sicyon*; which neglect and ſcorn finiſhed what his infidelity had begun, and ſhe died there ſoon after of grief. In theſe circumſtances, it was a ſatisfaction to *Antony* to ſee himſelf courted by *Pompey*: This Commander, inſtead of cloſing with *Octavius*, choſe to treat with *Antony*, and ſent *Libo* to him under the pretence of conducting to him *Julia*, his mother. *Antony* acted with great diſcretion, and anſwered, that, if he was obliged to make war againſt *Octavius*, he would willingly accept of *Pompey*'s propoſal; and, if, on the contrary, their differences ſhould be amicably determined, he would take care to reconcile him with his collegue. *Domitius Aheno-barbus* joined him in his paſſage over the *Ionian* ſea; and, after having kept an independent fleet ſince the battle of *Philippi*, ſurrendered to him with all his ſhips and forces. With this reinforcement he appeared before *Brunduſium*, where he was refuſed admittance, under the pretence that he brought with him *Domitius*, who was an enemy to *Cæſar*. *Antony*, upon this, blocked up the place, and ſent to *Pompey* in *Sicily* to engage him to invade *Sardinia* and *Italy*. *Octavius* marched directly to *Brunduſium*, where the old ſoldiers being unwilling to fight againſt *Antony*, the army endeavoured by all methods to reconcile the two competitors; and this was at length brought about by the management and interpoſition of *Cocceius Nerva*, *Pollio*, and *Mecænas*. In conſequence of this agreement all offences and affronts were to be mutually forgiven, and a marriage was propoſed between *Antony* and *Octavius*'s half-ſiſter *Octavia*, the widow of *Marcellus*, a Lady of great beauty and of extraordinary virtues and accompliſhments. Though *Cleopatra* had ſo large a ſhare in *Antony*'s heart, yet he could not without baſeneſs refuſe a Lady of *Octavia*'s rank and admirable qualities; and, to avoid all preſent incon-

A.R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 412 Conſt.

Flor. lib. iv. c. 9. Plut. in Anton.

[*] This *Labienus* was the ſon of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæſar*'s Lieutenant in *Gaul*

veni-

Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 412 Conf.

veniencies, he married her. *Manius*, *Antony*'s agent in *Italy*, and *Salvidienus*, *Octavius*'s chief Lieutenant, were the victims of this reconciliation. The firſt was put to death by *Antony*'s order, as the chief author of the *Peruſian* war. The ſecond was accuſed before the Senate by *Octavius* of treaſonable practices, and ſentenced to die; which ſentence he executed upon himſelf. The hiſtorians tell us, that *Salvidienus* offered his ſervices to *Antony*, during the ſiege of *Brunduſium*; and that *Antony*, upon his reconciliation, informed *Octavius* of the treachery of his Lieutenant. A new diviſion of the Roman Empire was made upon this renewal of peace and amity, by which *Codropolis*, a town of *Illyricum*, was made the boundary of their dominions: All from that place weſtward being to obey *Octavius*, and all eaſtward *Antony*; *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*.

After this diviſion, *Antony* immediately diſpatched *Ventidius* into *Aſia* againſt the *Parthians*. But the troubles at home ſeemed much greater to both *Antony* and *Octavius*, who were now entertained with the ſad and lamentable complaints of poor people, ready to ſtarve for want of proviſions; which *Pompey* hindered from coming either from the eaſt or weſt by means of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, which he had in his power; and from *Africa* by his navy, which was then very powerful. *Octavius*, on account of ſome former affronts, would not be brought to any accommodation with *Pompey*, notwithſtanding the continual cries and prayers of the multitude, whoſe rage and fury came at laſt to that height, that he was nigh being ſtoned by them, and *Antony* too by coming to his aſſiſtance. At laſt, both Triumvirs and *Pompey* were ſo far perſuaded as to come to an interview upon two bridges built upon ſtakes driven into the ſea, a little off the promontory of *Miſenum*; the two Triumvirs accompanied by their troops drawn up upon the ſhore, and *Pompey* by a numerous fleet; but, the latter demanding large privileges for the proſcribed perſons, and to be admitted into the power and place of *Lepidus*, the treaty was ineffectual. Yet the preſſing neceſſities and frequent mutinies of the people brought them together a ſecond time, where, amongſt other articles, it was concluded that *Pompey ſhould retain all the iſlands he was then in poſſeſſion of, and alſo Peloponneſus; that he ſhould be made Augur, and have the privilege of demanding the conſulſhip in his abſence, and of diſcharging that office by any of his friends; that he ſhould leave the ſea open, and pay the people what corn was due from Sicily; that thoſe who had taken refuge with him, out of fear, ſhould be reſtored to their poſſeſſions and privileges, and loſe only their moveables; that the proſcribed perſons, except ſuch as were guilty of Cæſar's death, ſhould have all liberty to return and receive a fourth part of their eſtates; and that he himſelf ſhould receive ſeventy millions of ſeſterces.* This treaty was ſigned by the Generals, and was then ſent to *Rome* to be kept by the *Veſtals*. Thus a peace was concluded to the great joy and ſatisfaction of all the people. The three Chiefs thought of treating each other on this occaſion;

Appian.

56 5 10 4 lb. ſterl.

Vell. Pat. ii. 77.

and it fell by lot to *Pompey* to give the firſt entertainment. He received them accordingly on board his ſhip: And, while they were at ſupper, *Menas*, his Admiral, whiſpered him in the ear: "Allow me to "cut the cables, and you are Maſter of the world." *Pompey*, after a moment's reflexion, anſwered, "You ſhould have done it without con- "ſulting me; *Pompey* cannot perjure himſelf." The two gueſts heard nothing of what was ſaid, and the entertainment was concluded with as much gaiety as it had begun. *Antony* and *Octavius* treated *Pompey* in their turns; and theſe rejoicings ſeemed to ſpeak the ſincerity of their union [s]. Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 39. 412 Conſ.

L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS, C. CALVISIUS SABINUS, } Conſuls.

The noiſe of civil diſcord now ceaſed for a-while; and *Octavius* and *Antony* were welcomed to *Rome* with the loudeſt acclamations. The other Chief ſailed back to his iſlands. Before they ſeparated, they named, it is ſaid, the Conſuls for the four following years; *Antony* and *Libo* for the firſt, *Octavius* and *Pompey* for the ſecond, *Domitius* and *Soſius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Octavius* for the fourth. This nomination, however, did not take place. Y. R. 714. Bef. Chr. 38. 413 Conſ.

The ſtay which OCTAVIUS and ANTONY made at *Rome* was not long. *Octavius*, to keep his ſoldiers in action, ſent a detachment of them into *Illyricum*, and led the reſt into *Gaul*, where there were ſome diſturbances; and *Antony* departed for the Eaſt, to carry on the war againſt the *Parthians*. This war his Lieutenant *Ventidius* had managed with great ſucceſs, having overthrown *Labienus* and *Barzapharnes* in two engagements, in which theſe two Generals periſhed. *Antony*, being informed in his way of theſe particulars, ſtopped at *Athens*, where he paſſed the winter, and gave himſelf over to his pleaſures and diverſions in the company of *Octavia*, with whom he is ſaid to have been in love at this time. He quitted, during his reſidence there, all the enſigns of authority, and affected to live like a private perſon. He neglected buſineſs altogether, and divided his time between love, philoſophy, and entertainments.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER, C. NORBANUS FLACCUS, } Conſuls.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, thought of reſuming the General. A jealouſy perhaps of the honour acquired by his Lieutenant had Y. R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 414 Conſ.

[s] The two Conſuls of this year, *Calvinus* and *Pollio*, laid down their office before the end of their nominal magiſtracy, in favour of *L. Cornelius Balbus*, a friend of *Octavius*; and of *P. Canidius Craſſus*, one of *Antony*'s Officers, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee at the head of his land-army. *Pollio*, when diveſted of the conſulſhip, was ſent to make war againſt the *Parthinians*, a people of *Illyria*, who had ſhewn a ſtrong attachment to *Brutus*.

Y.R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 414 Conſ.

had ſeized him at this time; and he left *Athens* to gather thoſe laurels which properly belonged to him. But, before he arrived at the army, *Ventidius* had put an end to the war by a complete victory which he had gained over *Pacorus*. This brave Prince periſhed in the battle, and all his men were deſtroyed, excepting thoſe who found protection in *Samoſatis*, the capital town of *Commagena*, where *Antiochus* reigned. *Ventidius*, who was afraid of offending *Antony*, did not purſue all the advantages of this victory. In the proſecution, however, of the war, he laid ſiege to *Samoſatis*, which he would have taken in a ſhort time, if *Antony* had not ſent expreſs orders to him to wait his arrival. As the juſtice, generoſity, and bravery of the young *Parthian* Prince had endeared all the *Syrians* to his perſon, and there was no hopes of bringing back to their duty ſeveral towns and Princes in thoſe parts, while they thought him alive, *Ventidius* cauſed his head to be carried about the province, and thus completely revenged upon the *Parthians* the cruelty and indignity they were guilty of, in regard to *Craſſus* and his brave and generous ſons. When *Antony* arrived, he took upon him the command of the ſiege of *Samoſatis*, but his behaviour in the conduct of it procured him no honour. The town was bravely defended, and *Antiochus* at laſt purchaſed of him a peace for three hundred talents, though he had offered *Ventidius* a thouſand before his arrival. After this exploit, away he flew to his dear *Octavia* at *Athens*. He was decreed a triumph in *Rome* for the victories of *Ventidius*; and this brave General was likewiſe admitted to the ſame honour. The triumph decreed to *Antony* was never exhibited; but *Ventidius* celebrated his, this ſame year, on the 28*th* of *December*, with great pomp; and the circumſtance of his having been formerly led in triumph, in his infancy, added to the public joy, and to the glory of this diſtinction.

58, 1251. Kerl.

CHAP. IV.

The renewal of the war between the TRIUMVIRS *and* SEXTUS POMPEY. OCTAVIUS*'s preparations. His bad ſucceſs in ſeveral naval engagements. He at laſt deſtroys* SEXTUS*'s fleet, and obliges him to quit* Sicily. *He diſpoſſeſſes* LEPIDUS *of his army and the triumviral power, and applies himſelf to gain the affections of all orders of men.*

THE peace which had been concluded between *Pompey* and the Triumvirs was not of long continuance. *Antony*, who by the articles of it was obliged to quit *Peloponneſus*, would not do it till *Pompey* had

tus. He took the town of *Sabna*, and performed other exploits, which entitled him to a triumph. His collegue *Calvinus* obtained the ſame honour for ſome ſucceſs againſt the *Cerritani* in *Spain*. During their conſulate, *Herod* was made King of the *Jews* by a decree of the Senate, and old *Dejotarus*, that good ally of the Ariſtocratians, died, leaving behind him, among other memorable deeds, that of having murdered all his children, but the one whom he deſtined for his heir.

had ſatisfied him for ſuch monies as were due to him from the inhabitants. *Pompey* would by no means hearken to this, but immediately began, contrary to his engagements, to augment his forces. He alſo ſecretly authoriſed the pirates to ſeize the proviſions deſtined for *Italy*, which renewed the former grievances and miſeries, and made the people complain, *that the only change in their ſituation was, that they had four tyrants inſtead of three.* *Menas*, one of *Pompey*'s freedmen, in whom he had hitherto placed the greateſt confidence, had oppoſed the peace, and now excited him to a rupture: Yet, ſoon after, upon a ſuſpicion of a change in his maſter's affections, he revolted to *Octavius*, and delivered up to him *Sardinia* and *Corſica* with three legions and ſixty gallies. *Sextus* demanded him back, and, upon receiving a refuſal, he ſent a ſquadron to pillage the coaſt of *Campania*. *Octavius*, on his ſide, took the treaty of *Miſenum* out of the hands of the Veſtals, alledging, that, by this hoſtility it was broke, and ſummoned *Antony* and *Lepidus* to come to his aſſiſtance. But, neither of them making haſte to comply, he was obliged to act by himſelf; and he ſoon gathered two numerous fleets; one compoſed moſtly of the veſſels of *Menas*, and commanded by *Calviſius Sabinus*; another built and equipped on the *Adriatic* coaſt, under the conduct of *L. Cornificius*. Theſe two fleets were to attack *Sicily* on two ſides, and cauſe a diverſion of the forces of the enemy, while his legions paſſed from *Reggio* into the iſland. But *Sextus*, who was in readineſs for a vigorous defence, ſent a ſquadron under the conduct of *Menecrates* againſt *Calviſius*, and deſtroyed moſt of his ſhips near *Cuma*; and he waited himſelf, at *Meſſana*, the approach of the other fleet. This alſo was beat back by *Pompey*, and, when lying at anchor, was almoſt entirely deſtroyed. *Octavius*, who was on board of it, got on ſhore with much difficulty, and, having ſaved what men and veſſels he could, contented himſelf, for the preſent, in diſtributing his land-forces along the coaſt, till he could get together another fleet. Y. R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 414 Conſ.

Octavius was married this year to *Livia*, ſo famous for having engaged his conſtant affection during his whole life. She had lately returned to *Rome* with her huſband *Tiberius Nero*, under the ſecurity of the peace of *Miſenum*; and, by her refined and dexterous wit more than her beauty, ſhe made ſuch a deep impreſſion on his heart, that, in order to procure her, he broke through all the rules of decency. *Scribonia* was divorced from him, the very day ſhe was brought to bed of the famous *Julia*; and *Tiberius Nero* was conſtrained to yield up to him his wife, though ſhe was ſix months gone with child. The ſcruple ariſing from this circumſtance was removed by the college of Augurs. The queſtion was put to them, "Whether a woman, with child by her huſband, could "be lawfully married to another man before child-birth?" They ſaid, "that, ſince there could be no doubt to whom the child belonged, *Li*-"*via* was free to marry, though pregnant, the law forbidding it only,

Y. R. 715. Bef. Chr. 37. 414 Conſ.

"when that was uncertain." The Lady was delivered three months afterwards of *Druſus*, whom *Octavius* immediately ſent to *Tiberius* [t].

The five years of the triumvirate were now almoſt expired; and the Triumvirs prolonged their power for five years more, without regarding the ſuffrages either of the Senate or people.

M. Vipsanius Agrippa, } Conſuls.
L. Canidius Gallus, }

Y. R. 716. Bef. Chr. 36. 415 Conſ.

Canidius was a creature of *Antony*'s; and *Agrippa* was a faithful ſervant of *Octavius*; a man of low birth, but who had great talents for war and for a Court. He had lately brought back to their duty the rebellious *Gauls*, and in this expedition had paſſed the *Rhine*. *Octavius* with the conſulſhip had procured him a decree for a triumph: But he rejected this diſtinction as unbecoming, at a time when his General had been unſucceſsful. The whole year of their conſulſhip was ſpent in making preparations againſt *Pompey*. *Agrippa* was charged with the care of building a new fleet and exerciſing the rowers and ſeamen; and he acquitted himſelf of this double employment with great zeal and capacity, overlooking the carpenters, and preſiding over the exerciſes, in which twenty thouſand ſlaves were inſtructed. He executed alſo another noble work, the *Julian* port, formed by the junction of the lakes *Lucrinus* and *Avernus* with the ſea; in which the greateſt fleets might be received, and find ſufficient ſhelter from the winds and tides. The lake *Lucrinus*, ſituated between *Miſenum* and *Puteoli*, was ſeparated from the ſea by an old cauſey a mile in length, and of a ſufficient breadth to allow a waggon to paſs. *Agrippa* repaired and raiſed this cauſey, which, being weakened in ſeveral places, was frequently overflowed. He cut two openings in it to allow a paſſage for ſhips; and, from the bottom of the lake *Lucrinus*, he drew a canal to the lake *Avernus*, which laſt properly formed the port, and afforded a ſecure retreat to veſſels. It is reported, that, in order to correct the bad quality of the air, which was ſuppoſed to be infectious and peſtilential, *Agrippa* cut down the foreſts which grew on the borders of the *Avernus*, and thus, by giving a free circulation to the air, made it a healthful and pleaſant ſituation. It was here he aſſembled all the new

Serv. in Virg. Æn. iii. 442.

[t] *Sueton.* in Galba, c. 1. Liviæ olim poſt Auguſti ſtatim nuptias Vejentanum ſuum reviſenti, prætervolans aquila, Gallinam albam, ramulum lauri roſtro tenentem, ita ut rapuerat, demiſit in gremium: cumque nutriri alitem pangique ramulum placuiſſet, tanta pullorum ſoboles provenit, ut hodie quoque ea villa *ad Gallinas* vocetur; tale vero Lauretum, ut triumphaturi Cæſares inde laureas decerperent; fuitque mos triumphantibus alias confeſtim eodem loco pangere:—Plinius xv. 30. Liviæ Druſillæ, quæ poſtea Auguſta matrimonii nomen accepit, cum pacta eſſet illa Cæſari, Gallinam conſpicui candoris ſedenti aquila ex alto abjecit in gremium illæſam: intrepideque miranti acceſſit miraculum, quoniam teneret roſtro laureum ramum onuſtum ſuis baccis. Conſervari alitem & ſobolem juſſere Aruſpices ramumque eum ſeri ac rite cuſtodiri. Quod factum eſt in villa Cæſarum fluvio Tiberi impoſita, juxta nonum lapidem Flaminia via, quæ ob id vocatur, *ad Gallinas:* Mireque ſilva provenit. Ex ea triumphans poſtea Cæſar laurum in manu tenuit, coronamque capite geſſit: Ac deinde imperatores Cæſares cuncti. Dio eadem habet libro iv. 8vo. p. 389.

veſſels

veſſels built in the ſeveral ports of *Italy*, and exerciſed the rowers and ſailors [u]. Y. R. 716. Bef. Chr. 36. 415 Conſ.

L. Gellius Poplicola, M. Cocceius Nerva, } Conſuls.

Antony, in the beginning of this year, appeared before *Brunduſium*, with a fleet of 300 ſail; and pretended that he came to aſſiſt *Octavius* in the war againſt *Pompey:* But *Octavius*, having now gathered a very powerful force at ſea, could willingly have diſpenſed with his colleague's civility. *Plutarch* ſays, that he came rather as an enemy than a friend; and the new diſguſts that aroſe between them, at this time, ſeem to favour his opinion. *Antony*, it has been ſaid, was not willing that *Octavius* ſhould have all the honour and profit of the conqueſt of *Sicily*, and was deſirous to exchange a part of his fleet, which was a great expence to him, for a land-army, which he wanted in order to puſh the war againſt the *Parthians*. But, whatever were the cauſes of their diſcontent, certain it is that they began to conſider each other as rivals, and ſhewed openly their diſſatisfaction. *Antony* was refuſed admittance into the port of *Brunduſium*, and therefore landed at *Tarentum*, where *Octavia*, who accompanied him, obtained his leave to go to her brother, and clear up all miſunderſtandings. *Octavius* received her with the courteſy ſuitable to the great affection he had for her, but was yet ſo backward in anſwering her requeſts, that ſhe publicly addreſſed herſelf to his two great friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas:* "*All mankind*, ſaid ſhe, *have their* "*eyes fixed upon me, and congratulate me for partaking of the grandeur of* "*two powerful Generals. I am the wife of the one, and the ſiſter of the* "*other. But, if an ill deſtiny ſhould lead them to war with each other, I* "*ſhall be miſerable without redreſs; I ſhall be reduced to the fatal neceſſity of* "*loſing a huſband or a brother.*" Her entreaties had, at length, ſo much weight that *Octavius* conſented to meet *Antony* between *Tarentum* and *Metapontum*. From the place choſen for their interview, it appeared that the young Triumvir intended to have a ſmall river between him and his collegue. But *Antony*, who did not want generoſity, when he ſaw *Octavius* approach, leaped into a boat, that he might croſs over to him. This Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ. Plut. in Ant.

[u] "An memorem portus, Lucrinoque "addita clauſtra?
"Atque indignatum magnis ſtridoribus æ- "quor,
"Julia quâ ponto longa ſonat unde refuſo,
"Tyrrhenuſque fretis immittitur æſtus A- "vernis?" *Virg. Georg.* ii. 161.

——— Sive receptus
Terrâ Neptunus claſſes Aquilonibus arcet
Regis opus." *Hor. Art. Poet.* v. 63.

This noble and royal work does not ſeem to have been of any laſting uſe. *Strabo*, who wrote under the Emperor *Tiberius*, takes very little notice of it; and, in the hiſtory of later ages, it is ſeldom mentioned. The face of theſe places was entirely changed in 1538, by an earthquake, which in one night raiſed a great part of the bottom of the lake *Lucrinus*, and the adjacent fields, into a mountain five hundred feet high, called now *Monte Nuovo*, which is covered particularly on one ſide with the ſcoriæ of melted metal, and has a hollow in its ſummit, which is near a mile and a half in circumference.

Octavius

V. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

Octavius perceived, and, imitating the example, they met in the middle of the ſtream, and there diſputed, who ſhould go over to the other. *Octavius* prevailed, as he declared that he had an intention to go to *Tarentum* to ſee his ſiſter. They ſoon agreed between themſelves and againſt *Sextus*. *Antony* lent *Octavius* 120 veſſels, and received from him twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers: And, in conſideration of ten light ſhips of war, *Octavia* obtained, for her huſband, a thouſand choſen men, who were to ſerve him as a guard. They alſo, that they might confirm their negotiations, projected a double marriage; the one of *Antyllus*, the eldeſt ſon of *Antony*, with *Julia*, daughter to *Octavius*, who was not three years old; and the other of *Antonia*, the daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*, who was ſtill younger, with the ſon of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*; which laſt took place, and began the alliance between the family of *Domitius* and *Cæſar*. Having thus adjuſted their differences, they took leave of each other: *Antony* returned into the Eaſt with his new legions, leaving *Octavia* in *Italy*: And *Octavius*, on his ſide, ſtrengthened with ſuch a conſiderable navy, applied himſelf entirely to the war againſt *Sextus* [x].

Octavius determined to invade *Sicily* from three ſeveral quarters: *Lepidus* was to make a deſcent from *Africa*; *Statilius Taurus* from *Tarentum*, with the ſhips left by *Antony*; and he himſelf, with his new-built fleet from the *Julian* port: And the three armies ſet out, by agreement, on the *firſt of July* [y]. But, on the third day after they had ſet ſail, a violent tempeſt aroſe, and rendered uſeleſs, at leaſt for a time, theſe formidable preparations. *Lepidus* alone landed his men in *Sicily*, on the coaſt of *Lilybæum*. *Taurus* was forced back to *Tarentum*; and *Octavius*'s ſquadron, having no port near to put in at, ſuffered greatly. *Sextus*, who, on this occaſion, ſacrificed ſolemnly to *Neptune*, took for his colour the ſea-green, inſtead of the purple; and *Octavius*, on his ſide, declared he would conquer in ſpite of *Neptune*. *Lepidus* was able to keep footing in *Sicily*, for he had ſailed with a thouſand veſſels of burden and ſeventy gallies, which carried over twelve legions, five thouſand *Numidian* horſe, and all things neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence.

[x] *Appian* tells us, that, before he began any military operations, he purified his new fleet by the religious ceremony of a *luſtration*, which was performed after the following manner: Altars were erected in the ſea a little off the ſhore, and the ſhips, with all their reſpective crews, in a profound ſilence, were ranked in order before them: The Prieſts ſacrificed, ſtanding in the water; then placed the victims in a pinnace, with which they rowed thrice round the fleet, followed by other boats in which were all the principal Commanders; all offering prayers, that, if the fleet was threatened with any misfortune, it might fall upon the victims. The victims were divided into two parts, and one half of them was thrown into the ſea, the other half burnt upon the altars, whilſt all the multitude made their prayers.

[y] According to *Dio*, l. xlix. p. 392, in the beginning of ſpring.—We ſhall follow *Appian* in the account of this war, his relation being as authentic and more conſiſtent than any other.

Pompey

Pompey hoped that, after ſo many loſſes, *Octavius* would lie quiet; but when he heard that he had refitted his fleet, and was preparing to invade *Sicily* again, that very ſummer; he ſent the perfidious *Menas*, who had already abandoned the party of *Octavius*, and had returned to his old maſter, to obſerve the motions of his enemy. *Menas*, ill ſatisfied with the reception he had met with from *Pompey*, who had truſted him with no other command than that of the ſeven ſhips which he had brought back with him, and which he commanded in the preſent expedition, reſolved once more to change ſides. To this purpoſe, imagining, that, whatever happened, it would be for his advantage to do ſome brave and valiant action, he diſtributed all the money he had among his companions, and, ſailing directly towards *Octavius*'s fleet, he fell unexpectedly upon the guard-ſhips: Then, going off, and falling on again, he carried away ſometimes two of them, and ſometimes three: He picked up alſo in the very ports ſeveral ſhips laden with corn, and ſunk and burnt thoſe he could not carry off, and filled the coaſt with terror. He grew ſo bold that he even came to an anchor in a bay upon the coaſt, where he lay, as if he had been faſt in the ouze, till his enemies, running down from the mountains as to an aſſured prey, he gently rowed off, deriding them, to the grief and aſtoniſhment of the whole army. After he had thus made known his importance to *Cæſar*, he thought of giving a favourable impreſſion of himſelf by performing an act of generoſity; and he diſmiſſed without ranſom a Senator called *Rebilus*, who was among the priſoners he had taken. He then raiſed a report amongſt his people, that they ſhould ſoon have a fugitive of conſequence, *Vinidius Marcellus*, an intimate friend of *Octavius*, whoſe affection he had found means to engage. Deceived by this pretext, his ſoldiers permitted him to have a conference with *Vinidius*, in one of the neighbouring iſlands; and he told *Vinidius* that, when he left *Cæſar*'s party, he had been forced to it by the injuries he daily received from *Calviſius*, at that time Admiral; but that, ſince *Agrippa* had now the command of the navy, he was ready to return to *Cæſar*'s ſervice, provided *Vinidius* would bring him a ſafe conduct from *Meſſala*, who, in *Agrippa*'s abſence, commanded on the coaſt. He alſo promiſed, by ſome ſignal ſervice, to repair his fault. *Meſſala* ſent the ſafe conduct, and *Menas* came over to *Octavius*, who permitted the officers of his ſhips to go where they pleaſed, and pardoned *Menas*; but gave him no command and had a ſtrict watch kept over him [z].

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When the fleet was in readineſs, *Octavius* came to *Vibo*, where he gave orders to *Meſſala* to paſs over into *Sicily*, with two legions, in order to join *Lepidus*'s army, and to land in the gulph of *Tauromínium*: He ſent three likewiſe to *Stylida*, which is the very extremity of the ſtreight, to wait a fair opportunity; and commanded *Taurus* to cruiſe with

[z] This perfidious wretch, if we can believe *Horace*, lived afterwards in great opulence, and ſerved in the capacity of a military Tribune. See *Epod* iv.

his

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his fleet from *Tarentum* to *Scylaceum*, which lies oppoſite to *Taurominium*. *Pompey*, on his ſide, placed good garriſons in all the places of the coaſt, where any forces could land; and kept his fleet at *Meſſana* ready to ſail upon the firſt order. While theſe preparations were going forward, *Lepidus*, having ſent for the remainder of his forces, which conſiſted of four legions, *Papias*, one of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants, met them in the open ſea, and ſunk and burnt ſeveral of the veſſels in which they had embarked, forcing the reſt of return to *Africa*. Two of the legions were cut off, and thoſe of them, who thought to ſave themſelves by ſwimming to the coaſt of *Sicily*, were there maſſacred by the order of *Titiſienus Gallus*, another of *Pompey*'s Lieutenants. *Papias*, after this ſucceſs, returned to *Pompey*; and the two legions, who recovered *Africa*, found means to croſs over to *Lepidus*.

Cæſar himſelf paſſed, with his main fleet, from *Vibo* to *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* or *Vulcanian* iſlands; and, ſeeing ſeveral camps on the coaſts of *Sicily* on that ſide, he ſuppoſed *Pompey* was there in perſon; and therefore, leaving *Agrippa* in that ſtation, he returned to *Vibo*, and immediately joined *Meſſala*, with a deſign to lay hold of the opportunity of *Pompey*'s abſence to ſurpriſe *Taurominium*, and to fall upon *Sicily* on both ſides at once. *Agrippa* ſailed from *Strongyle* to *Hiera*, another iſland, which lay neareſt to the coaſt of *Sicily*; and determined the next day to make an attack upon *Mylæ*, and a fleet of forty ſail, which lay there under the command of *Demochares*. *Pompey*, appriſed of his intention, ſent from *Meſſana* forty more ſhips to *Demochares*, under the command of *Apollophanes*, another of his freedmen, who was followed by *Papias*, with ſeventy others. *Agrippa*, before day, weighed anchor with half his ſhips, deſigning only to fight with *Papias*, with whom, by his intelligence, he expected to meet; but, when he ſaw *Apollophanes*'s fleet followed by another of ſeventy ſail, he ſent preſently to give notice to *Octavius* that *Pompey* was at *Mylæ*, with the greateſt part of his naval force; and, placing himſelf in the middle of his great ſhips, ſent to the reſt at *Hiera* to join him without delay. The ſhips of the two Admirals, *Papias* and *Agrippa*, magnificently equipped with towers on poop and prow, began the fight, and gave the ſignals to the others, who inſtantly charged with great violence, ſome ſtem and ſtem, others ſtanding off to gain their enemy's broadſide, and fall on with greater force. Great was the noiſe made by the ſhips ſhocking againſt each other, and greater the ſhouts of the men.

Pompey's ſhips were middle-ſized, light and eaſy to manage, and of courſe more active than thoſe of the enemy, and, by their ſwiftneſs, fit to take all advantages in boarding; *Octavius*'s, being greater and more heavy, were of conſequence leſs nimble, but, by their ſuperior ſtrength, they gave the ſhock with more violence, and were abler to receive it. *Octavius* had the beſt ſoldiers, and *Pompey* the moſt ſkilful mariners. Theſe charged not right forwards upon *Cæſar*'s great ſhips, but, ſheering by them,

them, ſometimes broke a whole line of oars, ſometimes carried away their rudders, and ſometimes ſuddenly bringing about, they attacked them with their beak-heads. But, when *Octavius*'s ſhips could reach any of theſe light-timbered veſſels, they preſſed upon them ſo furiouſly, that they either ſtaved them or bored them through and through; and, if they came at any time to fight board and board, the *Cæſarean* ſoldiers, from their great ſhips, miſerably knocked their enemies down with miſſile arms thrown from aloft; and, caſting in their grappling-hooks, eaſily ſtopped them; ſo that, the ſervice being too hard to be borne, the *Pompeians* had no other way to ſave themſelves, but by leaping into the ſea, where ſkiffs, appointed for that purpoſe, took them up. Mean while, *Agrippa*, whoſe main deſign was upon *Papias*'s ſhip, gave him ſo cruel a ſhock in the bow, that he opened all his keel, and thoſe in the forecaſtle preſently fell, and, the water entering, all the lower bank of rowers were drowned; the reſt upon planks ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. *Papias* himſelf was received into the next ſhip, and renewed the fight. Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

When *Pompey*, who from the top of a mountain was ſpectator of the fight, ſaw that his people never came near any of the enemy's ſhips without great loſs of men, and that the reſt of *Agrippa*'s fleet was ſailing from *Hiera* to his aſſiſtance; he made a ſignal for his men to retreat, which they did at firſt, gradually, ſtill fighting with great bravery: But, being cloſely preſſed upon, they all, at laſt, fairly fled, and took refuge in the mouths of ſeveral rivers, where *Agrippa*'s pilots adviſed him not to hazard his heavy veſſels on account of the flats. He came, therefore, to an anchor in ſight of them in the open ſea, as if he deſigned to attack them in the night; but, his officers admoniſhing him not to overharraſs the ſoldiers, or be too confident in the preſent calmneſs of the ſea, he retreated towards the evening; and *Pompey*'s ſhips got into the harbour. *Agrippa* loſt in this battle but five veſſels, and *Pompey* thirty. The latter, nevertheleſs, commended his men for having ſo well defended themſelves againſt ſhips ſo ſuperior in height and ſtrength, nor were his rewards leſs than if they had been victorious. He alſo gave them hopes, that, by fighting in the ſtreights, they would have better ſucceſs, as their light ſhips would better ſtem the current; and he promiſed withal to add ſomewhat to the height of them.

At the ſame time this brave Commander gave himſelf no reſt; judging rightly that *Octavius* was gone to *Taurus*'s camp to execute his deſign upon *Taurominium*, he ſet ſail for *Meſſana*, leaving at *Mylæ* a part of his ſhips, to make *Agrippa* believe he was ſtill there. *Agrippa*, on the other ſide, having given a little repoſe to his men, ſailed towards *Tyndaris*, which had promiſed to ſurrender. The inhabitants were willing to receive him, but the garriſon defended the place ſo valiantly that they drove him from it; yet ſome other towns, revolting to him, received his garriſons, and towards night he returned to his fleet. *Oc-*

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tavius, on his ſide, being well aſſured that *Pompey* was gone from *Meſſana* to *Mylæ* to meet *Agrippa*, came from *Scylaceum* to *Leucopetra*, from whence he propoſed to paſs by night to *Tauromínium*; but, having information there of *Agrippa*'s victory, he thought there was no longer any reaſon to conceal his embarkation, and determined to ſail in broad day-light, not ſuſpecting that *Pompey* would remove far from *Agrippa*. Day then beginning to appear, he took a view of the ſea from the mountains as far as his ſight could reach, and, ſpying none of the enemy's ſhips, he went on board, loading the ſhips with all the ſoldiers he could put into them; leaving the reſt with *Meſſala* till the ſhips returned to fetch them. Being come near to *Tauromínium*, he ſummoned the place to ſurrender; but, the garriſon refuſing, he paſſed on beyond the river *Oncbala*, and the temple of *Venus*, and landed near *Archigetes*, where, having offered prayers to the Gods, he encamped. He was beginning the circumvallation of his camp, when *Pompey* was deſcried coming with a great fleet, to the aſtoniſhment of all the army, who thought that he had been quite ruined by *Agrippa*. Along the ſhore likewiſe came horſemen, ſtriving in ſwiftneſs to out-paſs the fleet; and in ſeveral parts were ſeen great bodies of foot. *Cæſar*'s people, ſeeing themſelves thus ſurrounded, were utterly diſmayed. *Octavius* himſelf was in the greateſt anxiety, becauſe it was now impoſſible for *Meſſala* to join him. The horſe firſt fell among *Octavius*'s men ſtill employed in their trenches: And, if the fleet and foot had come on at the ſame time, *Pompey* would probably have gained an important victor; but, being ignorant of the terror his enemies were in, and not inclining to come to battle in the evening, he ordered the fleet to retreat to the promontory of *Coccyna*, and the foot, who durſt not lodge near *Octavius*'s camp, to the town of *Phæniſſa*. The night following, the *Cæſarians* fortified their camp. They conſiſted of three legions, five hundred horſemen without horſes, about a thouſand light-armed foot, and two thouſand veteran volunteers, beſides the ſea-forces. *Cæſar*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to *Cornificius*, whom he ordered to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; and he embarked himſelf before day-light to return to *Italy* for freſh ſuccours. *Pompey*, however, did not think it adviſeable to attack his camp, but fell upon his fleet with the utmoſt violence. The fight laſted till night. Many of *Octavius*'s ſhips were taken, and the reſt, a ſmall number excepted, were either ſunk or burnt. A few of his ſailors who could ſwim eſcaped to *Cornificius*'s camp, who ſent his light-armed foot to receive them. *Octavius*, rowed a great way in the night in a ſmall galley; but, being hotly purſued, he was obliged to get into a ſmall boat, that he might not draw the attention of the *Pompeian* Captains; and, at length, by good fortune, he reached the port of *Abala*, where he landed with only one attendant; ſpent with fatigue, and overwhelmed with grief on account of his defeat. He was thence conveyed to *Meſſala*'s camp, which was not far diſtant. As ſoon as he got thither, he

diſpatched a brigantine to *Cornificius*, to let him know that he would ſoon come to his relief; and the ſame night he went to *Stylida*, where *Carinas* was with three legions: and, being ready to put to ſea, he gave him orders to paſs over directly to *Lipara*, and there wait for him; and he wrote likewiſe to *Agrippa*, that, conſidering the danger *Cornificius* was in, he ſhould with all ſpeed ſend to him *Laronius* with the beſt of his forces. At the ſame time *Mæcenas* was ſent to *Rome*, to take cognizance of ſome diſturbances there, and put a ſtop to them: And this he effected by his prudence and ſeverity. V. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

Lipari, the chief of the *Æolian* iſlands, which has ſeveral good havens.

Cornificius, being much ſtreightened for want of proviſions, drew out his legions to provoke the enemy to fight: But *Pompey* would not hazard the fortune of a battle againſt troops who had nothing but their arms to truſt to, and whom he hoped to reduce by famine. It was therefore neceſſary that *Cornificius* ſhould abandon his camp: And, having placed thoſe who had eſcaped from the ſea fight, and who were without arms in the midſt of the legions, he began to march towards *Mylæ*. In this deſperate undertaking his troops were not leſs obſtructed by the mountains and difficult ways they had to paſs, than by the enemy's cavalry and light armed foot. *Appian* tells us that, on the fourth day, they came upon a burnt ſoil, which the *Sicilians* call the *Torrent of fire*, and which reaches from Mount *Ætna* to the ſea. Here the army ſuffered greatly, not only from an uncommon heat, but from a ſuffocating duſt and thirſt: And the enemy was alſo the more troubleſome, as theſe inconveniencies did not permit *Cornificius* to halt a moment in order to repel them. When they drew near to the ſtreights at the end of this burning ground, they found their enemies in poſſeſſion of them, and were forced to carry them ſword in hand; but when they ſaw before them other ſtreights, which were likewiſe guarded by freſh troops, they loſt heart, and made a ſtop, being quite ſpent with thirſt, heat, and fatigue; yet, encouraged by their Chief, who aſſured them there was a fountain cloſe by, they renewed the fight, and drove the enemy before them, not without very conſiderable loſs: But other enemies were ſtill maſters of the fountain, ſo that now they gave themſelves over to grief and deſpair. In this extremity, *Laronius* appeared at ſome diſtance with three legions, which *Agrippa*, according to *Octavius*'s orders, had ſent to their relief. The enemy, imagining that *Agrippa*'s whole convoy was at hand, deſerted the fountain; and the ſoldiers of *Cornificius* ran to it with the utmoſt precipitation, and, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of their officers, they drank ſo exceſſively that ſome of them died upon the ſpot. In this manner did *Cornificius* make good his retreat. *Octavius*, who had brought him into ſuch diſtreſs, loaded him and his troops with praiſes and rewards; and *Cornificius*, it is ſaid, was ſo proud of his ſucceſs, that, when he went to *Rome*, he never ſupped abroad, but he returned mounted upon an elephant, in commemoration of this dangerous expedition.

Dio, l. xlix. p. 396.

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The taking of *Tyndaris*, which was effected by *Agrippa*, laid the iſland open to *Octavius*, who immediately tranſported into it twenty-one legions, twenty thouſand horſe, and five thouſand light-armed troops. Then *Lepidus*, who hitherto had kept near *Lilibæum*, advanced into the country; and the two Triumviri united their forces before the walls of *Meſſana*.

Pompey, ſeeing himſelf overpowered at land, and his affairs in a declining poſture, and fearing, in conſequence of that, the deſertion of his officers and ſoldiers, was deſirous to decide the quarrel by a general battle; and challenged *Octavius* to a ſea-fight with three hundred ſhips on a ſide. *Octavius* did not think it proper to refuſe the challenge[a]; and, the day being agreed upon, the two fleets met in good order between *Mylæ* and *Naulocus*. *Agrippa* commanded the fleet of *Octavius*; and *Demochares* and *Apollophanes* that of *Pompey*. The battle was fierce, and the victory for a long time doubtful. At laſt *Agrippa* prevailed, and chiefly by means of the grappling-iron which he had prepared. It was a ſtrong ſhaft, five cubits long, bound about with iron, with a ring of the ſame metal in each end. In the one was the hook of iron; in the other, ſmall ropes were made faſt, which were commanded by a windlaſs in the ſhip. When an enemy's veſſel therefore approached to do miſchief, the iron hook was forcibly darted againſt it from a machine. If it ſtuck, the windlaſs inſtantly played, and before the iron ſhod ſhaft, or the ropes could be cut, the veſſel attacked was drawn cloſe to the other and boarded. Of the 300 *Pompeian* ſhips, but 17 eſcaped. This great victory was purchaſed with the loſs only of three ſhips, according to *Dio*. *Demochares*, ſeeing his ſhip in the power of the enemy, killed himſelf; *Apollophanes*, *Pompey*'s other Admiral, who could have made off, delivered himſelf up.

l. xlix. p. 398.

The land-army, commanded by *Titiſienus*, ſurrendered, upon this defeat, to *Octavius*; and this defection made *Pompey* determine immediately to leave the iſland. Having therefore put on board his 17 ſhips all that he had that was valuable, he ſailed for *Aſia, hoping to find protection from Antony, in requital of that which he had given to his mother Julia, and many of his friends.* But before he ſet out he ſent for *Plennius*, one of his Lieutenants, who had under his command eight legions. *Plennius* obeyed his orders; but, not arriving till *Pompey* was gone, he threw himſelf into *Meſſana*; which was ſoon beſieged in form by the armies of the two Triumvirs; the one commanded by *Agrippa*, the other by *Lepidus*. *Plennius*, ſeeing it was madneſs to make any reſiſtance, ſent De-

[a] *Dio*, l. xlix. p. 397, tells us, that *Octavius*, though he was ſenſible that *Pompey* would be ſoon in very great diſtreſs, conſented to give battle on the account of the uneaſineſs *Lepidus* gave him; who, pretending to an equality of command, and not having been treated by his collegue with the reſpect he thought due to him, had opened a negociation with *Pompey*. If ſo, he had a very good reaſon to accept of *Pompey*'s challenge; for at ſea *Lepidus* would have no ſhare in the battle, and nothing was to be feared from his ill humour.

puties

puties to the two Generals to treat of a capitulation: *Agrippa* deſired that the affair ſhould be deferred till the next day, when *Octavius* would be preſent; but *Lepidus* received them upon terms, and, to get the army of *Plennius* into his own poſſeſſion, gave them an equal ſhare in the plunder of the city, which was that very night ſacked by both armies. This weak man, finding himſelf now at the head of an army of two and twenty legions, conceived hopes, and laid a deſign of ſeizing upon *Sicily*[b]; He grounded his right to it upon his firſt landing in the iſland, and having taken more cities than his collegue: Wherefore he gave command to his garriſons not to receive any troops, but his own; and ſeized upon all the paſſages. *Octavius*, on his arrival the next day, ſent ſome of his friends to *Lepidus*, to make his complaint of theſe proceedings, and to repreſent to him, that he was not invited into the iſland to conquer it for himſelf, but to give aſſiſtance as an ally in a war already begun. *Lepidus* anſwered by a reciprocal complaint, that *Octavius* and *Antony* had deprived him unjuſtly of his part of the Empire, and that he was ready to give up both *Africa* and *Sicily*, if they would reſtore him his ſhare. *Octavius*, incenſed at this anſwer, went himſelf to reproach him with his ingratitude and folly; and they parted after mutual threats, and from that inſtant they kept each of them a ſtricter guard; and *Octavius* ordered his ſhips to anchor at a diſtance from the port, pretending that *Lepidus* had a deſign to burn them. Their rupture was now open and declared; and the foundation ſeemed to be laid of a new civil war; but *Octavius*, who entertained no high opinion of his rival, thought it only neceſſary to employ art to ruin him. The ſoldiers of *Lepidus* were diſguſted with him for having allowed the legions of *Pompey* a ſhare in the plunder of *Meſſana*, and they deſpiſed him as a General: And *Octavius*, well informed of their ſentiments, ſent underhand his agents to gain them over to his intereſt. Having, by means of theſe, ſounded their officers, and found them in the temper he wiſhed, he ſuddenly appeared before the trenches of his collegue's camp with a ſtrong body of cavalry; and, leaving behind the greateſt part of theſe, he entered it with a few attendants, and, proceeding through it, he took all he met to witneſs his good diſpoſitions, and that he was forced to make war againſt his will[c]. A great many of *Lepidus*'s ſoldiers ſaluted him Emperor, and *Pompey*'s troops, who did not think themſelves ſecure till

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[b] *Lepidus* inflatus amplius xx legionum numero, in id furoris proceſſerat, ut inutilis in alienâ victoriâ comes, quam diu moratus erat, diffidendo in conſiliis Cæſaris, et ſemper diverſa iis, quæ aliis placebant, dicendo; totam victoriam ut ſuam interpretabatur, audebatque denuncia e Cæſari, excederet Silicia. Vell. Pat. ii. 80.

[c] *Velleius Paterculus* ſays, that *Octavius* carried off with him the ſtandard of a legion, and was followed by the whole army of *Lepidus*.

Dio ſays nothing of this negociation, and tells us that *Octavius*, having appeared in *Lepidus*'s camp with a deſign of debauching his ſoldiers, was diſappointed in his hopes, and obliged to withdraw ſpeedily to his troops; and that then he drew out his whole army, and ſurrounded *Lepidus*'s camp; which motion determined the officers and ſoldiers to deſert their General.

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their pardon was ratified by him, teſtified their inclination to go over to him. *Lepidus*, informed of the tumult, advanced with ſome troops to check it, and, charging thoſe who accompanied *Octavius*, one of them was killed, and *Octavius* himſelf received an arrow in his corſlet. Inſtantly he withdrew to his body of horſe; and, being derided in his flight by the guard of one of the forts of *Lepidus*'s camp, he inſtantly attacked it and carried it by force. This example intimidated the Commanders of the other forts, which flanked the camp of *Lepidus*, or at leaſt ſerved them for a pretence; and all of them at that time, or during the night, ſurrendered to *Octavius*; ſome of them on a ſimple ſummons, and others after having ſuffered a ſlight attack. *Lepidus* threatened and ſoothed them by turns, but to no purpoſe. His cavalry were the laſt to forſake him, but, to make amends for their delay, they ſent to *Octavius* to aſk, whether they ſhould bring *Lepidus* dead or alive. *Lepidus*, ſeeing himſelf entirely abandoned, put on the habit of a ſupplicant, and went to throw himſelf at *Cæſar*'s feet. The young Triumvir roſe up to receive him, and would not ſuffer him to fall on his knees before him; but, having reduced him to the ſtate of a private man, he baniſhed him to *Circæum*, where he remained without any power or dignity.

Thus fell *Lepidus*, one of the heads of the triumvirate. Ancient writers have repreſented him [d] as a vain, weak man, whom a fortuitous concourſe of circumſtances had raiſed to ſupreme power, without any of the qualities which are neceſſary to ſupport the weight of it: Yet the ſeveral employments which he bore under *Cæſar*, that of Governor of the city, of Conſul, and of Maſter of the Horſe, ſhew that he was not judged by him to be without capacity. His behaviour after *Cæſar*'s death was more ſpirited than *Antony*'s: He ſeized upon the High-Prieſthood, and would inſtantly have revenged his friend's death, if he had not been reſtrained by the Conſul. His union with *Antony*, after his defeat at *Mutina*, and the coalition formed by him of the *Cæſarean* Chiefs, was well concerted, and gave his party the ſuperiority, at the ſame time that it procured for himſelf a ſhare in the Empire of the world. Indeed, in the ſtation of Triumvir, he behaved weakly, and was the jeſt of his collegues, whoſe intereſt with the ſoldiers, and qualifications for command, were much ſuperior to his; but in this laſt ſcene he appeared the moſt deſpicable of men; and, if his life was granted him, it is obvious that the contempt of his weakneſs was alone his ſecurity. Appian.

Octavius reaped the whole advantage of the ruin of *Sextus* and *Lepidus*: He ſeized upon *Sicily* and *Africa* as his property; and ſaw himſelf Maſter of all the Weſtern world; at the head of an army of five-and-forty legions, twenty-five thouſand horſe, and thirty-ſeven thouſand light-armed troops; and of a fleet conſiſting of ſix hundred ſail. But, in this height of

[d] Vir omnium vaniſſimus, nec ullâ virtute tam longam fortunæ indulgentiam meritus. *Vell.* xi. 80.

power,

power, he was ſoon made ſenſible of his dependence upon the ſoldiery, and warned very opportunely to gain the affection of his ſubjects by his prudent conduct and moderation. Before he left *Sicily*, notwithſtanding the recompences he beſtowed upon his ſoldiers, and his promiſes of much greater, his own proper troops mutinied and demanded their immediate diſcharge, with the ſame reward they had received after the battle of *Philippi*. *Octavius* repeated his promiſes of rewarding them honourably and equally with thoſe who were now ſerving under *Antony*, and at the ſame time repreſented to them, with ſome threats, the fault they committed againſt the laws of war, and againſt the oath they had taken. Seeing his remonſtrances had no effect, but that they grew more inſolent, he forbore threatening, and told them that he would diſcharge them as ſoon as *Antony* returned, aſſuring them he would no more employ them in civil wars, which, by the favour of the gods, were extinct; but that he would lead them againſt foreign nations, from whom they would all return rich: To which they told him plainly, that they would ſerve no longer, unleſs he preſently gave them thoſe rewards and honours which their paſt labours deſerved. He anſwered, that, as to honours, they ſhould be rewarded with them immediately; for, beſides the crowns he had already diſtributed, he had others to beſtow among every legion, and to the Centurions and Tribunes he would give robes of purple, with the rank of Senators in the towns where they were born. He was interrupted here by one of the Tribunes, who, raiſing his voice, cried out, that crowns and robes of purple were only fit to amuſe children, but that ſoldiers expected more ſubſtantial things, money and lands. *Octavius* perceiving that the whole aſſembly applauded this inſolent ſpeech, he in a rage went down from his tribunal, and left the Tribune to glory in his proweſs, and receive the congratulation of the ſoldiers. The audacious Tribune, however, diſappeared that night, and was no more heard of. This accident made them more circumſpect, and no particular officer or ſoldier dared to diſtinguiſh himſelf; but they aſſembled in troops, and perſiſted in their demands.

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Octavius, ſeeing that all his endeavours to pacify them were vain, diſmiſſed thoſe, who had ſerved at *Mutina* and *Philippi*, to the number of twenty thouſand; and, leſt they ſhould nouriſh a ſpirit of ſedition in the iſland, he ſhipped them off immediately. As ſoon as they were gone, he aſſembled his army, and took them for witneſſes of the perjury of the others, whom he called deſerters, becauſe they had forced a diſcharge from him; and he declared that he never would take them back to his ſervice again. He then praiſed their fidelity for remaining with him, and, having told them, that they might ſoon hope for repoſe and ſettlements, he diſtributed to each of them five hundred drachmas, which he raiſed by a tax upon the *Sicilians*.

About 16 l.

Matters being thus quieted in *Sicily*, *Octavius* ſent back to *Antony* the ſhips he had borrowed from him, and returned to *Rome* to receive the honours,

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honours, which the Senate, in conſequence of his ſucceſs, had decreed to him. The whole body of the Senators, with garlands of flowers upon their heads, as a ſign of joy and congratulation, went a great way out of the city to meet him, and he entered it with the modeſt pomp of an ovation, on the ides of *November*. Beſides receiving this honour, he conſented that an annual feſtival ſhould be inſtituted in memory of his victory; and that a gilded ſtatue ſhould be ſet up to him in the Forum, in a triumphal habit, having its pedeſtal adorned with the prows of veſſels, and bearing this inſcription: *To Cæſar, for having reſtored peace to Rome, a long time diſturbed both by ſea and land.*

It was now the chief concern of *Octavius* to gain the eſteem and love of the people. He publicly burnt all *Pompey*'s papers, and all thoſe that might be monuments of their diviſions, ſignifying to all the world, that he was willing to forget what was paſt. In the diſtribution of lands which he had to make to his veterans, he conducted himſelf with the ſtricteſt equity; the funds appropriated to them belonging either to the Republic, or being fairly purchaſed from private perſons or corporations. The colony of *Capua*, being very thinly inhabited, and poſſeſſing, on that account, in common, a large extent of ground which never belonged to any particular proprietor; he there eſtabliſhed a part of his veterans; and, to ſatisfy the colony, he gave them, in the iſland of *Crete*, funds of a greater produce, and which brought them in twelve hundred thouſand ſeſterces a year; and he alſo added a great and uſeful ornament to the town of *Capua* itſelf by making an aqueduct to ſupply them with water. *Rome* and all *Italy* being, at this time, greatly infeſted by thieves and robbers, who had formed themſelves into companies, and were become very formidable, he gave it in charge to *Sabinus* to put a ſtop to this evil, and the whole race of them were deſtroyed in one year. It was now alſo that he began thoſe great edifices, for the ornament of *Rome*, which have illuſtrated his reign. In fine, he gave them hopes, that he would ſoon lay down, with the conſent of his collegue, his *triumviral* authority, and reſtore the Commonwealth: And the Senate, to engage him to keep his word, offered to create him perpetual Tribune; a magiſtracy, which, while it rendered his perſon ſacred and inviolable, would have deprived him of all command in the army: But this propoſal he neither accepted nor rejected.

Near ten thouſand pounds.

CHAP. V.

ANTONY's *behaviour in* the Eaſt: *His inglorious expedition againſt the* Parthians. SEXTUS POMPEY's *behaviour in* Aſia, *and his death.*

WHILE

WHILE *Octavius* was thus increaſing his power, and gaining the affections and eſteem of the ſoldiers and people, *Antony* was waſting his beſt troops in an inglorious war, and gathering nothing but contempt and the public hatred by the moſt extravagant behaviour. He had no ſooner left *Italy* and loſt ſight of *Octavia*, than his love for *Cleopatra*, which had lain quiet in his breaſt ſo long, gathered ſtrength again, and, upon his approach to *Syria*, he immediately ſent *Fonteius Capito* to conduct her to him. She ſoon arrived, and, as if he meant to make her a reparation for his paſt coolneſs, he granted her all her ambitious demands. He added to her kingdom *Phœnicia*, a part of *Judæa*, and a part of *Arabia-Fælix*. All theſe countries were poſſeſſed by ſeveral petty Princes, under the protection of the *Romans*; and ſome of theſe ſhe engaged *Antony* to put to death, as being in the intereſt of the *Parthians*. He alſo yielded up to her the rights of the Republic over the iſland of *Cyprus* and the town of *Cyrene* on the *Libyan* coaſt, both which had formerly belonged to the crown of *Egypt*. He did not, however, forget his grand project againſt the *Parthians*, and employed this whole year in making preparations for war. His Lieutenants, in his abſence, *Soſius* in *Syria* [e], and *Canidius Gallus*, towards the *Caſpian* ſea, had prepared his way, and gained great reputation to his arms. Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Conſ.

The crown of *Parthia* was now poſſeſſed by *Phraates* [f]. His father *Orodes*, after bewailing the death of his beloved ſon *Pacorus*, had made choice of him to ſucceed him, as the eldeſt of his thirty ſons. This young Prince was no ſooner declared heir to the crown, than he ſtrangled his father, and put to death all his brothers. Even the eldeſt of his own ſons was ſacrificed to his jealouſy. Many of the *Parthian* nobility, alarmed at ſuch monſtrous cruelty, fled into the neighbouring ſtates; and *Moneſes*, one of the moſt illuſtrious and powerful of them, deſerted to the *Romans*. *Antony* was at this time in *Italy* at too great a diſtance to take advantage of theſe diſturbances; and *Soſius*, who commanded in *Syria*, had learnt, from the example of *Ventidius*, not to court a glory which might ſurpaſs that of his General. But *Antony*, upon his return

[e] The chief exploit of this Commander was the taking of *Jeruſalem*, in conjunction with *Herod*, after a ſiege of five months. Moſt of the inhabitants were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of either age or ſex, not ſo much by the *Roman* ſoldiers, whom ſo long and obſtinate a defence had greatly incenſed, as by the mercileſs diſpoſitions of the *Jews*, under *Herod*'s command, who, prompted by the rage of party, gave no quarter to their unfortunate countrymen. *Antigonus*, the author of this war, which had now laſted a year, gave himſelf up into the hands of *Soſius*, who ſent him in chains to *Antioch*, where he was ſoon after, through *Herod*'s intrigues, tried for his life, beaten with rods, and beheaded. Such was the end of the laſt Prince of the *Aſmonean* line, which had poſſeſſed the high-prieſthood, together with the ſovereign power, for upwards of one hundred and twenty years.

[f] *Strabo*, l. xi p. 360, tells us, that the hiſtory of this war was written by one *Adelphius*, who commanded a body of troops in this expedition: And it may be obſerved, that ſeveral learned men have thought that this *Adelphius* is *Dellius*, who was an hiſtorian, and accompanied *Antony* into *Armenia*, in 720, and was ſent twice to negotiate with *Artabazes*. Dio, l. xlix.

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into *Syria*, gave *Moneſes* the moſt honourable reception, and, calling to mind the manner *Themiſtocles* had been treated by the *Perſian* Monarch [g], he made over to him three towns, *Lariſſa*, *Arethuſa*, and *Hierapolis*, for his maintenance, and even promiſed him the throne of *Parthia*; hoping to profit greatly in his expedition, by the intereſt and capacity of that nobleman. *Phraates*, however, being ſenſible how much ſuch a man had it in his power to hurt him, ſent him ſuch aſſurances of his favour, and made him ſuch promiſes, that he again returned to his Sovereign. *Antony* did not think proper to ſtop him, as he had in view to amuſe the *Parthian* Monarch by the hopes of peace; and, with *Moneſes*, he ſent Ambaſſadors to begin a negotiation, demanding nothing more than the reſtitution of the colours and priſoners taken from *Craſſus*. But he did not wait for an anſwer, and, taking leave of *Cleopatra*, he advanced towards *Armenia*, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops [h].

Artabazes,

[g] *Artaxerxes* is reported to have given three towns to *Themiſtocles*, one for his bread, one for his wine, and a third for his meat.

[h] *Dio* ſays, that he would willingly have taken a ſhorter way into *Parthia* over the *Euphrates*, but that he found *all the paſſages well guarded*. Concerning thoſe paſſages there are ſome curious lines in the celebrated performance of the Preſident *Monteſquieu*: "*Trajan*, ſays he, accompliſhed "*Cæſar*'s project of invading the *Parthians*, "and was very ſucceſsful in his wars with "that mighty people: Any Monarch but "himſelf would have ſunk under the weight "of ſuch an enterpriſe, where danger was "always preſent, and from whence the ne- "ceſſary ſource of his ſupplies was at a vaſt "diſtance; in a word, where he could not "be ſure *victory itſelf would ſave him from* "*deſtruction*. The difficulty conſiſted in "the ſituation of the two empires, and the "military diſcipline of both nations. If he "directed his march through *Armenia* to- "wards the ſources of the *Tygris* and *Eu-* "*phrates*, he was ſure to be incommoded "with a mountainous and impracticable "country, through which no convoy of "proviſion could paſs, ſo that the army "would be quite deſtroyed before they "could penetrate into *Media*" [Why then is *Craſſus* ſo much blamed by all the hiſtorians for not taking this road, and why is *Antony* in the preſent expedition only cenſured for ſetting out ſo late and leaving behind him his engines?] "On the other, if "he ſhould ſtrike out a lower track towards "the South, through *Niſibis*, he would find "himſelf bewildered in a ghaſtly deſert that "ſeparated the two empires; and, if he "proceeded ſtill lower, and marched thro' "*Meſopotamia*, he was then to croſs a large "country that was either uncultivated or "laid under water; and, as the *Tygris* and "*Euphrates* flowed from North to South, he "could not gain a paſſage into the country "without quitting thoſe rivers, which, if "he did, he muſt inevitably periſh. — As "to the manner practiſed by the two na- "tions in making war, the ſtrength of the "*Romans* conſiſted in their infantry, which "was the moſt firm and beſt diſciplined bo- "dy of ſoldiers in the world. The *Par-* "*thians*, on the contrary, had no infantry, "but then their horſe were admirable, and "always combated at ſuch a diſtance as "placed them out of the reach of the *Ro-* "*man* army, and the javelin was ſeldom "launched far enough to wound them. "Their own weapons conſiſted of a bow "and many formidable ſhafts, and they ra- "ther beſieged an army than gave it battle; "they were purſued to no purpoſe in their "flight, for that was the ſame to them as "an engagement. They *carried off all the* "*inhabitants* of the country, and only left "garriſons in their fortified places, and, "when theſe were taken, the conquerors "were obliged to deſtroy them—The *Par-* "*thians*, likewiſe, *ſet fire to all the country* "that lay round the *Roman* army, and did "not leave them the leaſt blade of herbage. "In a word, they managed their wars in a "manner

Artabazes, King of *Armenia*, the ſon of *Tigranes*, was then in alliance with the *Romans*, and in war with another *Artabazes*, King of the *Atropatenian Medes* [1], an ally of *Phraates*. *Antony* came, therefore, as it were, to ſuccour the King of *Armenia*, but his real intention was well known. His forces, when reviewed, conſiſted of ſixty thouſand legionaries, ten thouſand *Spaniſh* and *Gallic* horſe, and thirty thouſand auxiliary light-armed troops [k]; to which *Artabazes* was to add ſix thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot. As his army, by taking a great circuit, had made a march of a thouſand miles, and ſummer was very much advanced before he got to the borders of *Media*, he was adviſed to take up his winter quarters in *Armenia*, and not begin the campaign till the next ſpring; but, being confident that nothing could reſiſt the impreſſion of ſo great an army, and being deſirous to get back to *Cleopatra*, he paſſed the *Araxes* to go and lay ſiege to *Praaſpa* [l], the capital of *Atropatenia*, where the King's wives and children were; and, to march the more expeditiouſly, he left behind him on the borders of *Media* all his machines of war, under the guard of two legions commanded by *Oppius Statianus*. The allied Kings of *Parthia* and *Media* marched towards the beſieged, but, underſtanding that *Antony* had left his machines behind, they immediately turned off towards the place where *Oppius* was incamped, and, ſurpriſing him, cut his two legions in pieces, and broke or burnt all the machines. *Oppius* himſelf was killed, and, of the whole army, *Polemon*, alone, King of *Pontus*, eſcaped, having bribed the *Parthians*, by the hopes of a great ranſom. This diſaſter quite diſcouraged *Antony*'s allies, and *Artabazes*, King of *Armenia*, who had been the principal cauſe of the war, giving over all the hopes he had conceived of the *Romans*, marched home with all his troops. The victorious *Parthians* ſoon appeared before *Praaſpa*, and, having thrown ſuccours into the town, inſolently upbraided and threatened the *Romans*. *Antony*, apprehending, if he ſuffered theſe inſults, and left his troops in inaction, that his men would ſoon be diſheartened, reſolved to endeavour to bring about a general action; and, with this view, drew out of his lines ten legions, three prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry, as for a general forage, hoping that the enemy would follow him and give him an opportunity of engaging with them. After one day's march, the *Parthians*

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"manner very like that which is now practiſed on the ſame frontiers." But, if the *Parthians* were invincible for all theſe reaſons, how did *Trajan* conquer them?

[1] *Media* was diſtinguiſhed into *Great Media*, and the *Atropatenian*. The firſt, whoſe capital was *Ecbatana*, was under the dominion of the *Parthian* Monarch. *Media Atropatenia* was a province of the old kingdom of the *Medes*, and took its name from *Atropatros*, who had preſerved it from the *Macedonian* yoke. *Atropatros*, in acknowledgment of his good ſervice, was elected King: And the ſucceſſion was continued down in his poſterity till the time of *Strabo*.

[k] *Velleius* ſays thirteen legions. *Florus*, l. iv. c. 10. and *Juſtin*, xlii. 5, ſixteen; and *Livy*, *Epit.* l. xxx, eighteen legions, and ſixteen thouſand horſe.

[l] It is probably the town called *Vera* by *Strabo*.

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appeared, ranged in the form of a creſcent, near the road he was to paſs. *Antony*, to deceive his enemies, and induce them to keep their poſt, cauſed his tents to be ſtruck, as if he deſigned to continue his march, and not to engage. He then ordered his men to file off, directing the cavalry to charge, as ſoon as the legions were near enough to ſupport them. The cavalry executed his orders punctually, and cloſed ſo ſuddenly with the enemy, that they could make no uſe of their arrows: But they kept their ground till the *Roman* infantry, coming on with great ſhouts, and ſtriking their ſhields, forced them to retire. *Antony* hoped that this battle would end the war, or, at leaſt, make a conſiderable progreſs towards his intended conqueſt; but, after having purſued the enemy for ſix miles with his infantry, and ſent his cavalry after them thrice as far, he found that he had not killed above an hundred of them, and had taken only fifty priſoners. This ſucceſs was but a ſmall compenſation for the loſs he had ſuſtained of his two legions and artillery, and he became very ſenſible of the diſadvantages with which he made a war againſt an enemy who could not be forced to an engagement.

The next day *Antony* having prepared to return to *Praaſpa*, the *Parthians* appeared again; at firſt in a ſmall body; but, their numbers increaſed gradually; and, at laſt, their whole army being aſſembled, they harraſſed his troops during their march by briſk and frequent attacks, and it was with great trouble and danger that he regained his camp. During his abſence the beſieged had made a ſucceſsful ſally and broke down a part of the mound, which had been raiſed with great labour. *Antony*, irritated at this bad ſucceſs, decimated the cohorts, who had been upon ſervice, and gave them barley inſtead of wheat. The war now became troubleſome to both parties, and each feared more grievous conſequences. For *Antony*, ſurrounded on all ſides, could ſend no troops abroad in queſt of forage, without the loſs of many of his people; and *Phraates* knew well it would be very difficult to engage his men to keep the field in the winter-ſeaſon. Wherefore this Monarch made uſe of the following artifice to get rid of his enemy. By his order, the Commanders of the *Parthians*, inſtead of acting with their uſual vigour againſt the *Romans* in their forages, affected a gentle behaviour, and, while they allowed them to get proviſions, took the opportunity to extol their valour, and to blame *Antony* for not making peace with their Monarch, and ſparing the lives of ſo many gallant men, whom famine and cold would ſoon deſtroy, though they had no enemy to fight with. This being ſeveral times reported to *Antony*, he cauſed inquiry to be made, whether the *Parthians* had been commiſſioned to hold theſe diſcourſes with his men; and, being aſſured that they were, he determined to ſend ſome of his friends to the King; and, to ſave his honour in ſome meaſure, he charged them ſtill to demand the reſtitution of the *Roman* colours and priſoners. The King, according to *Dio*, received the Ambaſſadors ſeated upon a golden chair, and holding in his hand a bow, the ſtring

of

of which he frequently drew. He rejected, as impertinent, the propoſition of reſtoring the priſoners and colours, and broke out into many reproaches againſt the *Romans*, which indeed they well deſerved; but withal told them that peace and a ſafe retreat ſhould be granted them, on condition they would ſpeedily depart. *Antony* was obliged to be content with what was granted him; and he determined to leave the country: But grief and ſhame would not permit him to ſpeak to the ſoldiers himſelf, and he commiſſioned *Domitius Ahenobarbus* to harangue them in his name. His ſoldiers were ſenſible of the reaſons of his ſilence, and were thence engaged to obey him with the greater zeal. As he was preparing to return by the ſame way that he came, through the naked deſerts, a certain *Mardian*[m], of whoſe courage and fidelity the *Romans* had trial in the fight for the defence of the engines, and who was well acquainted with the *Parthian* manners, came to him and adviſed him to take his march by the foot of the mountains which lay on the right hand, and not to expoſe his army, loaden with arms, in vaſt plains, where they would be perpetually harraſſed by the attacks of an innumerable cavalry. He diſcovered to him the ſecret intentions of *Phraates*, who had no other deſign in treating with him but to ſeize a favourable opportunity of attacking his forces; and concluded with offering himſelf to be the guide of his march. *Antony* followed his advice, but told him that he muſt conſent to be bound till he conducted the army ſafe into *Armenia*[n]. The army marched two days without any alarm, but, on the third, when *Antony* thought of nothing leſs than the *Parthians*, and the ſoldiers, upon the aſſurance of the peace, were in the greateſt ſecurity, the *Mardian*, eſpying the bank of a river newly broken, and the way by which they were to paſs overflowed, he judged the *Parthians* had done it to ſtop the march of the *Romans*; and, ſhewing it to *Antony*, he adviſed him to prepare to receive the enemy. The *Roman* General preſently marſhalled his army, leaving between the ranks intervals for the archers and ſlingers to make their diſcharges. At the ſame time the *Parthians* appeared, not doubting but they would eaſily ſurround the *Romans*, and entirely deſtroy them: But the light-armed

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[m] *Florus*, l. iv. 10. and *Paterc.* l. ii. 82, write, that he who gave this wholſome advice to *Antony* was one of the *Roman* priſoners, who ſerved then in the *Parthian* camp, and who, out of love for his countrymen, rode up to *Antony*'s trenches in the night, and gave this warning to the officer upon guard in Latin. They do not ſay whether he ſtaid with *Antony*: *Unus ex clade Craſſianâ Parthico habitu caſtris adequitat &, ſalute latinè datâ, quum fidem ipſo feciſſet, quid immineret edocuit: Jam adfuturum cum omnibus copiis regem: Irent retro peterentque montes: Sic quoque hoſtem fortaſſe non defore.* Flor. Captivi cujuſdam Romani conſilio ac fide ſervatus, qui clade Craſſiani exercitûs captus, cum fortunam non animum mutâſſet, acceſſit nocte ad ſtationem Romanam, prædixitque ne deſtinatum iter peterent, ſed diverſo, ſylveſtrique pervaderent. *Vell. Pat.*

[n] *Dio* obſerves that *Antony* was really deceived by this guide, and that he turned off from his beſt road to take a very difficult one, where it was eaſy for the *Parthians* to annoy him. But in this opinion he is unſupported by the authority of any other writer. Dio, l. iv. p. 409.

armed

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armed foot charged them ſo briſkly that they were forced to retreat; yet they ſeveral times returned and renewed the ſkirmiſh, till the *Gallic* horſe marched againſt them in a body, and treated them ſo roughly that they diſappeared for that day. This aſſault taught the *Roman* General how to receive them on the like occaſions. He made the army march in order of battle in four fronts, lining not only the rear, but likewiſe the flanks with archers and ſlingers, and giving orders to the horſe to be ready to repulſe the enemy, if they drew near, but not to purſue them. This method was effectual; the *Parthians* followed them four days, and were conſtantly beat off with loſs; which made them reſolve to give over the purſuit, making the ground of their departure to be the approaching winter. But, unluckily, the day before they were to march back, *Flavius Gallus*, one of *Antony*'s braveſt officers, requeſted a greater number of the light-armed foot for defence of the rear-guard, and ſome part of the cavalry from the wings, promiſing to atchieve ſomething conſiderable. Having obtained his deſire, he ſet himſelf, contrary to orders, to chace back a body of the enemy who came forward to ſkirmiſh. The Commanders of the rear-guard ſent in vain to warn him of the danger he ran of being ſurrounded and cut off from the reſt of the army. He was deaf to their admonitions, and, eagerly puſhing forward, found himſelf beſet on all ſides, and galled by ſhowers of arrows. He was then forced to ſend for aid; and the Colonels of the legions in the rear-guard and *Canidius*, who commanded there, inſtead of marching with all their force to reſcue him, ſent only a few cohorts to ſupport him, and theſe were followed by a few more; a method which, if it had been continued, would have occaſioned the rout of the whole army. *Antony* himſelf was obliged to bring on ſpeedily the whole van-guard: And this put an effectual ſtop to the attack of the enemy. The *Romans* loſt no leſs than three thouſand men in this engagement, and five thouſand were brought off wounded: *Gallus* himſelf was pierced with four arrows and died ſoon after. *Antony* behaved on this occaſion as a worthy General: He viſited the wounded, and gave them unfeigned proofs of his affection; and they in return made light of their misfortune, begging him to take care of his own life, and declaring that their wounds were all healed, while they ſaw him well.

The *Parthians*, who had before deſpaired of ruining the *Roman* army, were ſo encouraged by this unexpected ſucceſs, that, contrary to their cuſtom, they remained on horſeback all the night, near the *Roman* camp, in expectation of plundering it the next morning; not doubting but the *Romans* would abandon their baggage, as an impediment in their flight. But they were greatly diſappointed when they ſaw the camp ſtruck, every thing carried off, and the army marching in the beſt order: And more ſo when, coming on fiercely, they found a greater alacrity and ardour in the *Roman* ſoldiers to repel them than they had hitherto

therto experienced. They continued, however, their purſuit; and one day, as they galled the *Romans* with their arrows, the legionaries facing about, and receiving the light-armed troops into the ranks, ſet their knees to the ground, and, with their bucklers, formed a tortoiſe, upon which the *Parthian* arrows ſlided off, without doing any execution. The *Parthians*, not doubting but the *Romans* had taken that poſture through wearineſs, came on to attack them with their pikes; but the legionaries, riſing all at once, and giving a dreadful ſhout, flew upon them, mowed down the foremoſt ranks, and put the reſt to flight. The *Romans* had the ſame operation to repea for ſome days afterwards, which of courſe greatly retarded their march. Y. R. 717. Bef Chr. 35. 416 Con. Plut. Flor. iv. 10. Front. l. ii. Stratag. c. iii.

The army was now alſo greatly afflicted with famine; for the ſoldiers, employed conſtantly in fighting with the enemy, could not range about for proviſions. The ſcarcity was ſo great, that a buſhel of wheat was ſold for fifty drachmas, and barley-bread for its weight in ſilver. The ſoldiers were therefore forced to live upon fruits; and we are told that they unluckily fell upon an herb which proved fatal to numbers of them. Thoſe who eat of it loſt their underſtanding and memory, and fell to turning and removing all the ſtones they met with, as if employed in ſome ſerious work; and at laſt died by the vomiting of pure bile. Wine, it was thought, was the only cure for this diſorder, but there was none left in the camp: And, on this occaſion, *Dio* ſays that many of the *Roman* ſoldiers deſerted to the enemy, and that many more would have followed the example, if the *Parthians* had not barbarouſly, and in ſight of the *Roman* army, pierced with their arrows all thoſe who had truſted to them. *Antony*, ſeeing ſo many of his men falling off, and the *Parthians* ſtill at his heels, often cried out, *Oh the ten thouſand!* admiring thoſe ten thouſand, who, under the command of *Xenophon*, marched a much longer way, making their retreat from the plains of *Babylon* to the ſea, and having to do with a much more powerful enemy. Dio, xlix. p. 409.

The *Parthians*, ſeeing that it was impoſſible for them to ſtop the march of the *Romans* in the road they ſo ſteadily purſued, had again recourſe to artifice. They began to take all opportunities of diſcourſing with their enemies, and, unbending their bows, they drew near to thoſe who went in queſt of forage; telling them, that they were ſatisfied with the revenge they had taken, and were now upon their return home; and indeed for two days they were followed only by a few *Medes*, who did not offer to moleſt them, but appeared to have no other view than to protect ſome villages in the country. *Antony*, tired with ſo long a march in ſo difficult a road, was much inclined to take an eaſier one through a plain which now preſented itſelf, where he was told he would meet with every commodity; but a relation of *Moneſes*, by name *Mithridates*, came to the camp, and deſired to ſpeak with one who could talk either the *Parthian* or *Syrian* language. *Alexander*, of the city of *Antioch*, a man whom the General could put his confidence in, was ſent to the

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Parthian; who told him that *Moeſes*, in acknowledgment of the favours he had received from the *Roman* General, had ſent him to give the army warning to be ſtill upon their guard, and to continue their way along the mountains, where they would only encounter with the inconvenience of the want of water for one day; whereas, if they ſhould croſs the plain, the whole *Parthian* army being poſted in ambuſh between the hills beyond it, *Antony* might meet probably with the fate of *Craſſus*. The *Parthian*, after this kind warning, inſtantly departed. *Antony* ſent for the *Mardian* guide to have his opinion: The *Mardian* told him, that, though there were no enemies in the plains, yet it would be difficult to find their way in a deſert, and that he would meet with ſeveral difficult paſſes. Orders were therefore given to the ſoldiers to furniſh themſelves with water; and, becauſe veſſels were wanting, the ſoldiers filled their head-pieces, and ſome ſkins which they ſewed together. They then ſet out, though it was night; and they marched 30 miles without ſtopping. The *Parthians*, upon the firſt intelligence of this motion, had alſo, contrary to their cuſtom, ſet out in the night; and the next morning, by break of day, they were up with the rear-guard. The *Romans*, fatigued and diſpirited for want of ſleep, were greatly diſheartened at ſo unexpected an event; however, they bravely defended themſelves, and continued marching till they came to a river, the waters of which the *Mardian* guide forbad them to drink: But many of them paid no regard to his remonſtrances, nor to the intreaties of their General; and the waters, though clear and cool, were yet brackiſh and venomous, and ulcerated their bowels as ſoon as they were ſwallowed, and provoked an intolerable thirſt. A few hours march brought them however to another river, the waters of which they might drink in as great a quantity as they pleaſed, and in perfect ſafety. Here *Antony* deſigning to give his men ſome repoſe, as the ſoldiers were pitching their tents, *Mithridates* came again, called for *Alexander*, and ſent him to tell his General to march on with all ſpeed till he had paſſed the next river, which was the boundary the *Parthians* had ſet for their purſuit, and beyond which they would not go. *Antony* ſent the generous *Parthian* a preſent of ſeveral veſſels of gold, and, following his inſtructions, continued the march that whole day without the leaſt alarm: But the night was very tumultuous in the camp. Some of the ſoldiers agreed together to kill ſuch as they ſuſpected to have money, and rob them: And they plundered the baggage, and ſeized even on the military cheſt and their General's equipage, whoſe inlaid tables and cups ſet with jewels they broke in pieces and divided among them. The buſtle and confuſion was ſo great, that *Antony* could not imagine any thing leſs, than that the enemy had broken into the camp, and was ranſacking the baggage. He ſent for his freedman *Rhamnus* to run him through with his ſword, as ſoon as he ſhould command it; and to cut off his head, leſt he ſhould fall into the power of the enemy, or be known

known when he was dead. While he and his friends were in this conſternation, an account was brought him, that all the tumult proceeded from the avarice of the ſoldiers, who had plundered one another: And the guide at the ſame time aſſured him, that the river, which was to be the end of their toils, was now very near. About break of day, the tumult being over, and every one having fallen into his rank, the rear-guard felt again the *Parthian* arrow. The light-armed foot were therefore preſently ordered out againſt the enemy, and the legionaries formed the tortoiſe. The *Parthians*, ſeeing them prepared to receive them, durſt not approach, and the army moved on. The van-guard ſoon came to the banks of the wiſhed-for river: And, at the ſight of it, the *Parthians* unbent their bows, praiſed the valour and conduct of the *Romans*; and one of them, we are told, raiſing his voice, cried to them: *Farewell, Romans, retreat now without fear: It is with good reaſon that fame has publiſhed your glory, and that nations acknowledge you to be their conquerors; ſeeing that you have eſcaped the arrows of the Parthians*[o]. Y. R. 717. Bef. Chr. 35. 416 Con.

The *Romans* paſſed without moleſtation; and, after reſting themſelves at leiſure on the other bank, ſet forth on their march, not confiding too much on the words of the *Parthians*; and, in ſix days after their laſt fight, they arrived on the banks of the *Araxes*, where they expected to meet again with the enemy in croſſing a river which was both deep and rapid, but none appeared; and the army, having paſſed over into *Armenia*, felt the ſame joy as if they had gained a port after a violent ſtorm. The ſoldiers devoutly fell down proſtrate and worſhipped the land, and, riſing up, embraced and wept over one another. Here many of them were leſs able to bear the plenty of every thing, than the hardſhips they had lately undergone: For, by overcharging their ſtomachs after faring ſo ill, numbers of them died of various diſorders.

Antony, upon a review of his army, found that he had loſt in this expedition, twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe[p], of which more than the one half died of ſickneſs. After raiſing the ſiege of *Praaſpa*, he had marched three hundred miles in one and twenty days, during which time, he had fought eighteen times with the *Parthians* with advantage: But theſe victories were to no purpoſe; for, not being able to purſue the enemy after he had routed them, they remained imperfect; which makes the hiſtorians reflect on the prejudice he received from the retreat of *Artabazes*, the *Armenian* King, whoſe troops were armed after the manner of the *Parthians*, and accuſtomed to fight with them. The *Parthians*, ſo many times overcome, could never have rallied, if theſe troops had been with him to purſue the enemy.

[o] Ita & bene valete, Romani, meritò vos victores gentium fama loquitur, qui Parthorum tela fugiſtis. Flor. iv. 10.

[p] *Vell. Pat.* ſays, the fourth part of his ſoldiers, a third of the ſervants of the army, and all his baggage.

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All *Antony*'s Captains, ſenſible of the injury done them by the *Armenian*, were deſirous that *Antony* ſhould puniſh his perfidy; but, in the preſent condition of his army, he thought it more expedient to diſſemble, and defer his vengeance till another time. The propereſt method would have been to have taken up his winter quarters in *Armenia*, having no call any where elſe; and he would have been at hand to take his revenge alſo upon the *Parthians*: but he had nothing ſo much in his thoughts as the meeting with *Cleopatra*. He led therefore his army through ice and ſnow in the winter ſeaſon into *Syria*, and loſt in ſo painful a march eight thouſand more of his men [q]. But the ſlowneſs with which they proceeded kept not pace with the eagerneſs of his deſires; and, as ſoon as he could with any decency, he left them, and went on before to a fortreſs called *Leucoma*, upon the ſea-coaſt, between *Berytus* and *Sidon*. There waiting for the Queen of *Egypt*, he gave himſelf up to the exceſſes of eating and drinking; and would frequently, in the middle of a feaſt, ſtart from table, and run to the ſeaſide, to ſee whether he could not diſcover the veſſels which were to convey to him his *Cleopatra*. At laſt ſhe arrived, and brought with her cloaths and money for his troops. Though *Antony* had ſo little reaſon to be vain of his *Parthian* expedition, he yet wrote to *Rome* in the ſtyle of a conqueror, diſguiſing his loſſes, and magnifying his advantages; for which he well deſerved the reproaches which the flatterers of *Auguſtus* charged him with, for calling his *flight a victory*, and repreſenting himſelf as a conqueror for having eſcaped out of the hands of the enemy [r]. However, though they were well informed at *Rome* of the truth, the *Roman* vanity was concerned in ſupporting their General's accounts, and the Senate paſſed a decree of thankſgiving for ſo happy and glorious a ſucceſs. *Antony* ſoon removed with *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*.

Plut. Ant. Liv. Epit. 130.

L. Cornificius,
Sextus Pompeius [s], } Conſuls.

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Antony was no ſooner arrived at *Alexandria*, than he received a meſſage from *Sextus Pompey*, who had been obliged to quit *Sicily*, about the time that *Antony* was forced to leave *Parthia*. The firſt land he made

[q] It is probably this additional loſs which makes *Florus* ſay that *Antony* brought back to *Syria* but one third of his legions. *Dio*, xlix. 410, ſays that *Antony* not only made no reproaches to the *Armenian* King, but courted him in order to get money and proviſions from him; and that, his troops not being able to continue their march in ſo cold a ſeaſon, many of them were permitted to take up their winter quarters in *Armenia*. *Antony*, he adds, obtained this favour of the King by his fair promiſes; and his real intention was in the ſpring to lead them back into *Parthia*.

[r] Hanc *Antonius* fugam ſuam, quia vivus exierat, victoriam vocabat. Vell. Pat. ii. 82. Incredibili mentis vecordia, ferocior aliquanto factus eſt, quaſi viciſſet qui evaſerat. Flor. iv. 10.

[s] *Sextus Pompeius*, this year's Conſul, was deſcended of a diſtant branch of the *Pompeian* family.

with the 17 veſſels remaining of his powerful fleet, was the promontory of *Lacinium*, in the ſouthern part of *Italy*, near *Crotona*, where he is ſaid to have acted the pirate, and to have taken out of the temple of *Juno Lacinia* offerings of ineſtimable value. From thence he ſailed ſucceſſively to the iſlands of *Corcyra*, *Caphalenia*, and *Leſbos*; and his firſt deſign was to paſs the winter in this laſt at *Mitylene*, and wait for *Antony*'s return. But there, hearing by common report that *Antony* was defeated, he began to entertain hopes of recovering the power he had loſt, and of ſucceeding *Antony* in the dominion of the Eaſt, if he was dead; or of dividing the provinces with him, if he returned in diſgrace. The example of *Labienus*, who, with a name much leſs reſpected, had overrun all *Aſia*, greatly heightened theſe hopes. He therefore took again the military robe and enſigns of command, refitted his little navy, exerciſed his rowers, and inliſted into his ſervice all the vagabonds that preſented themſelves; and a great number of his own ſoldiers, who were deſtitute of all reſource, came flocking to him. The neceſſity he was under of defending himſelf againſt *Octavius*, and the deſire of aſſiſting *Antony*, were the pretences of his conduct. His deputies attended upon *Antony*, as ſoon as he was returned to *Alexandria:* And, at the ſame time, he privately diſpatched others towards the Princes of *Thrace* and *Pontus*, and even to the King of *Parthia*, being reſolved to retire to the Court of one of theſe Princes, in caſe *Antony*'s anſwer was not favourable. *Antony*, who ſaw through his deſigns, had already given orders to *M. Titius*, who commanded in thoſe parts, to oppoſe him with all his forces, at land and ſea, if he pretended to make any armament; but to conduct him honourably to *Alexandria*, if he ſubmitted in a peaceable manner. He therefore made no other anſwer to *Sextus*'s deputies, than that the orders he had given *Titius* would ſoon diſcover what were the real ſentiments of him who ſent them. While they were earneſtly pleading for their maſter, *Pompey*'s envoys to the *Parthian* King were taken by *Antony*'s officers, and brought to *Alexandria*. *Sextus*'s deputies were greatly diſturbed at this unfortunate incident, yet they offered to excuſe him by obſerving that it was not ſurpriſing that a young man, reduced to the laſt extremity, and who had no ſecurity of *Antony*'s favour, ſhould ſeek a ſafe retreat where he could find it: But that, had he been well aſſured of *Antony*'s kindneſs towards him, he would certainly have had recourſe to no one elſe.

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Pompey, in the mean time, had paſſed over into *Aſia*, where *Furnius*, ſeeing him behave in a peaceable manner, and having no orders from *Antony*, gave him no trouble: But when *Pompey* began to raiſe troops, and act the independent chief, *Furnius* immediately invited *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who commanded a body of troops in the neighbourhood, and *Amyntas*, King of the *Galatians*, to come to his aſſiſtance. It was ſoon found that *Pompey* had laid a ſcheme for making *Domitius* his priſoner,

Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Con.

ſoner, and had corrupted one of his domeſtics, who was to deliver him up. This domeſtic of *Domitius* was diſcovered, and put to death by the ſentence of a Council of war, and *Sextus*, on his ſide, revenged himſelf on *Theodorus*, one of his freedmen, whom alone he had made privy to this plot, and whom he therefore ſuſpected to have revealed it. This deſign not ſucceeding, he loſt all hopes of deceiving *Furnius*, but he ſeized upon the town of *Lampſacus*, and, by bribes, engaged the citizens to declare for him; ſo that, ſeeing himſelf two hundred horſe and three legions ſtrong, he went and aſſaulted *Cyzicus* by ſea and land, but was both ways repulſed by *Antony*'s troops in the town, aſſiſted by the gladiators kept there for the entertainment of the public. He therefore returned to a place called the *port of the Achæans*, to provide himſelf in corn; whither *Furnius* followed him, without offering to fight; and, encamping always as near him as he could with a numerous cavalry, he hindered him from foraging the country, or beſieging towns. *Pompey*, however, had the boldneſs to aſſault his camp in front with one part of his forces, while the reſt, taking a compaſs, were ordered to fall on behind; and, while *Furnius* brought all his men to the open attack, his camp was forced by thoſe who attacked it on the oppoſite ſide, and the whole army put to the rout. All *Furnius*'s men fled through the plains of *Scammandria*, and, not being able to run very faſt, becauſe the ground was moiſtened by the rain, there was made a great ſlaughter of them: Thoſe who ſaved themſelves eſcaped into places of ſecurity, being too weak to make a ſtand, till ſuch time as new recruits were come from *Myſia*, *Propontis*, and other places. This victory gained him great reputation, and the country people, ruined with taxes, willingly joined him; and with their aſſiſtance he took *Nicea*, *Chalcedon*, and ſome other leſs important places. But ſtill, wanting horſe, he was often diſtreſſed in going to gather in corn and forage: Wherefore, upon intelligence that a body of *Italian* horſe were coming to *Antony*, which *Octavia*, who wintered at *Athens*, ſent him, he diſpatched ſome of his agents to corrupt them: But theſe ſuborners were ſeized by the commander of this body of horſe, who diſtributed the money among his troopers.

In the beginning of ſpring, there arrived at *Proconeſus* the ſeventy ſhips returned by *Octavius* to *Antony*, and, a little after, *Titius* brought thither from *Syria* ſixty ſhips more, with a conſiderable army. *Pompey* was ſenſible that his ſhips could ſerve him no longer; he therefore burnt them, and incorporated his rowers and ſailors into his land-forces. But it was now madneſs to make any reſiſtance either at land or ſea; and, having diſguſted his friends by his obſtinacy, he ſaw himſelf abandoned by *Caſſius of Parma*, *Naſidius*, *Saturninus*, *Thermus*, *Antiſtius*, and all the moſt conſiderable of his father's friends. *Fannius*, for whom he had the greateſt value, and *Libo*, his father-in-law, left him alſo; and, making their own compoſition, ſubmitted to *Antony*.

tony. Being thus deſerted, he advanced through the midland of *Bithynia*, with a deſign, it was thought, of getting into *Armenia*. *Furnius*, *Titius*, and *Amyntas*, who had now joined their forces, having notice that to this intent he had quitted his camp by night, followed him, and made ſuch haſte, that they overtook him before night, and encamped ſeparately round him, without intrenching themſelves; becauſe it was late, and their men were tired with their march. *Pompey*, ſeeing them in this poſture, drew out three thouſand men, and charged them in the dark ſo briſkly, that, after killing great numbers of them, he forced moſt of the reſt to betake themſelves to flight half naked: So that, if he had fallen on with all his forces, or had but given them chace, he might have completed his victory; but he reaped no other fruit from ſo fair an opportunity, but the being enabled for a time to continue his march. Y. R. 713. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

The enemy, having rallied, followed cloſe at his heels, and very ſorely harraſſed him; ſo that, being reduced by want of proviſions, he deſired a conference with *Furnius*, who had been his father's friend, and who was, by his dignity and merit, the moſt conſiderable of the three Commanders; and to that purpoſe went to the bank of a river that ran between them. He told him, that, having ſent deputies to *Antony*, and having in the mean time no proviſions, and no friends who could furniſh him with any, he had been forced to do what he had done: "But, for your part, *Furnius*, added he, if it be by *Antony*'s or-"ders you make war upon me, he is ill adviſed, not foreſeeing a war "over his own head; but, if it be of your own motion, I beſeech you "to expect the return of my deputies, or, if you chuſe it rather, I ſhall "put myſelf into your hands, (for in you I can confide) provided "you promiſe me, upon your honour, to deliver me in ſafety to *An-*"*tony.*" To which *Furnius* anſwered, "that, if he had any intention "of ſubmitting to *Antony*, he ought in perſon to have gone to him at "firſt, or have ſtaid for his anſwer at *Mitylene*. But *Pompey*," continued he, "you deſigned war, and have done all that you could to "kindle one; for why ſhould you deny things which we certainly "know? Yet, if you now repent, conſider that there are three of us "here who command for *Antony*, and do not create any jealouſy among "us, but deliver yourſelf up to *Titius*, who only has a commiſſion con-"cerning you. You may require of him the ſame ſecurity you do of "me; for his orders are, if you obſtinately hold out, to kill you; but, "if you ſubmit, to ſend you honourably to *Antony*." *Pompey*'s pride would not allow him to deliver himſelf up to a man of low extraction, who owed him the greateſt obligations for having preſerved his life, and, by the treaty of *Miſenum*, reſtored him to his country, and who yet had accepted the commiſſion of making war upon him. He had alſo probably good reaſon to ſuſpect *Titius*'s honour, or even *Antony*'s intentions, who had commiſſioned ſuch a perſon to conduct him to

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Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

Alexandria. He therefore offered himſelf once more to *Furnius*, and begged him to receive him; and, when that could not be obtained, he deſired that, at leaſt, he might yield himſelf into *Amyntas*'s hands. But, *Furnius* telling him that *Amyntas* would not do an action which would prove injurious to *Titius*, who had *Antony*'s commiſſion for this purpoſe, the conference ended. *Antony*'s Lieutenants did not doubt but that *Pompey*, the next morning, would be forced, by the want of proviſions, to yield himſelf to *Titius*; but, as ſoon as it was night, he cauſed fires to be kindled, and gave orders to the trumpets to ſound at every watch of the night, according to cuſtom; and he himſelf, without any noiſe, went out of his camp with the flower of his forces, without making any one privy to his deſign, which was to return to the ſea, and burn *Titius*'s fleet. And this, in all probability, he would have effected, if *Scaurus* had not deſerted to the enemy, and given them an account of his march, and the way he took. *Amyntas* preſently followed him, with 1500 horſe, and ſoon overtook the fugitive, who had no cavalry with him. As ſoon as he appeared, all *Pompey*'s men forſook him; and this unfortunate Commander was forced to ſurrender. As ſoon as *Antony* knew that he was taken, he ſent an order, it was ſaid, to have him killed; but, afterwards relenting, ſent a counter order, which was carried with ſuch expedition, that it arrived firſt; ſo that, the order which condemned *Sextus* coming to hand laſt, *Titius* conſtrued it, or choſe to conſtrue it, as the laſt reſolution of *Antony*, and put it in execution. It was alſo reported, according to *Appian*, that *Plancus*, Governor of *Syria*, who had *Antony*'s ſeal, gave the order; apprehending that *Pompey* might raiſe ſome new diſturbance between *Octavius* and *Antony*, or even between *Antony* and the Queen of *Egypt*, who is ſaid to have had a very great regard for the name of *Pompey*. But all this only proves that *Antony* was aſhamed of the deed, and was glad by theſe rumours to throw the odium of it upon others. The people of *Rome* entertained ſuch a deteſtation of *Titius*'s ingratitude, that, when he returned to the city, and was celebrating games in *Pompey*'s theatre, he was loaded with imprecations, and driven from the *Circus*. Thus died *Sextus Pompeius*, in the fortieth year of his age, after a life of perpetual warfare and danger. He owed entirely to the reputation of his father both his honours and misfortunes. He had more courage than prudence, and more ambition than art and good conduct. A Chief of robbers, and afterwards of pirates: Ruſtic and impolite in his ſpeech and behaviour, and, governed by his ſlaves and freedmen [t], he furniſhed ample ſubject of reproach to the writers, who wanted to make their court to the Triumvirs. What enabled him to

Appian, p. 747.

[t] Hic adoleſcens erat ſtudiis rudis, ſermone barbarus, impetu ſtrenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer, fide patri diſſimillimus, libertorum ſuorum libertus, ſervorumque ſervus; ſpecioſis invidens, ut pareret humillimis. Vell. Pat. 73.

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hold out ſo long againſt *Octavius* was the deſperate fortune of his followers, who were all fugitives, or men devoted to death by proſcriptions, who had no reſource but in their valour. The greateſt blot in his life is the murder of *Statius Murcus*, who, after the battle of *Philippi*, joined him with a very conſiderable fleet, and whom he is ſaid to have ſacrificed to the jealouſy of *Menas* and *Menecrates*, his freedmen and Admirals[u]. Y. R. 718. Bef. Chr. 34. 417 Conſ.

Octavius, on the death of *Pompey*, celebrated horſe-races and other games in *Rome*, and cauſed the ſame honour to be decreed to *Antony*, which he had received himſelf after the conqueſt of *Sicily*. According to *Dio*, he placed his chariot before the Roſtra in the Forum, and his ſtatue in the temple of Concord, and he was allowed to feaſt there with his wife and family. *Antony* ſpent the year at *Alexandria* with *Cleopatra*, who was continually importuning him to add new territories to her dominions. According to *Joſephus*, ſhe demanded all *Arabia* and *Judæa*, and would have engaged him to kill *Malchus* and *Herod*, the Kings of theſe two countries. And *Antony*, though he did not conſent to all ſhe requeſted, was yet ſo profuſe of his grants to her, that he ſhocked the *Roman* people, who loudly expreſſed their diſſatisfaction with his conduct. This year *Octavius*, to keep his troops in exerciſe, ſent them, under the command of his Lieutenants, into *Illyricum*, againſt the *Dalmatii*, the *Japodes*, the *Pannonii*, and other barbarous nations of thoſe parts: And, that he might refute the ſuſpicions entertained concerning his valour, he himſelf, it is ſaid, appeared ſometimes at the head of his army, and behaved very gallantly, having been twice wounded, and often in danger of his life. This war continued till he found it neceſſary to break with his collegue, and commence hoſtilities with him. Joſeph. Ant. l. xv. c. 4. l. i chap. 13. et l. vii. c. 32. Appian, Dio.

[u] Statium autem Murcum, qui adventu ſuo claſſiſque celeberrimæ vires ejus duplicaverat, inſimulatum falſis criminationibus, quia talem virum collegam officii Menas & Menecrates faſtidierunt, Pompeius in Siciliâ interfecerat. *Vell. Pat.* 77.

CHAP. VI.

ANTONY *makes himſelf Maſter of* Armenia, *and puts the King in chains. His alliance with the King of the* Medes. *His extravagant deportment at* Alexandria. *He refuſes to receive* OCTAVIA, *and orders her back to* Rome. AGRIPPA's *Edileſhip.*

M. ANTONIUS II.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO, } Conſuls.

ANTONY was no ſooner returned with his forces into *Syria*, than the two Monarchs of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, whom he had attacked, fell out about the diviſion of the *Roman* ſpoils, and the King of the *Medes* ſuſpected *Phraates* of having a deſign upon his kingdom. He, therefore, Y. R. 719. Bef. Chr. 33. 418 Conſ.

Y. R. 719. Bef. Chr. 33. 418 Conſ.

therefore, by the mediation of *Polemon*, King of *Cilicia*, and a part of *Pontus*, entered into a negociation with *Antony* and made him an offer of all his forces againſt the *Parthians*. *Polemon*, who followed *Antony* to *Alexandria*, eaſily determined him to accept of the proffered alliance, as it would furniſh him with a fair opportunity, not only of repairing his diſgrace by the deſtruction of the *Parthian* empire, but of revenging himſelf of the perfidious *Armenian*. Having, therefore, made his preparations, he ſet out from *Alexandria* in the beginning of the ſpring of the preſent year, and marched his army directly towards *Armenia*[x], and, not thinking it unlawful or diſhonourable to uſe perfidy againſt the perfidious, he ſent ambaſſadors to *Artabazes* with an offer of his friendſhip and his alliance by the marriage of his ſon with a daughter of the *Armenian*, inviting him to come and join him. The King, conſcious of his guilt, and who had entered at that time into a negociation with *Octavius*, put no confidence in *Antony*'s falſe careſſes. He excuſed himſelf as well as he could, and was determined to avoid, if poſſible, putting himſelf in the hands of one whom he had ſo grievouſly offended. But *Antony*, by advancing toward *Artaxata*, the capital of *Armenia*, with all his forces, gave a weight to his invitation by the terror of his arms: And *Artabazes* thought proper to go to the *Roman* camp. *Antony* had him inſtantly arreſted, pretending that his view was no other, than to oblige him to lend him his treaſures, which were kept in ſeveral fortreſſes, which the Commanders would never give up, unleſs it was to purchaſe the liberty of their King. *Artabazes* conſented to be carried round to all theſe caſtles, and gave his orders to the ſeveral Commanders conformable to *Antony*'s deſire: But none of them obeyed; and the Grandees, ſeeing their Monarch in the power of the *Romans*, proclaimed his eldeſt ſon, *Artaxias*, King in his ſtead. Upon this *Antony*, quitting the maſk, put, without any ceremony, the Monarch in chains; but they were of ſilver, to ſhew his great reſpect for the dignity of *King*. Thus a war was declared, but it was not of long duration. *Artaxias*, being entirely defeated in the firſt battle, fled into *Parthia*, leaving the kingdom and all his family in the power of *Antony*. Such was the origin of the troubles which ſhook, for a long time, *Armenia*, ſucceſſively invaded by two powerful empires, betwixt which it was ſituated, without

Dio, lix. p. 415.

Dio, ibid. Joſ. l. i. B. c. 13. Ant. l. xv. c. 5. Tacit. An. xi. 3.

[x] *Cleopatra* accompanied him according to *Joſephus*, l. xv. c. 5, as far as the *Euphrates*, whence, paſſing through *Apamia* and *Damaſcus*, ſhe viſited *Judæa*, where ſhe was magnificently received by *Herod*, to whom ſhe farmed out the part of *Arabia* and of the country of *Jericho*, which had been lately given her. The ſame author adds, that ſhe made him an offer of her perſon through incontinence, or with an inſidious view to ruin him. The cautious and circumſpect politician, however, did not liſten to her ſollicitations, and entertained ſome thoughts of making away with her, for the ill ſervices ſhe had done him with *Antony*; but, his friends being all againſt ſuch an attempt, he got rid of her as ſoon as he could, loading her with preſents, and conducting her with great reſpect as far as *Peluſium*. Yet was he ſo apprehenſive of her malice, that he immediately ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of *Maſſada*, and ſtored it with arms for 12,000 men, as a place of refuge in caſe of need.

remain-

remaining fixed under the power of either. *Antony* thought he had reaped glory enough for one year by the conqueſt of *Armenia*, where, having left troops ſufficient to preſerve it, and confirmed his alliance with the *Median* monarch, he returned to *Alexandria*. There he entered in a triumphal car with his captives and ſpoils, and made an homage of them to *Cleopatra*. *Artabazes* and all his family, bound in chains of gold, were brought before the Queen, ſeated on a throne of gold, under an alcove of ſilver, ſurrounded by all her Court and a multitude of people. *Antony*'s intention was, that his priſoners ſhould proſtrate themſelves before her, and implore her mercy as their Sovereign: But *Artabazes*, though in this deplorable condition, remembered that he was the ſon of the great King *Tigranes*, and refuſed either to kneel to her, or give her the title of Queen; which behaviour coſt him his liberty, and afterwards his life. He was ſent to priſon, and, after the battle of *Actium*, orders were given to put him to death. Nothing in all *Antony*'s conduct gave greater offence at *Rome* than his triumph at *Alexandria*. It ſeemed intolerable, that a *Roman* General ſhould impart ſuch a peculiar honour to a foreign nation, and that *Rome* ſhould be deprived of the glory of inſulting over vanquiſhed Kings, which, for ſo many years, ſhe had enjoyed. Y. R 719. Bef. Chr. 33. 418 Conſ.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus II.
L. Volcatius Tullus, } Conſuls.

Antony, ſtill taken up with the chimerical project of conquering *Parthia*, left *Alexandria* in the beginning of this year, and went as far as *Armenia*, but he did not paſs the *Araxes*. There he was met by the *Median* Monarch, and they made a treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive: The *Median* was to furniſh him with forces againſt *Octavius*, in caſe of a rupture between him and *Antony*; and *Antony* was to furniſh his ally with forces againſt the *Parthian*. The *Roman* General transferred to the *Median* a part of *Armenia*; and received of him the enſigns taken two years before, when *Statianus* was killed and the engines deſtroyed; together with *Jotape*, his daughter, then very young, who was to be married to *Alexander*, his eldeſt ſon by *Cleopatra*, whom he had already declared King of *Armenia*: Yet we are told that he diſpoſed of the leſſer *Armenia* to *Polemon*, who had negotiated the alliance between him and the *Median* Monarch. Y. R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ. Dio, lib. xlix. 417, 418.

Octavia had reſided in *Rome* ever ſince *Antony*'s firſt expedition into *Parthia*, and had not found an opportunity of joining him. *Alexandria*, or its neighbourhood, was not a proper place; but ſeeing him about to ſet out a ſecond time againſt the *Parthians*, ſhe obtained leave of her brother to go and viſit him. *Octavius* conſented, as moſt authors agree, with a view of making *Antony* more odious by the ill uſage he well knew his ſiſter would meet with from him. As ſoon as ſhe arrived at *Athens*, ſhe received letters from *Antony*, ordering her not to proceed any further; alledging, for his excuſe, the war he was preparing to carry into

Y.R. 720. Ant. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

Parthia. Upon receiving this meſſage, ſhe ſent, by *Niger*, a friend of *Antony*'s, a letter to acquaint him, that ſhe had brought with her two thouſand choice men well armed, with cloaths for his troops and preſents for the chief officers of his army: And ſhe deſired to know how ſhe muſt diſpoſe of them. *Cleopatra*, upon the firſt account of *Octavia*'s leaving *Rome*, had made uſe of every artifice to prevent her meeting with *Antony*. She loſt her ſtomach, fell ſick, and was continually in tears: And her creatures were very eloquent in exaggerating to *Antony* her anguiſh, and the imminent danger ſhe was in. They repreſented to him that his marriage with *Octavia* was a political alliance on account of her brother, and that ſhe enjoyed by it the name and honour of his ſpouſe; whereas *Cleopatra*, the Queen of ſo great a kingdom, did not diſdain to paſs for his miſtreſs, provided ſhe could have the happineſs of enjoying his preſence; but, deprived of that, her death was inevitable; ſo ardent was her love to him. *Antony* could not conſent to kill *Cleopatra*, and the anſwer to *Octavia* was to ſend him what ſhe had brought, and return to *Rome*. He was then in *Syria*, and he hurried away to the interview with the King of *Media*, and, after making the agreement with him juſt mentioned, he returned to *Alexandria*.

Here he abandoned himſelf to all the extravagancies imaginable: While *Octavia* at *Rome* continued to behave with the greateſt dignity; beſtowing the greateſt marks of affection on his children by *Fulvia*, and teſtifying the greateſt regard for all his friends. He aſſembled the people of *Alexandria* in the Gymnaſium, where there was raiſed an alcove of ſilver, under which were placed two thrones of gold, one for himſelf and the other for *Cleopatra*. There *Antony*, dreſſed like *Bacchus*[x], and *Cleopatra*, like *Iſis*, were ſeated; and, in the preſence of all the people, he declared her his lawful wife, and Queen of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyprus*, and *Cœle-Syria*, aſſociating with her *Cæſario*, whom he ſtyled the true and lawful ſon of *Julius Cæſar*. To the children he had by her he gave the title of *Kings of Kings*; and, for their dominions, to *Alexander*, the eldeſt, he allotted *Armenia*, *Media*, and *Parthia*, which he pretended he would conquer in a little time: To *Ptolemy*, the younger, *Phœnicia*, *Upper Syria*, and *Cilicia*: And immediately the two boys were produced, cloathed in the royal robes of their reſpective kingdoms; *Alexander*, in a *Mediſh* dreſs, with a *Tiara* on his head; and *Ptolemy*, with the robes which were worn by the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, the ſlippers, military coat, and cap covered with a diadem. In this pompous dreſs they paid their reſpects to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; after which they took their ſeats at their feet, being each attended with a guard, the one of *Armenians*, and the

[x] Creſcente indies & amoris in Cleopatram incendio, et vitiorum, quæ ſemper facultatibus licentiaque et aſſentationibus aluntur, magnitudine, bellum Patriæ inferre ſtatuit: Cum ante novum ſe Liberum patrem appellari juſſiſſet, cum redimitus hederis, coronâque velatus aureâ, et thyrſum tenens, cothurniſque ſuccinctus, curru velut Liber pater vectus eſſet Alexandriæ. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 82.

other of *Macedonians*. This ridiculous ſcene was followed by the moſt extravagant luxury. *Antony* ſuffered himſelf to be carried away with new pleaſures and delights by *Cleopatra*, and the delicacy and profuſeneſs of their entertainments ſtill daily increaſed, till, at laſt, the Queen promiſed him, upon a wager, to give him one to the value of ten millions of ſeſterces. On this occaſion a golden cup was ſerved up, we are told, with a very ſtrong diſſolving liquor, in which *Cleopatra* put one of her pendants, which was a pearl of ineſtimable value, and immediately drank it off. *Plancus*, who was to judge of the wager, immediately ſecured the other pendant, which ſhe was then taking off, giving it as his judgment, that ſhe had already won the wager. The remaining pearl, after the death of *Cleopatra*, came into the hands of *Cæſar*, who cauſed it to be cut aſunder, and made into two pendants for the image of *Venus*, which he thought gloriouſly adorned with the one half of this prodigal Queen's ſupper. Y.R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ. 80,729 l.

While *Antony* was thus degrading and bringing himſelf into general contempt, *Octavius*'s adminiſtration gained him the reſpect and eſteem of all orders of men. His arms were employed againſt the enemies of the State, and, out of their ſpoils, he adorned *Rome*. It was at this time he built a magnificent portico, to which he gave the name of his ſiſter *Octavia*, and where he placed afterwards a numerous library. No year in the *Roman* annals was more famous for all the arts of peace. *Agrippa*, though he had been honoured with the conſulſhip, did not think it a diſgrace to accept the *edileſhip*, an office which of late was fallen into great diſcredit, as it required great expences, and was no longer a ſtep to the greater magiſtracies by the favour of the people, which it procured. He repaired the ancient aqueducts almoſt fallen to ruin, and made a new one, which he called the *Julian*, fifteen miles long. For the more commodious diſtribution of theſe waters, he made ſeven hundred water-places, one hundred and five fountains, and one hundred and thirty reſervoirs. All theſe works were richly ornamented with three hundred ſtatues of marble or braſs, and four hundred marble columns. He adorned alſo the Circus with ſtatues of dolphins, and what they called eggs, being large maſſes formed in the ſhape of an egg, and placed upon the pillars next the end of the Circus, round which the chariots were to turn. Such was *Agrippa*'s paſſion for embelliſhing *Rome*, that he was deſirous to draw all the ſtatues and pictures out of private houſes and gardens to dedicate them to public uſe. He pronounced a ſpeech upon the ſubject, which was ſtill extant in the time of *Pliny*[r], and which, that author ſays, was worthy of the firſt citizen of the Republic.

The common ſewers, that ſtupendous work of the two *Tarquins*, had been greatly neglected. Theſe, of conſequence, were filled up with

[r] Exſtat ejus oratio magnifica & maximo civium digna de tabulis omnibus ſigniſque publicandis; quod fieri ſa'ius fuiſſet, quam in villarum exilia pelli. *Plin.* xxxv. 4.

Y. R. 720. Bef. Chr. 32. 419 Conſ.

rubbiſh and choked up in ſeveral places. *Agrippa* made ſuch a large collection of water, that it formed, as it were, ſeven torrents, which, being let in by the opening of the ſewers, and running with rapidity, carried away all the dirt and filth; and, after this operation, he embarked himſelf upon the ſewers which had been thus cleanſed, and, by a ſubterraneous navigation, went from their entry to their opening in the *Tiber*. Theſe great expences did not hinder him from entertaining the people in the moſt magnificent manner. Shews of all kinds, plays, combats of gladiators, courſes in the Circus, and the *Trojan* game, were exhibited for fifty-nine days; during which time proviſions were often diſtributed to the people, and a kind of lottery-tickets were thrown into the theatre, and thoſe who brought them to him received their contents, which conſiſted of money, ſtuffs, and other moveables. An hundred and ſeventy baths were alſo kept open for the citizens, and ſerved at his expence, during the whole year.

Thus *Agrippa* was no leſs ſerviceable to his Maſter by gaining over to him the affections of the *Romans*, and making them taſte the long-interrupted ſweets of peace, than by his military exploits.

CHAP. VII.

The rupture between ANTONY *and* OCTAVIUS: *Their preparations for war. The deciſive battle of* Actium. ANTONY's *land-forces ſubmit with reluctance, and all the Kings and Provinces pay obeiſance to the Conqueror.* ANTONY's *laſt efforts. His death: That of* CLEOPATRA: *And the ſettlement of the empire on* OCTAVIUS.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, C. SOSIUS, } Conſuls.

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

THESE two Conſuls were *Antony*'s friends, and *Dio* aſſures us, that he did not ſcruple to ſend to them from *Alexandria*, an account of his late diſtribution of kingdoms and provinces in favour of *Cleopatra* and her children, to have it confirmed by the Senate: But it is hard to believe that he could expoſe himſelf in this manner, and, if he did it, he could not mean it otherwiſe than as a public inſult upon *Octavius* and a declaration of war. The ſame hiſtorian ſays, that, though the Conſuls were wiſe enough not to produce his letters, yet they had the boldneſs to harangue the Senate againſt *Octavius*, in his abſence; and that *Soſius*, the fierceſt of the two, would have proceeded to a decree againſt his intereſt, if he had not been ſtopped by the Tribune *Balbus*. *Octavius*, informed of this attack upon him, returned to the city, and appeared in the firſt aſſembly of the Senate, attended by a great number of his friends, armed with poniards under their robes. He took his ſeat between the two Conſuls, and began by an open declaration of

his

his conduct, and an artful apology for what was objected to it. Then he bitterly inveighed againſt *Antony* and *Soſius*, pretending that he could convict them of ſeveral attempts againſt the Republic, as well as againſt himſelf. He was heard with attention, but without the leaſt mark of approbation; and yet this Senate was almoſt entirely formed by himſelf; he had endeavoured by every method to recommend himſelf to it and it was entirely in his power. Obſerving that his ſpeech had not the ſucceſs he expected, he appointed another meeting, in which he promiſed to read ſuch pieces as would put *Antony*'s deſigns in their full and proper light. Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

The Conſuls did not think proper to wait for that day: They privately left *Rome* to join *Antony*, attended by ſeveral of the Senators; and, *Octavius* having declared that all *Antony*'s relations and friends were at liberty to follow the example, all thoſe in his intereſt left *Italy*. *Pollio*, who had hitherto acted as a friend to *Antony*, and was eſteemed of his party, ſtaid behind; but refuſed to join *Octavius* in any meaſures againſt his General: And, when preſſed to it by *Octavius*, he anſwered: *The ſervices I have done to Antony are greater than the favours I have received from him; but theſe are better known. I will therefore remain neuter, and become the prey of the Conqueror.*

The two Chiefs kept now no longer any meaſures with one another. *Octavius*, provoked at the outrageous treatment of his ſiſter, made a report to the Senate of all *Antony*'s ſcandalous behaviour. He ſaid, that he was become a ſlave to a foreign Queen, and had ſacrificed to her the provinces of the Empire, and that he had diſhonoured the *Roman* name by his faithleſs and cruel treatment of the King of *Armenia* and his whole family: He reproached him alſo with the death of *Sextus Pompey*, and, in fine, he grievouſly complained of the affront offered by *Antony*'s unjuſt and indecent behaviour towards his ſiſter, and by his acknowledging *Cleopatra*'s ſon *Cæſario* for the lawful ſon of *Julius Cæſar*[a]. *Antony*, on his ſide, ſent a bill of divorce immediately to *Octavia*, ordered her to leave his houſe in *Rome*, and, in his letters to *Octavius*, declared that he had been married to *Cleopatra* theſe nine years, and, conſequently, that his children by her were his lawful children: And that *Cæſario* had been owned by *Cæſar*, which *Matius* and *Oppius* could atteſt. In anſwer to what *Octavius* had ſpoken and written againſt *Antony*'s love for *Cleopatra*, and the prodigality of his feaſts, he reproached him with the famous feaſt where he and his gueſts repreſented ſo many deities; with his prepoſterous match with *Livia*, his infamous divorce of *Scribonia*, and with the indecent familiarity in which he lived with ſeveral *Roman* Ladies: He even proceeded to attack *Octavius*'s birth, his honour, and perſonal conduct, accuſing him of cowardice in the battles of *Mutina*

[a] Some hiſtorians tell us, that *Cæſario* was acknowledged as the ſon of *Julius Cæſar* by the three Triumvirs; a fact, which is in itſelf utterly improbable, and which is diſproved by this complaint of *Octavius*.

and

Y.R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

and *Philippi.* In fine, he ſent formal complaints to the Senate, that *Octavius* had, contrary to all right, put himſelf in poſſeſſion of all *Sicily*, and the provinces governed by *Lepidus*, whom he had unjuſtly and barbarouſly depoſed: That he had not ſent him back the whole number of ſhips lent him for his expedition againſt *Pompey*: And that he had parcelled out all *Italy* to his own ſoldiers, without giving *Antony*'s their proper ſhare: And, in ſome of theſe public letters, in order to regain the affections of the people, he declared his reſolution to abdicate the triumvirſhip, as a magiſtracy too powerful and abſolute in a republican State. *Octavius* anſwered that he was ready to do the ſame, and invited *Antony* to *Rome* to make good his word: And, as to the other articles, he made anſwer: "That *Lepidus*'s conduct had obliged him to remove "him; that *Antony* ſhould have a ſhare in *Sicily* and *Africa*, when *Anto*-"*ny* had ſhared with him *Armenia*; and, as for *Antony*'s ſoldiers, that it "was not likely they would value a few pitiful lands in *Italy*, after they "had conquered all *Media* and the empire of the *Parthians*, in follow-"ing their brave Commander." *Antony* was ſo enraged at this jeer, that he ordered *Canidius*, to whom he had given the command of his land-forces, to march, without intermiſſion, with ſixteen legions, to *Epheſus*, which he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces: And thither he ſoon repaired with *Cleopatra*. Here they were met by their friends, who had left *Italy* to join them. *Domitius* was very earneſt to engage him to ſend *Cleopatra* back to *Egypt*, till the war was ended; and *Antony* was inclined to follow this wholſome advice; but ſhe, fearing leſt *Octavia* ſhould take advantage of her abſence, and make her peace, by large preſents gained *Canidius* to repreſent to *Antony* the many inconveniencies her departure would occaſion; particularly the depriving him of the aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*, who made a great part of his navy. This Queen is ſaid to have brought with her two hundred veſſels with 20,000 talents, and proviſions for all his forces. Theſe counſels and her own cunning inſinuations prevailed, and *Antony* conſented to her ſtay. Leſt he ſhould, however, be tempted again to give ear to *Domitius* and his true friends, ſhe carried him over into the iſland of *Samos*, where, while the preparations were going on at *Epheſus*, ſhe plunged him into all the pleaſures and diverſions that could be invented. Never, ſays *Plutarch*, were any man's cares ſo pleaſantly divided as *Antony*'s. On one ſide all the Kings, Princes, and Potentates from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* ſea, and from *Armenia* and *Illyricum*, had orders to ſend arms, proviſions, and ſoldiers to *Epheſus*; on the other all the comedians, dancers, muſicians, and buffoons were obliged to repair to *Samos*: And, while the whole univerſe was in commotion, and many parts of it in great miſery and deſolation, joy and all kind of pleaſure reigned in this iſland. Every city of *Antony*'s empire had a ſhare in his ſacrifices, and the Kings who accompanied him contended who ſhould make the nobleſt entertainment, ſo that it gave occaſion to one to aſk, "What rejoicings will "thoſe

" thoſe people make for a victory, who make ſuch magnificent treats " before a dangerous war." Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31.

From *Samos*, *Antony* and *Cleopatra* croſſed over to *Athens*, where the Queen, amidſt the uſual amuſements, was intent upon another object. She was jealous of the honours which *Octavia* had received in that city, and, by flattering that vain people, obtained a decree comprehending all kinds of honours, beyond what had been offered to any mortal: And *Antony*, in quality of a citizen of *Athens*, was at the head of the deputation, and pronounced the ſpeech, in the name of the city, on this occaſion. Some authors tell us, that *Antony* meant this compliment as a ſolemn reparation for the injury he had done her in that city, by honouring *Octavia* as his lawful ſpouſe. 420 Conſ.

Thus the whole year was ſpent, on *Antony*'s ſide, between vain amuſements and preparations for war, when, if he had carried over his forces immediately, he would have found his enemy very little prepared to receive him. *Octavius* found himſelf under the neceſſity of laying heavy taxes on the people of *Italy*. The citizens paid him a fourth part of their revenue, and the freedmen an eighth. This, with the dread of *Antony*'s arrival with the formidable forces he had gathered, put them in a very ill humour, and he was often obliged to make uſe of his ſoldiers to get the money into his coffers: But *Antony* gave him time to quiet all diſturbances, and to inſpire them with a thorough contempt for a man, who was more taken up in filling the theatres of *Samos* with fidlers and pipers, than in carrying on his military operations.

Antony began now to be deſpiſed by his own party. *Plancus*, the conſtant companion of his debauches and the ſervile flatterer of the Queen, deſerted him at this time, with his nephew *Titius*, the ſame who had taken *Pompey* and put him to death [a]. Theſe deſerters, to recommend themſelves to their new maſter, told all they knew of *Antony*'s enormities, and, amongſt other things, acquainted him with the contents of *Antony*'s will. This will was depoſited in the hands of the *Veſtals*, who were forced to give it up; and *Octavius* made no ſcruple of reading it in the Senate, and publiſhing the contents among the people. *Antony* therein confirmed the declaration he had already made concerning *Cæ-*

[a] The virulence, with which *Paterculus* has treated *Plancus*'s character, betrays him to have been his perſonal enemy:

Inter hunc apparatum belli, *Plancus* non judicio rectè legendi, neque amore Reipublicæ, aut Cæſaris (quippe hæc ſemper impugnabat) ſed morbo proditor, cùm fuiſſet humillimus aſſentator Reginæ, et infra ſervos cliens; cùm Antonii librarius, cùm obſcœniſſimarum rerum et auctor et miniſter, cùm in omnia et omnibus venalis; cùm cæruleatus et nudus, caputque redimitus arundine, et caudam trahens, genibus innixus Glaucum ſaltâſſet in convivio; refrigeratus ab Antonio, ob manifeſtarum rapinarum indicia, transfugit ad Cæſarem: Et idem poſteà clementiam victoris pro ſua virtute interpretabatur, dictitans id probatum à Cæſare, cui ille ignoverat: Hunc mox avunculum Titius imitatus eſt. Haud abſurdè *Coponius*, vir prætorius, graviſſimus, P. Silii ſocer, cùm recens transfuga multa ac nefanda Plancus abſenti Antonio in Senatu objiceret: *Multa* inquit, *mehercule fecit Antonius, pridie quam tu illum relinqueres.* L. ii. 83.

ſario:

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

ſario: He bequeathed immenſe legacies to his children by *Cleopatra*, and ordered, "that, in caſe he died in *Rome*, his body, after the uſual ce-"remonies, ſhould be tranſported to *Alexandria* and delivered to *Cleo-*"*patra*, by whom he deſired to be buried." To this a report was added, "that *Antony* deſigned to give *Rome* to "*Cleopatra*, and to transfer the ſeat of the Empire to *Alexandria*."

Antony's friends in *Italy*, ſenſible how much the intereſt of the whole party was hurt by *Cleopatra*, made a laſt effort to recall their Chief to a ſenſe of honour, and engage him to act a more prudent part. *Geminius*, one of his zealous partiſans, was ſent upon this errand; but *Cleopatra*, ſuſpecting that ſhe was the object of his miſſion, affronted him upon all occaſions. However, *Geminius* bore with all, waiting an audience of *Antony*, till, at laſt, being called upon in the middle of a feaſt to explain himſelf, he anſwered, "The affairs I came to treat about are not of a "nature to be debated at table: But one thing there is that every body "muſt be ſenſible of, whether merry or ſober, which is, that affairs "would go very well, if *Cleopatra* returned to *Egypt*." *Antony*'s paſſion roſe, but the Queen anſwered, very calmly, "You have done right, "*Geminius*, to ſpeak your ſecret without being put to the torture." *Geminius* made his eſcape as ſoon as poſſible, and was followed by many more, who could bear no longer the imperious demeanor of the Queen, and the inſolence of her favourites [b]. *Rome* rung with complaints againſt *Antony:* A ſlave to *Cleopatra*, he appeared to have no other will, than that of his Queen, who had the aſſurance to promiſe herſelf the Empire of *Rome*, and, when ſhe would confirm any thing by oath, uſed to ſwear by the laws ſhe would dictate in the Capitol [c]. She had already a *Roman* guard, and her name was engraved upon the bucklers of the ſoldiers. But *Antony* himſelf ſeemed to have forgot that he was a *Roman:* He would often appear cloathed in the manner of the Eaſtern Princes, all glittering with purple and precious ſtones, a *Median* ſabre by his ſide, a golden ſceptre in his hand, and a diadem upon his head, and, thus accoutred, ſet himſelf upon a throne of gold [d]. His tent in the camp was no longer called *prætorium*, but *the royal pavilion:* And in the ſame manner as *Cleopatra* aſſumed all the attributes of the god-

[b] —— Capitolio
Regina dementes ruinas,
Funus et imperio parabat,
Contaminato cum grege turpium
Morbo virorum; quidlibet impotens
Sperare, fortunâque dulci
Ebria.—— *Hor.* l. i. od. 37.

[c] Romanique ducis conjux Ægyptia tædæ
Non bene fiſa cadet; fruſtraque erit illa minata
Servitura ſuo Capitolia noſtra Canopo.
Ov. Met. l. xv.

[d] Hæc mulier Ægyptia, ab ebrio imperatore, pretium libidinum Romanum Imperium petit: Et promiſit *Antonius*. Igitur dominationem parare nec tacitè; ſed Patriæ, nominis, togæ, faſcium oblitus, totus in monſtrum illud ut mente, ita animo quoque et cultu deſciverat. Aureum in manu baculum; ad latus acinaces; purpurea veſtis ingentibus obſtricta gemmis; diadema aderat, ut Regina rex ipſe frueretur. *Flor.* lib. iv. c. 11.

deſs

deſs *Iſis* in her pictures and ſtatues, ſo *Antony* cauſed himſelf to be repreſented in braſs and marble, or in painting with the ſymbols of *Oſyris*. Y. R. 721 Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ.

Octavius was very induſtrious in bringing the *Roman* people and ſoldiers acquainted with theſe follies; and a decree paſſed to deprive *Antony* of the conſulſhip which he was to hold the following year with *Octavius*, as alſo of the triumviral power; and war was declared, not againſt him, but againſt *Cleopatra*. The decree was ſo framed, that it left his partiſans the liberty of ſaving themſelves by abandoning their General, and made him more contemptible than if he and his adherents had been declared enemies to the Commonwealth. *Octavius* affected to ſay, "that *Antony* was no more himſelf, ſince *Cleopatra*, by her philtres, "had taken away the uſe of his reaſon: So that he was not to be eſ- "teemed as a perſon engaged in this war, which was only managed by "*Mardion*, her eunuch; and *Iras* and *Charmion*, her women." All *Antony*'s followers were invited over with promiſes of rewards: And all *Italy* engaged itſelf by oath to ſerve *Octavius*. The city of *Bologna* alone aſked and obtained liberty not to join in this oath, having been always under the patronage of the *Antonian* family.

The forces of the two Generals were now got together, and they were proportioned to the empire they contended for; one drawing all the Eaſt, and the other the Weſt to his party [e]. The ancient writers tell us, that *Antony*'s army was compoſed of 100,000 foot and 12,000 horſe, beſides the auxiliary troops ſent by the Kings in his alliance. *Bogud*, King of a part of *Libya*, *Tarcondimotus*, King of the higher *Cilicia*, *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus*, King of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates*, of *Commagena*, and *Amyntas*, of *Galatia*, ſerved in perſon in his army: And the King of the *Medes* [f], *Malchus* of *Arabia*, and *Polemon* of *Pontus*, ſent him their contingents. His fleet amounted to 500 veſſels, a great many of which had from eight to ten rows of oars. *Octavius* had 80,000 legionary troops with cavalry equal to that of *Antony*: But his fleet did not exceed 250 veſſels, and they were much ſmaller than thoſe of *Antony*, but better built and better manned with ſailors and rowers, who had learned their buſineſs in the war againſt *Pompey*; whereas thoſe of *Antony* were half empty, and their ſailors and rowers, being moſt of them forced into the ſervice, had never ſeen the ſea.

Antony ſailed, with his whole force, to *Corcyra*, in the autumn of this year; but, being informed that the enemy's veſſels appeared upon the

[e] Hinc Auguſtus agens Italos in prælia Cæſar,
Cum Patribus, Populoque, Penatibus et magnis Dis.
Hinc ope barbarica, variiſque Antonius armis.
Victor ab Auroræ populis et litore rubro,
Ægyptum viresque Orientis et ultima ſecum
Bactra trahit; ſequiturque nefas! Ægyptia conjux. *Virg. Æn.* l. 8.

[f] *Antony* having recalled the troops he had lent this Monarch, the *Parthians* took the opportunity to make themſelves maſters of *Media*; and *Armenia* was likewiſe loſt.

Y. R. 721. Bef. Chr. 31. 420 Conſ. neighbouring coaſt, he ſuppoſed that *Octavius*'s whole fleet was at ſea, and retired towards *Peloponneſus*. There he put his troops into winter-quarters, and ſpent that ſeaſon himſelf at *Patræ*[g].

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus III.
M. Valerius Messala Corvinus. } Conſuls.

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ. The two Generals were now in readineſs for action. *Antony* brought his fleet into the gulph of *Ambracia*, and *Octavius* aſſembled all his forces at *Brunduſium* and the neighbouring ports. We are told, that *Octavius* wrote to his competitor, *that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he ſhould have ports in Italy to land in without moleſtation; and he would draw his troops ſo far from the ſea, that he ſhould want no room for encamping, and putting his men in battalia.* To make a return to this bravado, *Antony challenged Octavius to fight a ſingle combat, or, if he pleaſed,*

Gulph of Arta.

[g] *Atticus* died under the preſent conſulſhip at the age of ſeventy-ſeven. He had been attacked with a fiſtula, for which finding no cure, he came to a reſolution of ſtarving himſelf to death: And though, after abſtaining for two days, the fever left him, and he found himſelf better, yet he remained obſtinate in his purpoſe, and was deaf to the entreaties of his relations and friends. He died altogether in character, as a true *Epicurean*, voluntarily ſacrificing the remains of a languiſhing life, to purchaſe a deliverance from pain, which he deemed the ſovereign evil. The difficulty of the times in which he lived, and the perpetual quiet he enjoyed in them, ſhewed that he was a perfect maſter of the principles of his ſect, and knew how to ſecure *that chief good of an Epicurean life*, his private eaſe and ſafety. One would naturally imagine that his union with *Cicero* and *Brutus*, added to the fame of his wealth, would have involved him of courſe in the ruin of the proſcription. But, as if he had foreſeen ſuch an event and turn of things, he had always paid a particular court to *Antony*; and, in the time even of his diſgrace when he was driven out of *Italy* and his affairs thought deſperate, he did many eminent ſervices to *Antony*'s friends, and particularly to his wife and children. It muſt be likewiſe imputed to the ſame principle of *Atticus*'s caution and regard to his ſafety, that, after ſo long and intimate a correſpondence of letters with *Cicero*, on the moſt important tranſactions of that age, of which there are ſixteen books of *Cicero*'s ſtill remaining, yet not a ſingle letter of *Atticus*'s was ever publiſhed: Which can hardly be charged to any other cauſe, but his having withdrawn them from *Tiro*, after *Cicero*'s death, and ſuppreſſed them with a ſingular care; leſt, in that revolution of affairs, they ſhould be produced to his hurt, or the diminution of his credit with their new maſters. But his intereſt with the reigning powers was ſoon eſtabliſhed upon a more ſolid foundation than that of his perſonal merit, by the marriage of his only daughter with *M. Agrippa*; which was firſt propoſed and brought about by *Antony*. This introduced him into the friendſhip and familiarity of *Octavius*, whoſe miniſter and favourite *Agrippa* was; and *Vipſania Agrippina*, born of this marriage, when ſcarcely a year old, being promiſed to *Tiberius*, ſon-in-law to *Octavius*, and his ſucceſſor, he became allied to the reigning family; and dignity was added to his quiet. It appears, that he was born with very good natural parts, which he cultivated to his old age by perpetual ſtudy, and was particularly very learned in the *Roman* hiſtory, which gave him an occaſion of obliging many families by making out their genealogies. He never formed any pretenſions to the honours of the State, and made therefore no enemies, but, with great addreſs and aſſiduity courted the favour of all the great men, however oppoſite were their views and intereſts; and he had the ſucceſs which every man of parts will have, who, with ſuch a pliant diſpoſition, and ſo much moderation, joins the ſplendor of an affluent fortune. Such a one is in nobody's way, and is neceſſarily looked on by all as an uſeful acquaintance.

Middl. v. ii. p. 580.

he would give him battle in the plains of Pharſalia, where Cæſar and Pompey had decided their differences. As ſoon as the fair ſeaſon came on, *Agrippa* was detached, at the head of a numerous fleet, to reconnoitre the enemy and diſtreſs them. He made deſcents on the coaſts of *Greece*, took by force *Methona*, a conſiderable town of *Peloponneſus*, defended by a good garriſon; killed *Bogud*, King of *Mauritania*, and ſeized a large convoy of proviſions coming from *Syria* and *Egypt*. At his return, *Octavius* carried over his whole army, and landed them at the *Ceraunian* mountains, whence they were ordered to march along the coaſt as far as the gulph of *Ambracia*. He then ſailed at the head of his fleet to the promontory of *Actium*, where he was very near ſurpriſing *Antony*, whoſe fleet lay there at anchor, but was in no ſtate of defence. *Antony*, however, put his ſhips into a fighting poſture, and, to deceive his enemy, armed all his rowers, ſuſpending the oars in ſuch a manner, as to make their blades appear on each ſide of the ſhip. *Octavius* durſt not engage him in that narrow paſſage, and ſtood off to ſea. The two armies were now encamped on each ſide of the gulph, and, for ſeveral months, while they remained in this poſture, had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes.

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

Now called Modon.

Della Chimera.

In the mean time, *Agrippa*, at the head of a part of the fleet, took *Toryna*, *Patræ*, *Leucas*, and *Corinth*, to the great aſtoniſhment of *Antony*'s army; which ſucceſs cauſed many deſertions. *Amyntas*, *Dejotarus*, and *Domitius Ahenobarbus* went over to *Octavius*[h]. To the latter of theſe *Antony* generouſly ſent all his ſervants and equipage, which ſo ſenſibly touched *Domitius*, who was already ſick, that he died partly of grief and vexation. Theſe deſertions are ſaid to have greatly ſoured his temper, and to have made him ſo ſuſpicious and cruel, that he began to diſtruſt *Cleopatra* herſelf, and would eat nothing without a taſter. *Cleopatra* ridiculed his precautions: And, to convince him how uſeleſs all his care was, ſhe poiſoned the flowers of a garland which adorned her head, and, when the company was full of mirth and gaiety, ſhe propoſed to ſteep them in wine and to drink them. *Antony* inſtantly ſnatched from her the garland, threw the flowers into his cup, and was juſt going to drink, when the Queen ſtopped his hand, telling him *that now it was evident he could have no guard againſt her addreſs, were not her heart intereſted in his preſervation.* He thus perceived how uſeleſs it was to guard againſt

[h] Longè antequam dimicaretur, exploratiſſima Julianarum partium fuit victoria. Vigebat in hac parte miles atque Imperator; illa marcebant omnia: Hinc remiges firmiſſimi; illinc inopiâ affectiſſimi: Navium hic magnitudo modica, cum celeritate; adverſa illa, ſpecie terribilior: Hinc ad Antonium nemo, illinc ad Cæſarem quotidiè aliqui transfugiebant. Denique in ore atque oculis Antonianæ claſſis per Agrippam Leucas oppugnata, Patræ captæ, Corinthus occupata bis ante ultimum diſcrimen claſſis hoſtium ſuperata. Rex Amyntas meliora et utiliora ſecutus; nam Dellius exempli ſui tenax fuit et illo bello; virque clariſſimus Cn. Domitius qui ſolus Antoniarum partium nunquam Reginam niſi nomine ſalutavit, maximo et præcipiti periculo tranſmiſit ad Cæſarem. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 84.

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 721 Conſ.

the arts of a woman, who could ſo ſkilfully mingle the inevitable ſnares of death among her pleaſures.

The ſummer was now ſpent, and nothing deciſive was done. The grand queſtion in *Antony*'s camp was, whether to truſt all to a naval or land battle? *Canidius*, who commanded his legions, repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt manner, *that it would be contrary to all reaſon to put a victory to the hazard of the ſeas and winds, which they were certain of at land, by the valour and experience of their General, who to that day had kept up the title of invincible; and by the bravery of their ſoldiers, who had been tried in ſo many great dangers: That it would be no diſhonour for him to leave the ſea to* Cæsar, *whoſe officers and ſoldiers, in ſo long and deſperate a war with* S. Pompey, *had become ſkilful in ſea-affairs.* He alſo propoſed, *that* Cleopatra *ſhould go back to* Egypt, *whilſt* Antony *marched into* Macedonia, *where he might determine the quarrel by a general battle, and where he would receive a powerful aſſiſtance from* Dicomes, *King of the* Getæ. *Antony* was much inclined to follow this advice; but *Cleopatra* biaſſed him the other way, and obliged him, againſt his will, to hazard his empire and life in a ſea-fight, and this only that, in caſe of a defeat, ſhe might eſcape with the greater eaſe[1]. *Dio* pretends that ſhe even adviſed him to march back all his troops to *Egypt*.

Antony, having taken this reſolution to fight by ſea, picked out of his numerous fleet one hundred and ſeventy of his beſt ſhips, which was all he could well man, and burnt the reſt. Theſe, with *Cleopatra*'s ſixty gallies, made two hundred and thirty; but, as they were larger and higher than the enemy's, he reckoned that advantage would infallibly give him the victory. He put on board theſe ſhips twenty thouſand legionary ſoldiers and two thouſand archers. While he was thus embarking his troops, a brave old ſoldier, all covered with ſcars, ſpoke to him aloud, *My General, why do you deſpiſe this good ſword and this old arm, which all my wounds have not weakened; and put your confidence in a frail*

[1] If *Octavius* had great advantages over *Antony* in a ſea-fight, I cannot think that he had leſs at land; and, certainly, the fatal conſequences of a defeat at land were more immediate, than one at ſea. The legions *Antony* carried over into the *Eaſt* were greatly diminiſhed by his loſſes in the *Parthian* expedition, and they had lived the reſt of the time at eaſe in a luxurious country: Whereas *Octavius* was really the General of the veterans, and could command as many as he ſaw neceſſary, or was able to maintain; he had kept them under continual duty, and inured his new levies to war in his expeditions againſt the people of *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*. The ſeveral towns taken by *Agrippa*, as it were in the ſight of *Antony*'s army, ſhew that *Octavius*'s officers and ſoldiers were as active and enterpriſing as *Antony*'s were dejected and ſpiritleſs. Now, in caſe of a defeat at land, *Antony* would have found great difficulty to eſcape; his fleet, locked up in the gulph of *Ambracia*, was loſt. Whereas, in a ſea-fight, which he took care to begin but late in the day, he had an opportunity of making off to *Egypt*, where he had a ſure retreat, and an army in the neighbourhood, with which he hoped, if not to retrieve his affairs, at leaſt to make a ſtand, and, perhaps, ſome compoſition with his rival. He ſeems likewiſe, it may be obſerved, to have deſpaired, from the beginning, of bringing off his land army, in caſe of bad ſucceſs at ſea.

piece

piece of wood. Leave the water to the Egyptians *and* Phœnicians, *people born and nurſed up in that element; but leave us Romans to the firm land, where we may boldly meet death, and fall like men. Antony* anſwered nothing; only by the motion of his head he ſeemed to encourage him, though he himſelf was not well ſatisfied; for, when his officers propoſed taking away the ſails, he oppoſed it, alledging, *that he would have none of the enemy eſcape. Octavius*, on his ſide, was very ſenſible of the advantage his enemy gave him by offering battle at ſea, and prepared every thing for it. But, notwithſtanding that the two Generals were ready to engage, a violent ſtorm prevented them for four days. On the fifth, which was the 2*d* of *September* [k], the two fleets advanced towards each other. Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

Antony ranged his before the mouth of the gulph of *Ambracia*, giving the command of the right wing to *Gellius Publicola*, the left to *Soſius*, and of the center to *M. Octavius* and *M. Juſteius*. He reſerved to himſelf the general inſpection of all, and, before the engagement, he, in his galley, went about encouraging his men with the remembrance of the many victories they had gained under his conduct, telling them, *that the largeneſs of their veſſels gave them an opportunity of fighting as firmly and with as much aſſurance as on dry land; and that this day, as he expected the empire of the world from their valour, ſo they might expect rewards anſwerable to ſo noble a conqueſt. Octavius* gave the command of his fleet to *Agrippa*, who had under him in the right *M. Lurius*, and *L. Arruntius* in the left. The Conſul *Meſſala* probably commanded the center. As to *Octavius* himſelf, he kept no particular command, but, ſurrounded by a number of little boats to carry his orders, ſuperintended the whole. The two land-armies, drawn up on the two ſides of the gulph, were ſimple ſpectators of the battle, and encouraged their friends; the one was commanded by *Canidius*, the other by *Statilius Taurus. Antony* had recommended to his officers to keep as near the ſhore as poſſible, and to conſider their veſſels as ſo many citadels deſigned to ſuſtain the aſſault of a number of beſiegers: And they ſtaid in this ſituation till noon; *Octavius*, keeping at a mile's diſtance, being ſenſible that, while the enemy's fleet was in that poſition, he could avail himſelf but very little of the nimbleneſs of his ſhips, and the ſkill of his mariners, which were his chief advantages. About noon, a gale ſpringing up, *Antony*'s left wing, impatient to begin the battle, moved forwards; and *Octavius*, to draw them farther from the ſhore, made his right wing fall ſtill farther back. The battle began on both ſides with great courage and bravery, and ſo continued for a long time, till, *Agrippa* ſtretching out his left wing in order to ſurround the enemy, *Publicola*, who commanded *Antony*'s right wing, was obliged to do the ſame; and, in ſpreading out his veſſels, he was ſeparated

[k] The beginning of *Octavius*'s reign was reckoned from this date by many authors. Vid. *Scal. de Emend. temp. p.* 453. and *Petav. Doct. temp.* l. x. c. 66.

gradually

Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conſ.

gradually from the center, which began to be put in diſorder. The advantage was not determined on either ſide, according to all the ancient hiſtorians, when *Cleopatra*, wearied with expectation and overcome with fear, unexpectedly tacked about, and fled towards *Peloponneſus* with her ſixty ſail: And, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, *Antony* himſelf, now regardleſs of his honour, fled precipitately after, and abandoned his men who ſo generouſly expoſed their lives for his intereſt. Having reached *Cleopatra*'s galley, he went into it, and ſat a long time in a melancholy poſture, without deſiring to ſee the Queen, though he had followed her, ſays *Plutarch*, without any apparent reaſon but the thoughts of her abſence.

The battle, notwithſtanding, continued with great obſtinacy till five in the evening, when *Antony*'s forces were partly conſtrained to ſubmit by the great conduct of *Agrippa*, and partly perſuaded by the obliging promiſes of *Octavius* [l].

The Conqueror's firſt care was to ſend away *Mæcenas* with a ſquadron in purſuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but they had got ſo much the advantage of him, that he ſoon returned from the chace [m], and was then diſpatched to *Rome* to keep all quiet in *Italy*, in quality of *Prefect*. *Antony*'s land-army could not be perſuaded, at firſt, that they were abandoned by their General, and were in expectation of ſeeing him every moment. In this confidence they held out ſeven days, paying no regard to *Octavius*'s ſollicitations, and began to march towards *Aſia* through *Macedonia*, till, at laſt, being deſerted by the allies, who marched home, and alſo by their Commander *Canidius*, and by many of their chief officers, they yielded to neceſſity, and accepted the conditions of-

[l] Ubi initum certamen eſt omnia in altera parte fuere, Dux, remiges, milites; in altera nihil præter milites: prima occupat fugam Cleopatra. Antonius fugientis Reginæ, quam pugnantis militis ſui, comes eſſe maluit: Et Imperator qui in deſertores ſævire debuerat, deſertor exercitûs ſui factus eſt. Illis etiam detracto capite in longum fortiſſimè pugnandi duravit conſtantia; et deſperatâ victoriâ, in mortem dimicabatur. Cæſar, quos ferro poterat interimere, verbis mulcere cupiens, clamitanſque, et oſtendens fugiſſe Antonium, quærebat pro quo et cum quo pugnarent? At illi, cum diu pro abſente dimicaviſſent duce, ægrè ſumminiſſis armis ceſſere victoriam: citiùſque vitam veniamque Cæſar promiſit, quam illis, ut ea precarentur, perſuaſum eſt. Fuitque in confeſſo, milites optimi Imperatoris, Imperatorem fugaciſſimi militis functum officio: Ut dubites ſuone, an Cleopatræ arbitrio victoriam temperaturus fuerat, qui ad ejus arbitrium direxit fugam. Idem locatus in terra fecit exercitus cum ſe Canidius præcipiti fuga rapuiſſet ad Antonium. *Vell. Pat.* ii. 85.

If the battle did not begin till noon and all was over at five; and if *Antony*'s ſhips fought a long time after his flight; then *Cleopatra*'s expectation was ſoon wearied. Undoubtedly both ſhe and *Antony* ſoon ſaw how affairs would turn, and were ſenſible that their fleet, conſiſting of heavy ſhips, was inevitably loſt; and that they themſelves would not be able to eſcape by flight, if they waited any longer. After they had loſt their fleet and ſo many brave ſoldiers in the fight of their land-army, could they depend upon its fidelity? Since, even before the ſea-fight, appearances were ſo much againſt *Antony*, that he was deſerted by ſeveral of his chief officers, and, to that moment, the moſt zealous of his friends.

[m] *Plutarch* ſays, that one *Eurycles* did actually come up with *Antony*'s ſhips, and took one loaded with plate and rich furniture.

fered

fered them. *Octavius* generouſly pardoned all his adverſaries, except- Y. R. 722. Bef. Chr. 30. 421 Conf.
ing a very ſmall number, who, in a very particular manner, were his declared enemies [n]. He then returned ſolemn thanks to *Apollo*, who was his particular patron among the gods, and the tutelar divinity of *Actium*, and conſecrated to him a veſſel of each kind, picked out of thoſe taken from *Antony*, from one bank of oars to ten [o]; and, remembering what had happened in *Sicily* after the reduction of *Pompey*'s and *Lepidus*'s armies, he immediately diſmiſſed all *Antony*'s old ſoldiers, and ſent his own veterans into *Italy*, there to wait for the rewards which had been promiſed them: Keeping about him only ſuch as had not ſerved their full time, and who, in hopes of ſharing the ſpoils of *Egypt*, would be faithful and zealous in his cauſe. At the ſame time to put the city and all *Italy* in good humour, he took off all the taxes, which he had been obliged lately to lay on them, and even remitted the arrears that were due. And, leſt the veterans ſhould raiſe a mutiny and diſturbance, he ſent *Agrippa* to take care of them. He himſelf went to *Athens*, where, being made acquainted with the oppreſſion the *Greeks* had groaned under ſince *Antony*'s arrival, he relieved the miſery of the people by diſtributing among them the proviſions which *Antony* had made for his army. From *Athens* he paſſed into *Aſia*, with a deſign of marching on towards *Egypt*, when he was recalled into *Italy* by *Agrippa*, who had not authority enough over the veterans, who had grown turbulent, and loudly demanded their recompence.

Dio, l. li. initio. Strabo, vii. p. 325.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus IV.
M. Licinius Crassus. } Conſuls.

Octavius ſet ſail in the middle of winter, and in his paſſage was twice Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conf.
in great danger of being ſhipwrecked; firſt upon the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, and then on the coaſt of *Epirus*. He loſt ſeveral of his ſhips, and the rigging and rudder of his own were torn away. At laſt he arrived ſafe at *Brunduſium*, where he was met by all the Senators, Knights, and Magiſtrates, except two Prætors, and two Tribunes of the people, who were ordered by the Senate to remain in the city, in order to keep it quiet. His ſudden arrival and this pompous reception diſconcerted the mutinous ſoldiers, who were quite overawed by the ſeverity of his

[n] Among the firſt are named *Soſius*, *Furnius*, and *M. Scaurus*, *Sextus Pompey*'s half-brother by the mother's ſide. The chief of thoſe put to death were *Curio*, the ſon of the famous *Curio*; *Aquilii Flori*, father and ſon; and *Caſſius* of *Parma*. *Velleius* infers, from his preſent clemency, that the cruelties exerciſed in the beginning of the Triumvirate, and after the battle of *Philippi*, are not to be laid to his charge. Victoria fuit clementiſſima; nec quiſquam interemptus, niſi pauciſſimi, & ii qui deprecari quidem pro ſe non ſuſtinerent. Ex qua lenitate ducis colligi potuit, quem aut initio Triumviratus ſui aut in campis Philippicis, ſi licuiſſet, facturus fuerit. *Vell.* ii. 86.

[o] *Suetonius*'s account is ſomething different in *Aug.* c. 18. Ampliato vetere Apollinis templo, locum caſtrorum quibus fuerat uſus exornatum, navalibus ſpoliis, Neptuno & Marti conſecravit.

look

Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 42 Conſ.

look and the haughtineſs of his behaviour [p]. However, he diſtributed what money he had among the oldeſt of them, and allotted lands to them; but it was not in his power to diſcharge all that was due to them, and, to make them ſenſible of it, he expoſed to ſale his own effects and thoſe of his friends. Theſe nobody ventured to purchaſe, and his ſoldiers were aſhamed that they had forced their General to ſuch an expedient. They conſented, therefore, to wait quietly his time; and he paid them out of the immenſe ſpoils which he brought from *Egypt*.

[p] Divus Auguſtus vultu & aſpectu Actiacas legiones exterruit. *Tac. An.* i. 42. Our modern authors have made very free with *Octavius*'s character as a ſoldier: "What "a prodigious and incoherent mixture of "oppoſite qualities in the ſame man!" ſays Abbé de Vertot, "and eſpecially in a man "that aſpired to render himſelf maſter of "the whole world! In him we ſee an ex"alted, bold, audacious genius, capable "of forming the greateſt deſigns, yet inca"pable of facing coolly the leaſt danger, "and that ſhewed no courage but in coun"cil, and where there was no need of ven"turing his perſon in the execution. He "was very early ſenſible that courage, a "General's firſt quality, was wanting in "him: Yet, though he was conſcious of "this weakneſs in himſelf, it abated no"thing of his ambition. He contented him"ſelf with calling another man's valour to "his aid: He borrowed, as it were, *Agrip*"*pa*'s courage." *Hiſt. of the Revol. of Rome*, B. xiv. Abbé *de St. Real* is of the ſame opinion, and Mr. *Monteſquieu* is yet more ſevere in his cenſure: "I believe *Octavius* "is the only man, of all the *Roman* Gene"rals, who ever gained the affections of "the ſoldiers by giving them perpetual in"ſtances of *a natural timidity of ſpirit*. The "ſoldiers, at that time, were more affected "with the liberality of their Commanders "than with their valour: Perhaps it was "even fortunate for him that he was not "maſter of any qualities which could pro"cure him the empire, and that his very "incapacity ſhould be the cauſe of his pro"motion to it, ſince it made him the leſs "dreaded. It is not impoſſible that the de"fects which throw the greateſt diſhonour "on his character were the moſt propitious "to his fortune. If he had diſcovered at "firſt any traces of an exalted ſoul, all "mankind would have been jealous of his "abilities; *and, if he had been ſpirited by "any true bravery, he would not have given "Antony time to launch into all the extrava"gancies which proved his ruin.*" Reflexions on the grandeur of the Romans, c. xiii. It is hard to underſtand what the Preſident can mean by the laſt reflexion; for it is evident that, till *Octavius* had vanquiſhed *Sextus Pompey* and *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, by his extravagant behaviour, had loſt the affections of the ſoldiers, the young Triumvir was not a match for his partner in power: And, as to the judgment theſe three very ingenious writers pronounce againſt *Octavius*'s courage, it is grounded purely on ſome expreſſions which, *Suetonius* tells us, were thrown out againſt him in *Antony*'s invectives and manifeſtoes. The whole tenor of his conduct, from his firſt entrance upon the ſtage of action is repugnant to it. No man could ſhew more daring ſpirit and more true courage than *Octavius* did, when he attacked *Antony*, armed with conſular authority, and all the forces of the State, at the ſiege of *Mutina*; in his wars againſt *S. Pompey*; in thoſe he waged againſt the *Dalmatians*; in fine, in this laſt againſt the formidable *Antony* himſelf. At the battle of *Philippi* he made no figure; he withdrew to *Antony*'s camp: But we know very little of the circumſtances of that battle: And it muſt be remembered that he had been long ill of a lingering diſorder. But that he was loſt for three days after the battle of *Mutina*; that he hid himſelf at *Philippi* among the baggage of *Antony*'s army; and that, in a ſea-fight againſt *Pompey*, he laid himſelf down in his ſhip upon his back, like a man in a trance, till the engagement was over; theſe are imputations as ridiculous in themſelves, as they are inconſiſtent with the more authentic accounts of the ancient hiſtorians.

After a ſtay of only twenty-ſeven days, he embarked again for *Aſia*, to complete his victory by the deſtruction of *Antony*. All the Kings of *Aſia* came to aſſure him of their obedience; and none appeared more forward than *Herod*, King of *Judæa*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his crown at *Octavius*'s feet, and offered to ſerve him in perſon with his troops. *Octavius* received him into favour, but would not ſpare *Alexas*, the *Syrian*, who attended him: And who, after having been *Antony*'s greateſt flatterer, was a moſt perfidious traitor to him. *Didius*, who commanded for *Antony* in *Syria*, declared likewiſe againſt him: And none of all his allies and officers remained faithful to him. A company of gladiators, which he had at *Cyzicum*, were the only friends he had left in all his dominions. Theſe brave fellows ſet out to join him, and marched over all *Aſia*, in ſpite of the oppoſition they met with from the Kings and States who had abandoned his party. *Didius* ſtopped them in *Syria*, but was not able to reduce them: They informed *Antony* of their ſituation, intreating him to come and put himſelf at their head; but, receiving no anſwer, they came to an agreement with *Didius*, and, upon condition that they ſhould be no more obliged to fight in the amphitheatre, they conſented to wait in the ſuburbs of *Antioch* till *Octavius* diſpoſed of them. They were afterwards ſeparated and incorporated into different legions. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Antony, after he was received into *Cleopatra*'s galley, gave himſelf entirely over to melancholy reflexions and deſpairing thoughts, and, through ſhame or indignation, refuſed to ſee the Queen for three days; till, arriving at *Tenarus*, her women ſo beſtirred themſelves, that they brought them to ſee one another, and to ſit together. There news was brought him of the entire loſs of his fleet, but that it was uncertain whether his army remained firm. He wrote, therefore, from thence to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia* and return to *Aſia*, and he took what care he could of his friends, diſtributing amongſt them all the money he had, and commanding them to leave him and provide for their own ſafety. From *Tenarus* he ſailed to *Paretonium*, a town on the coaſt of *Egypt*, which borders on the territory of *Cyrene*.

Here *Cleopatra* left him to return to *Alexandria*[q]. His view, in remaining ſome time in the neighbourhood of *Cyrene*, was to aſſemble about him the troops he had in that country under the command of *Pinarius Scarpus*: But this Lieutenant declared himſelf for the Conqueror, and, having put to death *Antony*'s couriers and alſo ſome ſoldiers who ſpoke loudly in favour of their General, he delivered *Cyrene*, with four legions, to *Gallus*, who commanded for *Octavius* in thoſe parts. This diſappointment rendered him deſperate, and he would inſtantly have put

[q] *Dio* tells us, that ſhe crowned her ſhips with garlands, and entered the port as if ſhe returned victorious and triumphant; fearing leſt the *Alexandrians*, in her diſtreſs, ſhould refuſe her admittance: And that her firſt care, after her return, was to put to death a great many of her principal officers and to confiſcate the eſtates of others.

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an end to his life, if his friends had not hindered him, and carried him to *Alexandria*. There he found *Cleopatra* engaged in a project, which well ſhewed her enterpriſing ſpirit. She had cauſed ſome of her gallies to be carried over the iſthmus of *Suez* into the *Red Sea*, propoſing to ſave herſelf with her treaſures in an unknown world: But, the *Arabians* having burnt them by the perſuaſion of *Didius* who commanded in *Syria*, ſhe was forced to abandon a deſign ſo full of difficulties, and ſhe ſet about fortifying the avenues of her kingdom, and making preparations for war. She alſo ſollicited foreign aſſiſtance, addreſſing herſelf to all the Princes in the alliance of *Antony*; and it was then, to make up matters with the King of the *Medes* in particular, that ſhe put to death *Artabazes*, King of *Armenia*, and ſent his head to his enemy.

Plut. Strab. l. viii. p. 335. Liv. xlii. 26.

While *Cleopatra* was thus employed, *Antony*'s behaviour was very different. We are told that he betrayed a ſhameful weakneſs; built a houſe near *Pharos*, where he ſhut himſelf up without either friends or domeſtics, *to imitate Timon*, as he ſaid, *ſince he had no leſs reaſon to hate mankind than that Athenian, being betrayed by thoſe whom he had moſt obliged.* But his natural temper did not allow him to remain long in this ſtate, and, quitting his cell, he gave himſelf up to feaſting and every ſort of extravagance. The ſociety formed in the days of his power, and known under the title of the *inimitable life*, was now changed into another, which was called *an engagement to die together.* His friends ſubſcribed their names, and all the fraternity prepared for death by the moſt exceſſive intemperance. In the midſt of theſe diverſions, *Cleopatra* is ſaid to have made experiments of all ſorts of poiſons and venomous animals in order to find out the means of procuring the quickeſt and eaſieſt death; and ſhe found that the aſp was the only one, which cauſed ſuch a one as ſhe deſired, without convulſions or pains. A gentle moiſture bedewed the face, the ſenſes became obliterated, and an exceſſive heavineſs oppreſſed the whole body like thoſe who are in a very ſound ſleep: And to this death ſhe reſolved to have recourſe.

Plut. Ant.

Notwithſtanding this firm reſolution to die, we are told, that they ſometimes entertained hopes of life; and *Euphronius*, tutor to *Antony*'s children, was employed to make propoſals to *Octavius* [r]. *Cleopatra*, alſo, privately ſent her crown and ſceptre, with a royal ſeal, as relinquiſhing all title to ſovereignty herſelf, and demanded only the kingdom of *Egypt* for her children: And *Antony* requeſted that he might be allowed to live as a private man at *Athens*, if *Octavius* was not willing that he ſhould ſtay in *Egypt*. It is added, that *Antony*, to ſoothe *Octavius*, had

[r] He and *Cleopatra* at this time, according to *Dio*, gave the *toga virilis* to *Cæſario* and *Antyllus*, and made this ceremony an occaſion to regale the *Alexandrians*; perhaps, he thought alſo to ſtrengthen his intereſt, by ſhewing two ſucceſſors, who were already in a condition to ſupply his place and revenge him; but this precaution was of no uſe to him, and proved fatal to the two youths, who would have found more ſecurity under the robe of infancy.

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the baſeneſs to deliver up to him *Turullius*, who was one of *Cæſar*'s murderers, but who had ſerved him well. *Octavius* put *Turullius* to death, accepted of the preſents, and made no anſwer to *Antony*'s propoſitions, but ſent word to *Cleopatra*, *that there was no manner of favour which ſhe might not reaſonably expect, if ſhe would either put Antony to death, or baniſh him.* With this anſwer *Euphronius* returned, and with him *Thyrſus*, a freedman of *Octavius*, a perſon very artful and fit to manage an intrigue, who, coming with a meſſage from a young Emperor to an ambitious Princeſs poſſeſſed with a mighty opinion of her own charms, had no difficult acceſs to her. But theſe ſecret conferences between *Cleopatra* and him, and the honours ſhe did him, threw *Antony* into ſuch a furious paſſion of jealouſy, that he immediately ordered him to be cruelly beaten with rods, and in that condition ſent him to *Octavius*, with letters, that he had chaſtiſed *Thyrſus for inſulting over him at a time when his bad fortune had put him into an ill humour*; *but, if this proceeding offended him, he had his freedman Hipparchus by him, whom he might uſe after the ſame manner, and ſo be upon equal terms.* *Hipparchus* was the firſt of *Antony*'s freedmen that went over to *Octavius*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Antony*'s mind of jealouſy and ſuſpicion; ſhe redoubled her fondneſs and careſſes, and, when her birth-day came, ſhe kept it in a manner that was ſuitable to their deplorable condition; but *Antony*'s was celebrated with great ſplendor and magnificence; and all the gueſts were enriched by the noble preſents ſhe made on his account. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ. Plut.

In the mean time *Octavius*'s forces advanced on each ſide of *Egypt*. *Cornelius Gallus* took poſſeſſion of *Paretonium*, which was the key of *Egypt* on the weſt ſide; and *Antony*, who flew with his army and fleet to wreſt it out of his hands, returned with great loſs, particularly of his ſhips. For *Gallus* had left the port open, but had ſtretched chains under the water in the mouth of the harbour, which he drew up by the help of machines as ſoon as *Antony*'s fleet had ſailed in, and then attacked them on all ſides: They were all burnt or ſunk. *Antony* had flattered himſelf that the four legions which had been given up to *Gallus* would declare for him, as ſoon as he ſhewed himſelf to them; but *Gallus*, when he appeared and attempted to ſpeak, cauſed all the trumpets to ſound, and made a ſally upon him with ſome ſucceſs. Dio, p. 448 & 449.

Octavius, on the other ſide, made himſelf maſter of *Peluſium*, the other key of *Egypt*. It was ſurrendered to him by *Seleucus*, and it was reported that this Governor had only followed *Cleopatra*'s orders; but ſhe, to clear herſelf, delivered up his wife and children into *Antony*'s hands. Near the temple of *Iſis* ſhe had built a magnificent ſepulchre[a]; into this place ſhe now removed her jewels, her gold and ſilver, and every thing ſhe had which was valuable, cauſing them to be covered with great quantities of combuſtible matter; making no ſecret of her intention, which ſhe declared to be to burn herſelf, if puſhed to it, with all her Plut. Dio, p. 449. Plut. Ant.

[a] According to *Dio*, l. li. p. 448, it was within the walls of the palace.

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treaſure. She was ſenſible that this menace would have ſome effect upon *Octavius*, and ſhe was not deceived; for, in his march towards *Alexandria*, he omitted no occaſion of giving her aſſurances of his reſpect and his kind uſage.

Plut. Ant.

The nigh approach of the enemy began now to rouſe *Antony*: It was plain that no other hopes were left him than of dying like a *Roman*, and this he fully reſolved upon. He gathered all the troops he had, and made a brave ſally on *Octavius*'s cavalry, which he drove back into their camp, and even put the camp itſelf into diſorder. Upon this advantage he entered *Alexandria* as in triumph, and went all armed to *Cleopatra*, to bring her the good news of his ſucceſs, preſenting one of his officers, who had behaved himſelf bravely in the fight. The Queen rewarded the valour of the man with an armour of gold; but that very night he went over to *Octavius*, which dangerous example very much troubled *Antony*. He tried to provoke *Octavius*'s temper, and challenged him to a ſingle combat; but he was coldly anſwered, *that, if Antony ſought death, he might find other methods to procure it.* *Dio* adds, that he endeavoured to debauch *Octavius*'s troops, and threw billets into his camp, promiſing 1500 drachma's to every one who would come over to him; which had no other effect than to raiſe in them a general indignation.

Dio, p. 449.

Antony, now finding his affairs quite deſperate, reſolved to make the laſt puſh, both by ſea and land, with a full purpoſe to conquer honourably or die bravely. He ordered his people to treat him chearfully and fill him his wine plentifully; *perhaps*, ſaid he, *this may be the laſt ſervice you can do me, for to-morrow you may have another maſter, while I lie extended upon the ground, deſpiſed by all mankind.* Finding his friends much moved at this ſorrowful diſcourſe, he added, *However, I will not do you ſo great an injury as to lead you where death is more certain than victory.*

Oroſ. vi. c. 19. Dio, p. 449. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795.

At break of day, the *firſt of Auguſt*, he poſted all the troops he had remaining upon the riſing ground nigh the town, from whence he ſent orders to his gallies to engage the enemy. The fleet advanced in good order, but, as ſoon as *Cæſar*'s ſhips approached, the ſoldiers all held down their arms and ſaluted them: Theſe returning the ſalute, both fleets joined and ſtood over-againſt the city. His cavalry, ſeeing this, left him alſo and went over to *Octavius*'s camp; his infantry engaged, but was forced preſently to yield [t]. The unfortunate *Antony*, abandoned thus

[t] If theſe events followed ſo cloſe upon one another, it is not poſſible to defer the taking of *Alexandria* till the 29*th of Auguſt*, the day which moſt writers have aſſigned: Or we muſt ſuppoſe the battle which preceded it later than the *firſt of Auguſt*. *Dio*, who always puts the worſt conſtruction upon actions, will have it that *Cleopatra* acted a treacherous part to *Antony* all along. She ordered *Peluſium*, he ſays, to be ſurrendered; ſhe made the army and fleet revolt to *Octavius*; ſhe gave out her death to engage *Antony* to kill himſelf and ſo get rid of him; and afterwards did all ſhe could to engage the affections of his enemy. M. l'Abbe *de St. Real* and M. le Preſident *de Monteſquieu* are of

thus by his men, and finding he could not die with glory in the field, returned back to *Alexandria*, overcome with a dreadful rage and fury, running and crying out, *that Cleopatra had betrayed him, when he had ruined all his fortunes for her ſake alone.* Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

The Queen, hearing of his tranſport, in a great fright retired to her monument, and ſecured the doors; and then made a report be ſpread that ſhe was dead, which was ſoon brought to *Antony*. This ſad and unexpected news recalled all that love and tenderneſs he had for this Princeſs. *O wretched Antony*, cried he, *what haſt thou here in this world, when fate has ſnatched from thee the only thing for which thou couldſt endure to live?* Then, returning to his cabinet, he laid aſide his armour and renewed his complaints: "*O Cleopatra*, ſaid he, *our ſeparation is not my greateſt grief, for we ſhall meet again; but what afflicts me moſt is, that I, who have commanded ſo many gallant men, ſhould be out-done by a woman in courage.* Immediately he called *Eros*, the moſt faithful of his freedmen, whom he had engaged by oath to kill him, when he ſhould think it neceſſary; and now bad him perform his promiſe. *Eros* drew out his ſword, as if he deſigned to obey him; and, turning aſide, gave himſelf a wound which threw him dead at his maſter's feet. *Dear* Eros, *cried he, I thank thee for teaching me to do, myſelf, what thy regard for me did not permit thee to perform:* And, at the ſame time drawing his ſword and plunging it into his belly, he threw himſelf upon a bed that was near. The wound was mortal, but, the blood, by the ſituation of his body, being ſtopped, he ſoon came to himſelf, and moſt earneſtly begged of his friends, who were come into his apartment, to diſpatch him; but they all fled, leaving him in a miſerable condition, toſſing and ſtruggling in the greateſt anguiſh of pain. While he was in this ſituation, *Diomedes* came to him from *Cleopatra*, begging him, in her name, to ſuffer himſelf to be tranſported to the monument where ſhe was, which *Antony* readily conſented to. He was, therefore, brought to the place: But *Cleopatra*, having only her two women, durſt not open the door, and only let down cords from the window [u]. All the people of *Alexandria* were preſent at this

of opinion that ſhe treacherouſly fled during the battle of *Actium*, with a deſign to ruin her lover, and make her court to *Octavius*. "*Yet this ſame Cleopatra*, ſays the Abbé, "*who ſeemed to live in Antony, treacherouſly* "*abandoned him, and, by her perfidious flight,* "*delivered him into the power of his enemy,* "*whoſe affections ſhe determined with herſelf,* "*from that moment, to engage, if poſſible; a* "*perfidiouſneſs of which we ſee many exam-* "*ples, and which ſhould convince us, that,* "*ſuch is a woman's love, that we can never* "*be ſecure of not being betrayed by her.*" Conſid. ſur Antoine. "*It evidently appear-* "*ed*, ſays Mr. le Preſident, *by the circum-* "*ſtances of her future conduct, that ſhe after-* "*wards betrayed him: Perhaps, that incom-* "*prehenſible ſpirit of coquetry, ſo predominant* "*in her ſex, tempted her to practiſe all her* "*arts to lay a third Sovereign of the world at* "*her feet.*" Grand. des Rom. ch. xv.

[u] *Dio*, who is ſenſible that this tragical hiſtory *is lame in many of its parts*, has tried to mend it: He ſays that the door of the monument, when once ſhut, could not be opened again; that the monument was not finiſhed at the top, and that the cords made uſe of to draw up *Antony* were the ſame

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this ſad ſpectacle, and nothing appeared ſo lamentable as to view this great man, renowned for ſo many conqueſts and victories, bathed in his blood and juſt expiring, holding out his hands to *Cleopatra*, and faintly endeavouring to raiſe himſelf; and to ſee this famous Queen ſtriving, with her body almoſt out of the window, with the feeble aſſiſtance of her women, to pull him up, the people all the time ſeeming to aſſiſt her with their cries and tears. When, after much pains ſhe had drawn him in, ſhe embraced him, and laid him gently upon her bed, tearing all her clothes in a moſt violent manner, beating her face and breaſt, calling *Antony her Huſband, her Lord, her Emperor!* And, though her own misfortunes were very great, ſhe forgot them all at the ſight of this deplorable object. *Antony* begged of her to moderate the tranſports of her grief, and aſked for ſome wine, either becauſe he was thirſty, or becauſe he thought it would ſoon end him. After he had drank, he exhorted *Cleopatra to endeavour to ſave her life, if ſhe could do it with honour; and, for that end, Proculeius*, he told her, *would be her beſt friend in Cæſar's camp; that ſhe would not too deeply reflect upon the cruel turn of fortune which he felt in his laſt days, but rather think of that glory and renown he had long lived in, and that, after he had been the firſt man in the world, and the moſt illuſtrious of the Romans, he was at laſt overcome by a Roman.* Theſe, we are told, were his laſt words, after which he expired, in the fifty-third year of his age.

It cannot be denied but he was born with great natural endowments, which, notwithſtanding the profligacy of his life, he cultivated ſo as to capacitate himſelf for every great office of the State, both civil and military. After *Cæſar*'s death, we ſee him rouſed from the midſt of pleaſure and debauch, and an entire obſequiouſneſs to the Dictator's will, forming the true plan of his intereſt, and purſuing it with a ſurpriſing vigour and addreſs; till, after many and almoſt inſuperable difficulties, he obtained the ſovereign dominion which he aimed at. But, after the battle of *Philippi*, we find in him neither ſpirit nor prudence. The glory he reaped on that day, the influence he had over *Lepidus* and the greateſt Commanders of the army, *Ventidius*, *Pollio*, *Plancus*; the eſteem and affection of the ſoldiers, his own military ſkill, the immenſe riches of the Eaſtern provinces; undoubtedly gave him a great ſuperiority over young *Cæſar*. All which advantages he gradually loſt. He ſuffered his wife, her brother, and all his adherents, to be cruſhed in *Italy*, without taking his revenge, or demanding the leaſt ſatisfaction; he fooliſhly helped *Octavius* to deſtroy *S. Pompey*, who had ſued for his favour, and who was a thorn in his competitor's ſide, and a ſtrong barrier to his Eaſtern empire. He tamely ſaw his friend and ſaviour, *Lepidus*, deprived with ig-

ſame the workmen made uſe of to pull up the ſtones. He has alſo given the women an eunuch to help them. But, good *Dio*, if *Cleopatra* did not love *Antony*, and gave out the report of her death in order to engage *Antony* to kill himſelf as you ſay, why did ſhe not let him die in peace? Why put him and herſelf to all this trouble?

nominy

nominy of his dignity, his army, his provinces. He trifled away the treaſures of the Eaſt, and waſted his army in an inglorious war. When we compare this conduct with that ſpirit which he ſhewed after *Cæſar's* death, it is hard not to allow the ambitious and politic *Fulvia* a ſhare in the glory of his riſe to power, ſince, ſeparated from that active ſpirit, we ſee him weighed down by his indolence and ſenſuality. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſ.

Antony's bloody ſword was taken up by one of his guards, and carried to *Octavius*, with an account of his death. He retired into his tent, where he could not refrain from tears, when he reflected on the deplorable end of ſo great a man. He called in his friends, to whom he declared, that he had contributed nothing to the overthrow of *Antony* through any hatred or ambition: Shewing them the copies of the letters he had written to him, which contained nothing but juſt and reaſonable propoſals, and *Antony*'s anſwers full of paſſion and diſdain. After this he ſent *Proculeius* to employ his utmoſt addreſs to ſeize upon *Cleopatra*, being extremely deſirous to ſave her treaſure, but more eſpecially to grace his triumph with this Queen, who had ſo long triumphed over the *Roman* Commanders. *Cleopatra* refuſed *Proculeius* entrance, but, through the door, demanded *Egypt* for her children; which cauſed *Proculeius*, after obſerving the avenues of the monument, to return to *Octavius*, who, the ſame inſtant, ſent *Gallus* with him, to make her new propoſitions. While *Gallus* was diſcourſing with *Cleopatra* below, *Proculeius*, with two others, entered by the window at which *Antony* had been drawn up; and one of her women, perceiving it, preſently cried out, *Wretched Princeſs, thou art taken alive!* Upon which *Cleopatra* turned about, and, ſeeing *Proculeius*, drew out a dagger to ſtab herſelf; but *Proculeius* caught hold of her arm, ſaying, *Madam, will you at once injure yourſelf and Cæſar, in depriving him of the moſt illuſtrious teſtimony he can give you of his generoſity; and make the beſt and gentleſt Prince in the world paſs for cruel and barbarous?* Whereupon he diſarmed her, ſearched her clothes leſt any poiſon ſhould be concealed about her, and, after he had ſecured her perſon, returned to *Octavius* with this joyful news.

Octavius was extremely ſatisfied to have this haughty Queen at his diſpoſal, who before had lifted the crown of *Egypt* above the empire of the *Romans*. He commanded *Epaphroditus*, one of his freedmen, to guard her with the greateſt care, and yet to ſerve her like a Queen; and made his entrance into *Alexandria* in the moſt ſolemn and pompous manner. The majeſty of *Octavius*, followed by ſo many armed ſoldiers, who breathed nothing but deſtruction, impreſſed the *Egyptians* with great fears, and they all fell proſtrate upon their faces before him. *Octavius* told them, *he pardoned the city for the ſake of its illuſtrious founder, for the extraordinary beauty of it, and for the great eſteem he had for Areius, their fellow-citizen and philoſopher*, who was then with him. Several Kings and *Roman* Senators are ſaid to have begged of him the body of *Antony*, to pay their laſt reſpects to him; but he would not deprive *Cleopatra* of

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a ſatisfaction ſo dear to her: and alſo furniſhed her with what was requiſite for the pomp of the funeral, which ſhe ſolemniſed with extraordinary magnificence. *Octavius* now redoubled his complaiſance to the captive Queen, that nothing might occaſion the encreaſe of her afflictions; but her exceſſive melancholy, and the many blows ſhe had given her breaſt, threw her into a ſlow fever, which gave her great hopes of ending her ſorrows and her life in a ſhort time: She had, beſides, reſolved to abſtain from eating; a ſecret which ſhe truſted her phyſician with [x]. *Octavius* ſoon diſcovered her intention, and immediately threatened to put all her children to death, if ſhe perſiſted in her obſtinacy. This was the only thing ſhe could be ſenſible of, and the thoughts of this cauſed her to comply, and receive whatever they preſcribed to her.

Octavius reſolved to viſit *Cleopatra* and by his civilities to give her freſh aſſurance of his favour. He found her upon a plain bed [y], and, as ſoon as ſhe perceived him, ſhe roſe in a ſlight garment ſhe had upon her to throw herſelf at his feet, with her hair in diſorder, her face torn, her breaſt bruiſed, her eyes red with weeping, and her voice weak and trembling; all which had not extinguiſhed the brightneſs of her eyes, nor deſtroyed the charms of her perſon. *Octavius* civilly lifted her up, and ſat down by her, and ſhe immediately entered upon the juſtification of her conduct, pretending that all ſhe had done was more out of fear of diſpleaſing *Antony*, than from her own inclinations: But, when *Octavius* began to confute every article of her excuſes, ſhe preſently turned the diſcourſe to move his compaſſion, as if ſhe deſired nothing more than to prolong her life; and delivered him an inventory of all her jewels and treaſure. *Seleucus*, her Treaſurer, accuſing her of concealing ſeveral things, *Cleopatra*, in a great rage, threw herſelf out of her bed, dragged him by the hair, and beat him ſeverely; which, *Dio* thinks, was only a pretence to ſhew *Octavius* her beautiful ſhape and body, which ſhe had too great a confidence in. However, *Octavius* only ſmiled at this action, and led the Queen to her bed. *O Cæſar*, cried ſhe, *after the honour of viſiting me in this miſerable condition, is it not cruel and barbarous that a vile ſlave ſhould accuſe me of laying aſide a few trifles, alas! not to adorn myſelf, but to preſent them to Livia and Octavia, that their generous interceſſion may in ſome meaſure procure to me your favour?* This diſcourſe gave great ſatisfaction to *Octavius*, imagining it implied a deſire ſhe had of living: And thereupon he aſſured her, *ſhe might keep her jewels, and*

[x] This phyſician's name was *Olympus*, and *Plutarch* tells us that he left in writing the ſtory of *Cleopatra*'s end, from which he borrowed his account.

[y] *Dio* tells us, that the bed was very rich and elegantly adorned; that ſhe herſelf was clad in a negligent manner, but ſuch a one as greatly became her; that the cloſet was hung with *Julius Cæſar*'s images and pictures; and that ſhe had ready in her lap, to ſhew *Octavius*, all the letters ſhe had received from his father. He then tells us their whole converſation, and all her artful ſpeeches. It is thus the hiſtorians have taken the liberty to ornament theſe events, every one according to his notions of the actors.

that

that he would uſe her more generouſly than ſhe could reaſonably hope for; and ſo retired, much pleaſed with his ſucceſs, having, as he ſuppoſed, over-reached her: But the Queen had ſounded him every way, and deceived him. Y. R. 723. Bef. Chr. 29. 422 Conſt.

Cleopatra was ſoon afterwards informed by *Dolabella*, one of *Octavius*'s favourites and her admirer, that *Octavius* had reſolved to ſet out ſoon for *Syria*, and had determined to ſend, within three days, her and her children away before him. Upon this information, ſhe ſent to beg leave to pay her laſt oblations to the memory of *Antony*, which was granted her. Whereupon ſhe was carried to the ſtately ſepulchre where *Antony*'s body was laid; and, attended by two women, ſhe fell upon her knees, embraced his tomb with extreme grief and paſſion, and, after a flood of tears, ſhe cried, *My deareſt Lord, I was a Queen and wore no chains, when I firſt placed thee in this monument; but, now that I pay my duties, I am Fortune's ſlave; my ſervile body is reſerved to grace the triumph of thy foes, on which I dare not ſo much as print the marks of my grief. Theſe tears, theſe pangs of grief, are the laſt tokens of the love and duty of thy Cleopatra, who now muſt be forced far from thee: No chance could ſeparate us while living, but our cruel deſtiny will part us in our deaths. And, as, by a ſtrange turn of fate, Egypt has afforded thee a tomb, ſo Rome will me: the only courteſy I ſhall receive from thy country. Yet I hope the heavenly powers that guard your happy abode (for ours have betrayed us) will ſtem the Conqueror's pride, and ſuffer him not to triumph over thee in my perſon. Hide me, therefore, here, and receive me into thy tomb; for, amongſt all my bitter griefs and heavy afflictions, none ere preſſed my ſoul ſo hard as living thus long without thee.* After theſe lamentations, ſhe crowned the tomb with garlands and flowers, embracing it as if ſhe deſigned to grow to it. Then, as if her mourning was quite over, ſhe ordered her women to prepare her a bath; which, when ſhe had uſed, ſhe dreſſed herſelf in the richeſt manner, and ordered her table to be ſerved with the greateſt magnificence. While ſhe was eating, a countryman came and deſired to ſpeak to the Queen: The guards ſtopped him, and would know what he carried in a baſket that he had in his hand. The *Egyptian* turned up ſome leaves and ſhewed them ſome fine figs in ſo innocent a manner, that they let him go. After dinner ſhe ſent a letter to *Octavius*, wherein ſhe earneſtly beſeeched him to permit her to be buried in the ſame tomb with *Antony*; and, clearing her room of all, except *Iras* and *Charmion*, ſhe is ſuppoſed to have applied her arm to the aſp that was brought her. *Octavius*, informed by her letter of what ſhe was about, ſent immediately ſome meſſengers, who found her dead upon a golden bed adorned with her royal robes, in the poſture of one aſleep, with *Iras* alſo dead at her feet, and *Charmion* juſt breathing and placing her diadem right. One of the meſſengers very angrily aſked, *Is this well done, Charmion? Extremely well*, replied ſhe, *and becoming a*

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Princeſs deſcended from ſo noble a race of Monarchs; at which ſhe expired at her Miſtreſs's feet [z].

Thus died this famous Queen, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, having reigned twenty-two, twelve of which ſhe paſſed with *Antony*. *Octavius* ordered her a magnificent funeral, laying her body by *Antony*'s, according to her deſire: And her women alſo were interred with conſiderable pomp, to honour their fidelity. With her ended the *Ptolemean* race, after it had laſted two hundred and ninety-four years. Her ſon *Cæſario*, whom ſhe had by *Julius Cæſar*, was ſhortly after ſlain by *Octavius*'s orders, who was told by *Areius*, the philoſopher, that many *Cæſars were of dangerous conſequence*. Her two ſons by *Antony*, *Ptolemy* and *Alexander*, were led in triumph, after which they were diſmiſſed and were no more heard of. Her daughter, *Cleopatra Selene*, was married afterwards to *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*. Her ſtatues were left ſtanding, a favour, ſays *Plutarch*, which *Archilius*, a faithful ſervant of the Queen, purchaſed at the price of a thouſand talents. *Antony*'s ſtatues were all thrown down in *Egypt* as well as *Rome*, by virtue of a decree of the Senate, by which all that had been enacted in his favour was made void; his birth-day was ranked among thoſe deemed *unfortunate*, and it was forbid in his family to bear the name of *Marcus*. *M. Tullius*, *Cicero*'s ſon, was Conſul when this decree paſſed, and he had the pleaſure of executing it. It was deſigned ſo probably by *Octavius*, when he took him for his collegue [a]. He thus made ſome atonement for his treachery to the father; and, by giving the family this opportunity of revenging his death upon *Antony*, fixed the blame of it alſo there; while the people looked upon it as divine and providential, that the final overthrow of *Antony*'s name and fortunes ſhould, by a ſtrange revolution of affairs, be reſerved for the triumph of young *Cicero*.

Dio, l. li. p. 456.

Egypt was reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and its immenſe riches were tranſported to *Rome*; which enabled *Octavius* to pay all he owed to his ſoldiers. It is ſaid that upon this event, and the reeſtabliſhment of peace, every thing roſe to double their value, and the intereſt of money fell from twelve to four *per cent.* A province, ſo rich

[z] *Octavius* repreſented her in his triumph with an aſp ſticking to her arm, and it was the common perſuaſion that ſhe had made uſe of this animal to poiſon herſelf: Yet there was no ſpot or mark of poiſon upon her body, or any animal found in the monument. Only there were obſerved upon her arm two ſmall punctures, and, upon the ſand near the monument, ſome marks of the flight of an animal. It was ſuſpected, at the time, that ſhe and her maids had made uſe of a golden bodkin ſteeped in a very ſubtile poiſon, with which they pricked themſelves. *Dio* reports that the *Pſylli* were employed to ſuck out the poiſon, which they attempted in vain. This hiſtorian tells us very gravely, that the *Pſylli* were a peculiar people of *Africa*, (all males, for, ſays he, there is no *Pſylla*) of ſuch a natural complexion, that no poiſonous animal could hurt them, and they could cure any one bit or ſtung by ſucking out the poiſon: They alſo could know whether their wives were faithful by expoſing their children to aſps and other ſerpents.

[a] It appears, by the Capitoline marbles, that he bore this office from the ides of *September* to the calends of *November*.

and

and ſo extremely fertile in corn, was a very conſiderable acquiſition to the *Roman* empire. It is ſaid to have ſupplied the capital of the univerſe with proviſions for four months of the year. But it was neceſſary to take meaſures to keep in ſubjection a people naturally fickle and diſpoſed to ſedition and revolt, and to prevent the Governor of it from aſpiring to an independency in a kingdom ſo remote from *Rome*, and of ſuch difficult acceſs both by ſea and land. To prevent theſe two inconveniencies, *Octavius* would not ſuffer at *Alexandria* either Senate or public Council, as there was in every great town of the Empire; but ſubjected them to a Prefect, who had all the authority of a Viceroy, having under his command three legions, and ſome other bodies of troops leſs conſiderable diſtributed in different parts of the kingdom; and for this Prefect he neither choſe a Magiſtrate nor a Senator, but a man of low birth, without adherents, and who owed his whole fortune to him. The firſt inveſted with this important prefecture was *Cornelius Gallus*, more diſtinguiſhed by his literary talents than his military virtues: And it became a maxim of ſtate afterwards to follow theſe regulations [b]. However, *Egypt* was never happier than from this moment. The Governor made his troops cleanſe the canals into which the *Nile*, in its riſe, diſcharged itſelf, and which were half ſtopped up with mud: And this greatly contributed to the fertility of the country and to the facility of the interior commerce. He reſtored the vigour of the laws, and encouraged the foreign trade. *Alexandria*, by theſe means, preſerved its rank of being the ſecond city of the world, which ſhe conſtantly enjoyed till the tranſlation of the Empire to *Conſtantinople*.

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Tacit. Hiſt. i. c. 11. Strab. l. xvii.

Octavius [c] left *Egypt* towards the end of the fine ſeaſon, and went by *Syria* into *Aſia* to paſs there the winter. In all theſe countries, he applied himſelf to gain the affections of the people, and replaced in the temples the ſeveral ſtatues, which *Antony* had taken away to gratify *Cleopatra*; a reſtitution which both religion, and the taſte the *Greeks* had for arts, rendered extremely agreeable to them.

He had now an opportunity of concerning himſelf in the affairs of the *Parthians*. *Phraates*'s cruelty had driven them to a revolt, and they crowned *Tiridates* in his place. The fugitive Monarch had recourſe on this to the *Scythians*, and, with their troops, returning into his kingdom, he, during *Octavius*'s ſtay in *Egypt*, expelled *Tiridates*, who retired into *Syria*, with one of his enemy's ſons, whom he had made priſoner. *Tiridates* offered to *Octavius* to become his vaſſal, if he reſtored him to the

[b] This Prefect was called *Auguſtalis*, and had under him an officer for the adminiſtring of juſtice, called *Juridicus*; and his retinue was made up of the houſhold, or the freedmen and dependants of *Cæſar*.

[c] Before he left *Alexandria*, he had the curioſity to view the coffin and body of *Alexander the Great*, which were taken out of the vault: And he paid his reſpects to the memory of that Prince by the preſent of a golden crown and ſcattering flowers upon the body. Being aſked whether he inclined to ſee thoſe of the *Ptolemy's*, he replied, *that he had a deſire to ſee a King, not dead men.*

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Parthian throne; and *Phraates* demanded back his ſon from him, together with his rebellious ſlave *Tiridates*. But *Octavius* hearkened to neither of them: He gave *Tiridates* protection in *Syria*, and kept the ſon of *Phraates* as an hoſtage for his father's good behaviour.

Vell. Pat. ii. 88.

While he was ſtill in *Aſia*, *Mæcenas* diſcovered at *Rome* a conſpiracy againſt his life. The ſon of *Lepidus*, a raſh, impetuous young man, was at the head of it: He ſaw in him the deſtroyer of all his relations, and propoſed to revenge, by his death, his father whom he had ſpoiled of all his power and riches, his uncle *Brutus*, and, laſt of all, *Antony*, his father-in-law [d]. We have no full account of this plot: All we know of it is, that *Mæcenas* ſoon diſcovered it, and kept ſuch a vigilant eye upon the young man that he ſoon had proofs enough to convict him. He was ſeized and put to death: *Servilia*, his wife, deſired to follow her beloved huſband to his tomb, but, being carefully obſerved by her family, and, having no weapon, ſhe choked herſelf by ſwallowing live coals [e]. The mother of the conſpirator, *Junia*, ſiſter of *M. Brutus*, was included in the criminal proceſs againſt her ſon, and *Mæcenas* was diſpoſed to ſend her to *Octavius*, or, at leaſt, he demanded ſecurity for her appearing, whenever ſhe ſhould be called upon. The Conſul, before whom that proceſs was carried on, was one who had been proſcribed, whom *Appian* calls *Balbinus*.

C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus V. } Conſuls.
Sext. Apuleius. }

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Octavius entered upon his fifth conſulſhip in *Aſia*, and did not return to the city till about *Midſummer*; he was then received with an univerſal joy and ſatisfaction, as a perſon who had put an end to the miſeries and calamities of the State. The Senate had decreed him all ſorts of honours both human and divine, as they had formerly done to his father *Julius*: And, in the month of *Auguſt*, he triumphed, for three days together, with extraordinary ſplendor and magnificence. His firſt triumph was for his ſucceſs in *Illyricum*; the ſecond for the battle of *Actium*; and the third for the conqueſt of *Egypt*. Theſe triumphs were attended with the ſhutting of the temple of *Janus*, which had ſtood open 205 years; and by the performance of the divination called *the augury of ſafety*, which had not been renewed ſince the end of the third *Mithridatic* war: They were followed by great largeſſes made to the people and the ſoldiery; by entertainments of all kinds, and dedications of temples: And, to perpetuate the memory of a victory which had given

[d] *Antony*, according to *Dio*, had given one of his daughters in marriage to *Lepidus*. She was now dead, ſince there is no mention of her among *Antony*'s children, and the wife of young *Lepidus* was, at this time, *Servilia*.

[e] The ſame thing has been falſely reported of *Porcia*, *M. Brutus*'s wife. This fact reſts upon the authority of *Velleius Paterculus*, l. ii. c. 88. Æquetur Calpurniæ Antiſtii, Servilia Lepidi uxor, quæ vivo igni devorato præmaturam mortem immortali nominis ſui penſavit memoria.

him the empire of the world, he encreaſed the ſplendor and pomp of thoſe games which had been celebrated at *Actium* in honour of *Apollo* from the remoteſt antiquity, and ordered that they ſhould be renewed every five years. Upon the ſpot of ground there where his army had encamped, he built a town which he called *Nicopolis*, the city of *Victory*, which ſoon, by the privileges granted it, became populous and flouriſhing. Another *Nicopolis* was built near *Alexandria* upon the field where *Antony* engaged him, and games were likewiſe inſtituted there. V. R. 724. Bef. Chr. 28. 423 Conſ.

Octavius was now ſole maſter of the *Roman* empire by the deſtruction of his enemies, but with no other legal title than that odious one of the *Triumvir*, which he had promiſed to reſign; and we are told, that he had thoughts of fulfilling his promiſe, and took the advice of his two moſt intimate friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*. *Agrippa*, it is ſaid, adviſed him to reſtore the Commonwealth; but *Mæcenas* diſſuaded it. *Dio* has given us the ſpeeches which theſe two Miniſters made to their Maſter; and a long ſermon of *Mæcenas*, concerning the right adminiſtration of the Empire. The Senate had ordered that his name ſhould be inſerted in the public prayers for the ſafety of the Empire, in which hitherto none but the Senate and people had been named[f]: And, on the *firſt of January*, the Conſul, his collegue, and the whole Senate confirmed all his acts, and ſwore to obſerve his orders. This ceremony was obſerved ever after, and was no leſs than an oath of allegiance. But the firſt decree in his favour, made by the Senate, ſeems to have been that of the Tribunitian power for his whole life, which had already been offered him: Yet he does not ſeem to have accepted of this grant till after his eleventh conſulſhip. He accepted, however, of a very ſubſtantial one in that of *Imperator*, which gave him the command of all the armies: And this, joined to the conſulſhip, inveſted him in reality with all the military and civil power: And he continued himſelf in the conſulſhip, till he gradually was veſted with all the offices of the State. The following year he was made Cenſor with *Agrippa*. In fine, in his ſeventh conſulſhip, finding all matters ripe for his purpoſe, he went to the Senate, and, after a ſtudied ſpeech, reſigned his ſovereign power on the *ſeventh of January*. The houſe unanimouſly beſought him with many words and entreaties, *that he alone would take upon him the adminiſtration of the government*; and, after many arguments and perſuaſions, they compelled him, as it were, to accept of the ſovereignty, under the title of *Prince*, a word ſometimes uſed under the Republic, as in the caſe of the *Prince* of the Senate: So that he would appear to be no

[f] It was alſo enjoined, according to *Dio*, to make libations to him in private entertainments; one may doubt whether this was enacted by public authority; but we learn, from an ode of *Horace*, that flattery introduced the cuſtom:

Quiſque —— alteris
Te menſis adhibet Deum.
Te multa prece, te proſequitur mero
Defuſo pateris; & Laribus tuum,
Miſcet numen, ut Græcia Caſtoris,
Et magni memor Herculis.

L. iv. *od* 5.

more

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more than the firſt man of the State. It was decreed, at the ſame time, that he ſhould have a conſtant guard, and that their pay ſhould be double that of the other ſoldiers.

Thus *Octavius Cæſar*, by his artifice, in pretending to lay down all his power and authority, got it confirmed to him both by the Senate and people. Yet, to ſoothe the Senate and make himſelf popular, he refuſed to govern all the provinces, or to have a perpetual power over ſuch as he ſhould take care of. Therefore, on the *ides of January*, or on *the* 13*th*, he made a diviſion of the Empire. The weaker and inward provinces being in a more peaceable poſture, he left them to be diſpoſed of by the people in favour of *conſular* and *prætorian* Senators, with theſe proviſions, that they ſhould not take poſſeſſion of them till five years after they had borne offices in the city: That they ſhould hold their government but for a year; and that, as ſoon as ſucceſſors were ſent them, they ſhould immediately depart from their provinces, and not fail of being at *Rome* within three months. Theſe provinces were *Africa* and *Numidia*, *Libya* called *Cyrenaica*, *Aſia Minor*, *Greece* with *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedonia*, *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. *Cæſar* kept the reſt of *Spain*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, as alſo *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Egypt*, and *Cyprus*, which were more expoſed to the incurſions of foreign enemies, and formed the barrier of the Empire. When any war broke out in any of the provinces in the department of the people, the Prince was to take it, and to give up ſome other one more quiet in its ſtead: So *Auguſtus* afterwards took *Dalmatia*, and made over to the people *Cyprus* and *Gallia Narbonenſis*. By this contrivance he engroſſed the whole militia of the Empire, declaring, at the ſame time, that he only took this charge upon himſelf for ten years.

On the 17*th* of the ſame month the Senate, in acknowledgment of the moderate uſe *Octavius* made of the ſovereign authority, decreed him many honours. A laurel was placed before his gates, and upon it were hung garlands of oak leaves, to ſignify that he was the perpetual Conqueror of the enemies of the State, and preſerver of the citizens[g]. His houſe was called the *Palatium*, wherever he took his abode. It was debated whether they ſhould give him the title of *Romulus*, as ſecond founder of the State; but the more venerable name and leſs invidious one

Suet. in Oct. vii Florus iv. 12.

[g] Poſtibus auguſtis eadem fidiſſima cuſtos
Ante fores ſtabis, mediamque tuebere quercum. *Ovid.* i. *Metam.* 562.

State Palatina laurus, prætextaque quercu
Stet domus. *Id.* iv. *Faſt.* 953.

Cur tamen adpoſita velatur janua lauro;
Cingit et auguſtas arbor opaca fores?
Num quia perpetuos meruit domus iſta triumphos?
An quia Leucadio ſemper amata Deo?
Ipſane quod feſta eſt, an quòd facit omnia feſta?
Quam tribuit terris pacis an iſta nota eſt?
Utque viret ſemper laurus, nec fronde caduca
Carpitur; æternum ſic habet illa decus.
Id. iii. *Triſt.* i. 39.

of

of *Auguſtus*, propounded by *Munacius Plancus*, was agreed to: For ſacred places and temples, conſecrated by Augurs, were termed *Auguſta* [h]. It was afterwards enacted that *the Prince* ſhould have, *in the city*, all the honours and power of the *Conſuls*, though he was not Conſul; and *in the provinces*, governed by prætorian and conſular Senators, the prerogatives of *Proconſul*, with a power ſuperior to that of the proper Governors. He was made *perpetual Maſter of Manners:* He had all the power of the cenſorſhip and tribunate: And he was inveſted with the office of High-Prieſt, and the preſidency in all the colleges of Augurs, Septemviri, and Quindecimviri. Thus the *Prince* got into his hands all the juriſdiction and privileges of the ſeveral offices of the State; and what was granted to *Auguſtus* by degrees was afterwards conferred upon his ſucceſſors at once by one ſingle inſtrument, and deſpotic monarchy eſtabliſhed by a law, called afterwards *lex regia* [i]. *Auguſtus* conſented at firſt to receive the ſovereign power for ten years: When the ten years were expired, he was prevailed to accept it for ten more, and in this manner kept it all his life.—His ſucceſſors, in imitation of this example, though they had the Empire ſettled upon them without any limitation of time, yet, at the end of every ten years, celebrated ſolemn feaſts, as for a renewal or continuation of the ſovereignty in their perſons.

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[h] Tractatum in Senatu, an, quia condidiſſet imperium, Romulus vocaretur, ſed ſanctius et reverentius viſum eſt nomen *Auguſti*, ut ſcilicet jam tum, dum colit terras, ipſo nomine et titulo conſecraretur. *Flor.* iv. 12. The æra of the *Roman* empire is dated from the *firſt of January* this year. This title of *Auguſtus* at firſt was only perſonal, and did not convey any idea of ſovereignty: Several of the Imperial family took it, who were never Emperors; as *Germanicus*. The female line, who had not the leaſt ſhadow of ſovereignty with the *Romans*, had it, as *Antonia Major:* And thus *Livia* firſt took the name of *Auguſta*, when ſhe was adopted by her huſband's will into the *Julian* family. After the time of *Dioclefian*, it was changed into *Semper Auguſtus*, which title the Emperor of *Germany* now enjoys. *Taylor*, p. 36. See *Mem. de Litt. de l' Academie de Inſcriptions*, t. xix, p. 432. Where Abbé *de la Bletirie* has taken the pains to enquire by what ſteps and at what period the title of *Auguſtus* came to expreſs the Imperial power.

[i] A fragment of that relating to *Veſpaſian* was found engraven upon copper in the church of *St. John de Lateran* at *Rome*, and is now preſerved in the Capitol. It was alſo called *lex Imperii*, *Auguſtum privilegium*, *lex Auguſti:* And *Ulpian*, writing upon this law, uſes this expreſſion: *Quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem: utpote cum lege regia, quæ de imperio ejus lata eſt, Populus ei et in eum omne ſuum imperium et poteſtatem conferat.* D. i. 4. 1. pr.

FINIS.

THE

THE CAPITOLINE MARBLES; OR, CONSULAR CALENDARS: CONTINUED.

633. Y. of *R.*
332. *Conſulſhip.* P. MANILIUS NEPOS.
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.
Cenſors. L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Balearicus.

The ſixty-firſt Luſtrum.

Tribunes of the People. P. Decimus Mus.
M. Octavius Nepos.
The other eight are unknown.
Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul. Q. Fabius Maximus,
Who triumphs over the *Allobroges* and *Bituitus*, King of the *Arverni*.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus,
Triumphs over the *Gauls* and the *Arverni*.

634. Y. of *R.*
333. *Conſulſhip.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS DALMATICUS.
L. AURELIUS COTTA.
Prætors. Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus, &c.
Tribunes of the People. C. Marius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

635. Y. of *R.*
334. *Conſulſhip.* M. PORCIUS CATO.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
The firſt died during his magiſtracy: And in his place was ſubſtituted
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO.
Pro-Conſul in Dalmatia. L. Cæcilius Metellus,
Who triumphs over the *Dalmatians*.

636. Y. of *R.*
335. *Conſulſhip.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.
Pro-Conſul in Liguria. Q. Marcius Rex,
Who triumphs over the *Stæni*.

637. Y. of *R.*
336. *Conſulſhip.* C. LICINIUS GETA.
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS EBURNUS.

638. Y. of *R.*
337. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS,
Who triumphs over the *Carni*.
M. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Cenſors. L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

The ſixty-ſecond Luſtrum.

Prætors. P. Decimus Mus.
C. Marius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. P. Rupilius Rufus. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in the country of the Carni. M. Æmilius Scaurus, Who triumphs over the *Carni.*

639. Y. of *R.*

338. *Conſulſhip.* M. ACILIUS BALBUS.
C. PORCIUS CATO.

Prætor in farther Spain. C. Marius Nepos.

Prætor in Illyricum. T. Didius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. Cæcilius Metellus.

640. Y. of *R.*

339. *Conſulſhip.* P. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAPRARIUS.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

Prætor, a ſecond time, for capital crimes. Lucius Caſſius Longinus.

Tribunes of the People. Sex. Peduceius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. Cæcilius Metellus, Who triumphs over the *Sardi.*

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius, Who triumphs over the *Thracians* and *Macedonia.*

Pro-Prætor againſt the Scordiſci. T. Didius Nepos, Who triumphs over the *Scordiſci* and *Macedonia.*

641. Y. of *R.*

340. *Conſulſhip.* M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

Prætor in farther Spain. L. Calpurnius Piſo Frugi.

642. Y. of *R.*

341. *Conſulſhip.* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.
L. CALPURNIUS PISO BESTIA.

Prætors. L. Caſſius Longinus.
Ser. Sulpicius Galba, &c.

Tribunes of the People. C. Memmius Gallus.
C. Bœbius Sulca.

Quæſtor in Numidia. *P. Sextius Nepos.*

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Livius Druſus.

643. Y. of *R.*

342. *Conſulſhip.* M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.

Prætor at Rome. Q. Marcius Philippus.

Prætor in hither Spain. Q. Servilius Cœpio.

Tribunes of the People. P. Licinius Craſſus Dives.
C. Manilius Limetanus.
L. Annius Nepos.
L. Lucilius Balbus. The other ſix are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Livius Druſus, Who triumphs over the *Scordiſci.*

644. Y. of *R.*

343. *Conſulſhip.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NUMIDICUS.
M. JULIUS SILANUS.

Cenſors. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
M. Livius Druſus, who died during his magiſtracy.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Minucius Rufus.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. Sp. Poſthumius Albinus.

Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Servilius Cœpio.

645. Y. of *R.*

344. *Conſulſhip.* SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.
Q. HORTENSIUS NEPOS, who did not enter upon the exerciſe of his office: And in whoſe place was ſubſtituted
M. AURELIUS SCAURUS.

Cenſors. Q. Fabius Allobrogicus.
C. Licinius Geta.

The ſixty-third Luſtrum.

Pro-Conſul in Numidia. Q. Cæcilius Numidicus.
Q. Servilius Cœpio,
Triumphs over the *Luſitani.*
M. Minucius Rufus,
Triumphs over the *Scordiſci* and *Triballi.*

646. Y. of *R.*

345. *Conſulſhip.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS,
C. MARIUS NEPOS.
The firſt was killed during his magiſtracy: And in his place was ſubſtituted
M. ÆMI-

M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS II.
Tribunes of the People. L. Manilius Mancinus.
C. Cœlius Caldus.
Sp. Thorius Balbus. The other ſeven are unknown.
Quæſtors in Numidia. *L. Cornelius Sulla.*
Cn. Octavius Rufus.
Q. Cæcilius Numidicus,
Who triumphs over the *Numidians* and *Jugurtha.*

647. Y. of *R.*

346. *Conſulſhip.* C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.
Q. SERVILIUS CŒPIO.
Prætors. M. Licinius Craſſus.
C. Annius Bellienus.
C. Flavius Fimbria, &c.
Ædiles. *P. Licinius Craſſus.*
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Mucius Scævola. The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Conſul in Numidia. C. Marius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. L. Annius Bellienus.
Pro-Quæſtor in Numidia. *L. Cornelius Sulla.*

648. Y. of *R.*

347. *Conſulſhip.* P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.
CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.
Prætor in Sardinia. T. Albucius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. L. Licinius Craſſus.
C. Caſſius Longinus. The other eight are unknown.
Quæſtor in Sardinia. *Cn. Pompeius Strabo.*
Pro-Conſul in Narbonne-Gaul. Q. Servilius Cœpio.
Pro-Conſul in Numidia. C. Marius Nepos.
Who triumphs over the *Numidians* and *Jugurtha.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Numidia. *L. Cornelius Sulla.*

649. Y. of *R.*

348. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS II.
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.
Ædile. *C. Aurelius Scaurus.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Caſſius Longinus.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Servilius Glaucia.
L. Marcius Philippus. The other ſix are unknown.
Pro-Prætor in Sardinia. T. Albucius Nepos.

650. Y. of *R.*

349. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS III.
L. AURELIUS ORESTES,
Who died during the term of his magiſtracy.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Servilius Caſca.
Prætor in hither Spain. M. Fulvius Nobilior.
Prætor in Macedonia. C. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſonius.
Prætor in Aſia. M. Antonius Nepos.
Curule Ædiles. *Q. Mucius Scævola.*
L. Licinius Craſſus.

651 Y. of *R.*

350. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS IV.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
Cenſors. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus Caprarius.

The ſixty-fourth Luſtrum.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Licinius Lucullus.
Tribunes of the People. A. Pompeius Rufus.
L. Apuleius Saturninus.
T. Junius Nepos. The other ſeven are unknown.
M. Antonius, after having given chace to the pirates of *Cilicia*, obtains at *Rome* the honour of a naval triumph.

652 Y. of *R.*

351. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS V,
Who triumphs over the *Teutones*, the *Cimbri*, and the *Ambrones.*
M. AQUILIUS NEPOS.
Tribunes of the People. M. Acilius Glabrio. The other nine are unknown.
Pro-Conſul in Ciſalp. Gaul. Q. Lutatius Catulus, who triumphs over the *Teutones*, the

the *Cimbri*, and the *Ambrones*.

653. Y. of *R*.

352. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS NEPOS VI.
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
Prætors. C. Servilius Glaucia, &c.
Tribunes of the People. A. Nonnius Suffenas.
L. Apuleius Saturninus II.
Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus. The other ſeven are unknown.
Quæſtors. *Q. Servilius Cæpio.*
C. Saufeius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Sicily. M. Aquilius Nepos.

654. Y. of *R*.

353. *Conſulſhip.* M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.
A. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS.
Prætor in farther Spain. L. Cornelius Dolabella.
Prætor in Aſia. Q. Mutius Scævola.
Curule Ædiles. *C. Claudius Pulcher.*
L. Valerius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Porcius Cato.
Q. Pompeius Rufus.
Q. Calidius Nepos.
P. Furius Nepos.
C. Canuleius Dives.
C. Decianus.
Sex. Titius Nepos.
L. Equilius Firmanus.
L. Apuleius Saturninus III.
The tenth is unknown.
Quæſtor in Macedonia. *M. Aquilius*, after the defeat of the *Sicilian* ſlaves, receives the honour of an ovation.

655. Y. of *R*.

354. *Conſulſhip.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.
T. DIDIUS NEPOS.
Prætor at Rome. M. Valerius Flaccus.
Prætor in Sicily. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sextius Calvinus.
Tribunes of the People. M. Duronius Nepos.
A. Plautius Silvanus. The other eight are unknown.
L. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over the *Luſitani*.

656. Y. of *R*.

355. *Conſulſhip.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Cenſors. L. Valerius Flaccus.
M. Antonius Nepos.

The ſixty-fifth Luſtrum.

Prætor in Sicily. L. Hortenſius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. T. Didius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sextius Calvinus.

657. Y. of *R*.

356. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.
Prætor at Rome. Sex. Julius Cæſar.

658. Y. of *R*.

357. *Conſulſhip.* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
Q. MUTIUS SCÆVOLA.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Claudius Pulcher.
Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Norbanus,
L. Aurelius Cotta.
T. Didius Nepos.
L. Antiſtius Rheginus. The other ſix are unknown.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. T. Didius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Craſſus.

659. Y. of *R*.

358. *Conſulſhip.* C. CŒLIUS CALDUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
Prætor at Rome. L. Cornelius Cinna.
Prætor in Aſia. L. Valerius Flaccus.
Tribune of the People. L. Seſtius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. T. Didius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Craſſus.

660. Y. of *R*.

359. *Conſulſhip.* C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
M. HERENNIUS NEPOS.
Prætors at Rome. T. Manilius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Sylla.
Prætor in Sicily. Cn. Pompeius Strabo.

Prætor

Prætor in farther Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. T. Didius Nepos, Who triumphs over the *Celtiberians.*
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Licinius Craſſus, Who triumphs over the *Luſitani.*

661. Y. of *R.*

360. *Conſulſhip.* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
M. PERPERNA NEPOS.
Cenſors. Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.

The ſixty-ſixth Luſtrum.

L. Licinius Craſſus.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Geminius Nepos.
Prætor in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. C. Valerius Flaccus.
Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica.

662. Y. of *R.*

361. *Conſulſhip.* L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.
SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Prætor at Rome. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Porcius Cato Licinianus.
Prætor in Aſia. L. Caſſius Longinus.
Curule Ædile. *M. Claudius Marcellus.*
Tribunes of the People. M. Livius Druſus.
P. Tarquitius Nepos.
Q. Varius Hibryda Sucronenſis.
L. Fufius Calenus.
C. Papirius Carbo.
Q. Rubrius Varro.
L. Luceius Nepos. The other three are unknown.
Quæſtor in Ciſalpine Gaul. *Q. Sertorius Nepos.*

The *Marſic* War.

663. Y. of *R.*

362. *Conſulſhip.* SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.
P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, Who was killed during his magiſtracy.
Prætor at Rome. Q. Varius Hibryda.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Curule Ædile. *C. Julius Cæſar Strabo.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Scribonius Curio.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
M. Plætorius Nepos.
C. Velleius Nepos. The other ſix are unknown.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. L. Caſſius Longinus.
Pro-Prætor in hither Spain. C. Valerius Flaccus.

664. Y. of *R.*

363. *Conſulſhip.* CN. POMPEIUS STRABO, who triumphs over the *Aſculans* and the *Picentines.*
L. PORCIUS CATO, who was killed during his magiſtracy.
Cenſors. P. Licinius Craſſus.
L. Julius Cæſar.

The ſixty-ſeventh Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. A. Sempronius Aſellio.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
P. Gabinius Capito.
Tribunes of the People. L. Caſſius Longinus.
C. Papirius Carbo.
M. Plautius Silvanus. The other ſeven are unknown.

665. Y. of *R.*

364. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX.
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.
Prætor in Africa. C. Sextilius.
Tribunes of the People. P. Sulpicius Rufus, who was killed during his tribunate.
P. Antiſtius Labeo.
C. Bœbius Sulca. The other ſeven are unknown.
Quæſtor in Aſia. *L. Licinius Lucullus.*

666. Y. of *R.*

365. *Conſulſhip.* CN. OCTAVIUS, who was killed during his magiſtracy.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA, who was depoſed; and in whoſe place was ſubſtituted

L. CORNELIUS MERULA, who put himſelf to death before the end of his magiſtracy.

Prætor in Sicily. M. Claudius Marcellus.
Prætor in Apulia. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla Felix.
Tribunes of the People. M. Virgilius Nepos.
P. Magius Chilo. The other eight are unknown.

667. Y. of *R.*

366. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.
C. MARIUS VII, who died during his magiſtracy, and in whoſe place was ſubſtituted
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.
Cenſors. L. Marcius Philippus.
Marcus Perperna.

The ſixty-eighth Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. C. Marius Gratidianus.
P. Antiſtius Labeo.
L. Licinius Murena.
Prætor in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Prætor in Macedonia. Q. Sentius Saturninus.
Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Quæſtor at Rome. *C. Flavius Fimbria.*
Quæſtor in Aſia. L. Manlius Torquatus.

668. Y. of *R.*

367. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS CINNA III.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.
Prætors. M. Lætorius Mergus.
Q. Granius Nepos.
P. Cornelius Cethegus.
Cn. Granius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People. Sex. Lucilius Nepos.
M. Petreius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſul in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

669. Y. of *R.*

368. *Conſulſhip.* CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II.
L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV, who was killed before the end of his magiſtracy.
Tribune of the People. P. Popilius Lænas.
Quæſtor in Ciſalpine Gaul. *C. Verres.*
Pro-Conſul in Aſia. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſuls in Africa. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
C. Fabius Hadrianus.

670. Y. of *R.*

369. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ASIATICUS.
C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.
Prætors at Rome. P. Burrienus.
Q. Lucretius Offella.
Q. Antonius Balbus.
Q. Valerius Soranus.
Prætor in farther Spain. Q. Sertorius Nepos.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. C. Valerius Flaccus.
Tribunes of the People. C. Popilius Lænas.
Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes.
C. Caſſius Varus.
Quæſtor in Italy. *M. Pupius Piſo Frugi Calpurnianus.*
Quæſtors in farther Spain. *L. Herculeius Nepos.*
C. Herennius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Italy. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Pro-Conſul in Campania. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Pro-Conſul in Ciſalpine Gaul. Cn. Papirius Carbo.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. Fabius Hadrianus.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. L. Licinius Murena.

671. Y. of *R.*

370. *Conſulſhip.* C. MARIUS, who was killed during his magiſtracy.
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, III, who was alſo killed during his magiſtracy.
Prætors at Rome. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS DAMASIPPUS, who was killed

killed during his prætorſhip.
C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS II, who was alſo killed during his prætorſhip.

Pro-Conſuls in Italy. L. Cornelius Sylla.
Q. Metellus Pius.
C. Junius Norbanus.
Q. Lucretius Offella.
Q. Valerius Soranus.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. Q. Antonius Balbus.

Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. P. Burrienus.

Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Sertorius Nepos.

Pro-Prætor in Africa. C. Fabius Hadrianus.

Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Sentius Saturninus.

Pro-Prætor in Aſia. L. Licinius Murena.

Quæſtors in Italy. C. Verres:
L. Manlius Torquatus.

Dictator. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

G. of the Horſe. L. Valerius Flaccus.

672. Y. of *R.*

371. *Conſulſhip.* M. TULLIUS DECULA.
CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

Dictator. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA,
Who triumphs over *Mithridates* and *Aſia* for two days.
The creation of eight Prætors for *Rome.*

Prætors at Rome. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
Sex. Nonnius Suffenas.

Quæſtors at Rome. *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.*
L. Valerius Triarius.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. L. Marcius Philippus.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. M. Æmilius Lepidus.

Pro-Conſul in Spain. C. Annius Luſcus.

Pro-Prætor in Aſia. M. Minucius Thermus.
L. Licinius Murena triumphs over *Mithridates* and *Aſia.*

673. Y. of *R.*

372. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX II.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Prætors at Rome. The firſt inſtance of eight Prætors. M. Fannius Strabo. The other ſeven are unknown.

Tribunes of the People. C. Herennius Nepos. The other nine are unknown.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.

Prætor in Cilicia. A perſon of the ſame name.

Prætor in hither Spain. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.

Prætor in farther Spain. T. Didius Nepos. The creation of twenty Quæſtors.

Quæſtors in Cilicia. *C. Poblicius Malleolus.* The reſt are unknown.
Pompey, as yet a Roman Knight, triumphs over *Hiarbas* and *Africa.*

674. Y. of *R.*

373. *Conſulſhip.* P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.
AP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætors at Rome. L. Octavius Nepos.
C. Calpurnius Piſo.
Q. Calidius Nepos, &c.

Prætor in Aſia. C. Claudius Nero.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Licinius Lucullus.*
M. Terentius Varro Luſculus.

Quæſtor in farther Spain. *C. Urbinius Rufus.*

Quæſtor in Cilicia. *C. Verres.*

675. Y. of *R.*

374. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella triumphs over *Macedonia.*

Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. C. Claudius Marcellus.

676.

676. Y. of *R.*

375. *Conſulſhip.* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS LEPIDUS.
MAM. ÆMILIUS LIVIANUS.

Prætors at Rome. Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes Aurelianus.
L. Licinius Lucullus, &c.

Pro-Conſul at Rome. App. Claudius Pulcher.

Pro-Conſul in Italy. Q. Lutatius Catulus.

Pro-Prætor in Ciſalpine Gaul. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro-Conſul in farther Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

Pro-Conſul in Cilicia. P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Sicily. Cn. Junius Norbanus.

Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.

Pro-Prætor in Aſia. Cn. Terentius Varro.

Tribune of the People. M. Turpilius Nepos.

677. Y. of *R.*

376. *Conſulſhip.* CN. OCTAVIUS.
C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

Prætors at Rome. L. Titius Nepos.
M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.
L. Furius Philus, &c.

Prætor in Africa. L. Licinius Lucullus.

Prætor in Achaia. L. Gellius Poblicola.

Prætor in Illyricum. Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes.

Prætor in Sicily. Sex. Peduceius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. App. Claudius Pulcher.

Pro-Conſuls in Italy. Mam. Æmilius Lepidus.
D. Junius Brutus.

Tribune of the People. Cn. Sicinius Nepos, who was killed during his tribunate.

Quæſtor in farther Spain. *C. Memmius Gallus*, who was killed during his quæſtorſhip.

Quæſtor in Italy. *C. Ælius Stalenus Pætus.*

Pro-Conſuls in Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro-Conſul in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. App. Claudius Pulcher.

678. Y. of *R.*

377. *Conſulſhip.* L. OCTAVIUS.
C. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætors at Rome. Q. Caſſius Longinus.
C. Licinius Sacerdos.
P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
M. Antonius Nepos.
M. Cæſius Nepos, &c.

Tribune of the People. Q. Opimius Nepos.

Pro-Conſuls in Spain. Q. Cæcilius Pius Numidicus.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Pro Conſul in Cilicia. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Scribonius Curio.

Pro-Conſul in Bithynia. M. Junius Silanus.

Pro Conſul in Aſia. C. Claudius Nero.

Pro-Conſul in Sicily. Sex. Peduceius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Narbonne-Gaul. M. Fonteius Capito.

Pro-Conſul in Illyricum. Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes Aurelianus.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. M. Terentius Varro Lucullus.

Pro-Conſul in Achaia. L. Gellius Poblicola.

Pro-Conſul in Bithynia. A. Pompeius Bithynicus.

Pro-Quæſtor in Sicily. M. Tullius Cicero.

Pro-Quæſtor in Bithynia. L. Volteius Strabo.

679. Y. of *R.*

378. *Conſulſhip.* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.
M. AURELIUS COTTA.

Prætor

Prætor at Rome. C. Verres.
Prætor in Narbonne-Gaul. M, Fonteius Capito.
Tribune of the People. L. Quinctius.

680. Y. of *R.*

379. *Conſulſhip.* M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.
C. CASSIUS VARUS.
Pro-Conſul in Chalcedon. M. Aurelius Cotta.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Verres.

681. Y. of *R.*

380. *Conſulſhip.* L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA.
CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.
Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. C. Servilius Curio.
Tribune of the People. M. Lollius Palicanus.

682. Y. of *R.*

381. *Conſulſhip.* CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.
Prætors. M. Licinius Craſſus.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Pontus. L. Licinius Lucullus.
Cn. Pompeius triumphs over *Spain.*

683. Y. of *R.*

382. *Conſulſhip.* M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.
CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.
Cenſors. L. Gellius Poblicola.
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.

The ſixty-eighth Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. M. Acilius Glabrio.
L. Aurelius Cotta.

684. Y. of *R.*

383. *Conſulſhip.* Q. HORTENSIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.
Ædiles. *M. Tullius Cicero.*
M. Cæſonius.
Prætors. M. Pupius Piſo,
Who triumphs over *Spain.*
Q. Lutatius Catulus.

685. Y. of *R.*

384. *Conſulſhip.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who died before he entered on his office.
Q. MARCIUS REX.
Pro-Conſul in Crete. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
Pro-Conſul in Pontus. L. Licinius Lucullus.

686. Y. of *R.*

385. *Conſulſhip.* C. CALPURNIUS PISO.
M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.
Tribunes of the People. A. Gabinius.
L. Roſcius Otho.
C. Cornelius.
C. Manilius.

687. Y. of *R.*

386. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.
Prætor in Africa. L. Sergius Catilina.
Prætors at Rome. M. Tullius Cicero.
P. Vatinius.

688. Y. of *R.*

387. *Conſulſhip.* L. AURELIUS COTTA.
L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.
Tribune of the People. C. Papius.
Cenſors. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
L. Licinius Craſſus. They both abdicate their office.

689. Y. of *R.*

388. *Conſulſhip.* L. JULIUS CÆSAR.
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.
Cenſors. L. Aurelius Cotta.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius.

690. Y. of *R.*

389. *Conſulſhip.* M. TULLIUS CICERO.
C. ANTONIUS.
Quæſtor. *T. Fadius.*
Prætors at Rome. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
Q. Pompeius Rufus.
C. Sulpicius Gallus.
L. Valerius Flaccus.
C. Coſconius Nepos.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura II.
L. Afranius Nepos.
C. Pomptinius.
Curule Ædiles. *L. Julius Cæsar.*
P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Tribunes of the People. P. Servilius Rullus.
L. Cæcilius Metellus.
T. Atius Labienus.
T. Ampius Balbus.
Pro-Consul against Mithridates. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Consul in Apulia. L. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
Pro-Consul in Asia. P. Orbius.
Pro-Quæstors in Pontus. *P. Plautius Hypsæus.*
M. Æmilius Scaurus.
L. Licinius Lucullus triumphs over *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*; and over *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*.

691. Y. of *R.*

390. *Consulship.* D. JUNIUS SILANUS.
L. LICINIUS MURENA.
Prætors. C. Julius Cæsar.
Q. Tullius Cicero.
C. Virgilius Nepos.
M. Atius Balbus.
M. Valerius Messala.
M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
L. Calpurnius Bestia.
M. Porcius Cato.
Q. Minucius Thermus.
Quæstors. *P. Sextilius Nepos.*
M. Curius Nepos.
Pro-Consul in Pontus. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Consul in Macedonia. C. Antonius Nepos.
Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
Pro-Consul in Illyricum. C. Marcius Figulus.
Pro-Consul in Transalp. Gaul. C. Pomptinius Nepos.
Pro-Consul in farther Spain. C. Cosconius Nepos.
Pro-Consul in Africa. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
Pro-Consul in Asia. L. Valerius Flaccus.
Quæstor in Macedonia. *P. Sextius Nepos.*
Quæstor in Cisalp. Gaul. *T. Fadius Gallus.*
Q. Cæcilius triumphs for the island of *Crete*.

692. Y. of *R.*

391. *Consulship.* M. PUPIUS PISO.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA NIGER.
Censors. Unknown.

The sixty-ninth Lustrum.

Prætors at Rome. C. Octavius Rufus, the father of the Emperor *Augustus*.
L. Calpurnius Piso Cæsorinus.
Curule Ædile. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Fufius Calenus.
C. Cornutus.
M. Aufidius Lurco.
Pro-Consul in Macedonia. C. Antonius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in farther Spain. C. Julius Cæsar.
Pro-Prætor in Asia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
President in Syria. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Presid. in Narbonne-Gaul. C. Pontinius Nepos.
Pro Quæstor in Macedonia. P. Sestius.
Pompey triumphs for his conquests over the chief countries of *Asia*, and over the Kings *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*.

693. Y. of *R.*

392. *Consulship.* L. AFRANIUS NEPOS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
Prætors at Rome. P. Cornelius Spinther.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.
Ædiles. *M. Terentius Varro.*
C. Licinius Murena.
Tribunes of the People. L. Flavius Nepos.
C. Herennius Nepos.
M. Lollius Palicanus.
Q. Minu-

Q. Minucius Rufus.
M. Servilius Geminus.
T. Posthumius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Octavius Rufus.
Pro-Prætor in Asia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Narbonne Gaul. C. Pontinius.
President in Syria. M. Æmilius Scaurus.
Quæstor in Macedonia. *M. Æmilius Paulus.*

694. Y. of *R.*

393. *Consulship.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
M. CALPURNIUS BIBULUS.
Prætors at Rome. Licinius Crassus Dives.
Q. Fufius Calenus.
Q. Claudius Flamininus.
T. Vettius.
L. Apuleius Nepos.
L. Piso Cæsonius.
Tribunes of the People. P. Vatinius Nepos.
C. Cosconius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
Q. Ancharius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio.
C. Nigidius Figulus.
Quæstor at Rome. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.*
Pro-Consul in Cisalp. Gaul. L. Afranius.
Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.
Prætor in hither Spain. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Prætor in Syria. L. Marcius Philippus.
Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Asia. Q. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Macedonia. C. Octavius Rufus.
Quæstor in Campania. *Q. Cæcilius Bassus.*
Pro Quæstor in Macedonia. *L. Æmilius Paulus.*

695. Y. of *R.*

394. *Consulship.* L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS.
A. GABINIUS NEPOS.
Prætors. L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
C. Memmius Gemellus.
L. Flavius Nepos.
L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus.
P. Nigidius Figulus.
T. Ampius Balbus.
M. Terentius Varro.
Curule Ædiles. *M. Æmilius Scaurus.*
P. Plautius Hypsæus.
Plebeian Ædiles. *L. Calpurnius Bestia.*
M. Lollius Palicanus.
Tribunes of the People. P. Claudius Pulcher.
L. Antistius Nepos.
P. Ælius Ligus.
Cn. Manlius Nepos.
L. Novius Nepos.
Q. Terentius Culeo.
Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum. C. Julius Cæsar.
Prætor in Africa. T. Vettius.
Prætor in Macedonia. L. Apuleius Nepos.
Prætor in Syria. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily. C. Virgilius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Cyprus. M. Porcius Cato.
Quæstor in Cyprus. M. Canidius Crassus.

696. Y. of *R.*

395. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.
Prætors at Rome. L. Cæcilius Rufus.
App. Claudius Pulcher.
M. Calidius Nepos.
C. Cornutus.
Tribunes of the People. T. Annius Milo Papianus.
P. Sextius Nepos.
C. Sestilius Nepos.
M. Cispius Lævus.
T. Fadius Gallus.

M. Curius Nepos.
Q. Fabricius Nepos.
C. Meſſius Nepos.
Sex. Atilius Serrarus.
N. Quinctius Gracchus.

Pro-Conſul in Tranſalpine Gaul and Illyricum. C. Julius Cæſar.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſoninus.

Pro-Conſul in Syria. A. Gabinius Nepos.

Prætor in Bithynia and Pontus. C. Memmius Gemellus.

Prætor in Cilicia. T. Ampius Balbus.

Pro-Prætor in Cyprus. M. Porcius Cato.

697. Y. of *R.*

396. *Conſulſhip.* CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS.
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

Prætors at Rome. C. Claudius Pulcher.
T. Poſthumius Nepos.
Q. Ancharius Nepos.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.
M. Æmilius Scaurus.

Curule Ædiles. *P. Clodius Pulcher.*
M. Claudius Marcellus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Porcius Cato.
Sex. Nonnius Suffenas.
L. Procilius Nepos.
A. Plautius Silvanus.
L. Racilius Nepos.
C. Caſſius Longinus.
L. Caninius Gallus.
Antiſtius Severus.
P. Rutilius Lupus.
Cn. Plancius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſoninus.

Pro Conſul in Syria. A. Gabinius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.

Prætor in Sardinia. App. Claudius Pulcher.

Prætor in Africa. Q. Valerius Orca.

698. Y. of *R.*

397. *Conſulſhip.* CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, the ſecond time.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS, the ſecond time.

Cenſors. M. Valerius Meſſala Niger.
M. Calpurnius Bibulus.

The ſeventieth Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome. P. Vatinius Nepos.
C. Coſconius Nepos.
C. Fannius Strabo.
C. Fannius Nepos.

Curule Ædiles. *L. Æmilius Paulus.*
L. Sempronius Atratinus.

Plebeian Ædile. *C. Meſſius Nepos.*

Tribunes of the People. C. Trebonius Aſper.
C. Atteius Capito.
P. Aquilius Gallus.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.

Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.

Pro-Conſul in Syria. A. Gabinius Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in hither Spain. Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.

Pro-Conſul in Macedonia. Q. Ancharius.

Pro-Conſul in Sardinia. M. Æmilius Scaurus.

Prætor in Aſia. C. Clodius Pulcher.

Quæſtors. *L. Roſcius Nepos.*
C. Scribonius Curio.

699. Y. of *R.*

398. *Conſulſhip.* L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Prætors. T. Annius Milo Papianus.
C. Albius Nepos.
M. Portius Cato.
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.
P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.

Ser.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba.
Curule Ædiles. *Cn. Plancius Nepos.*
A. Plautius Silvanus.
Plebeian Ædile. *Q. Pedius Nepos.*
Tribunes of the People. C. Memmius Nepos.
D. Lælius Balbus.
Terentius Varro.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
Quæstors. *Fauſtus Cornelius Sylla.*
A. Hirtius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. M. Licinius Craſſus.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. C. Clodius Pulcher.
Quæſtors. *M. Licinius Craſſus.*
Q. Caſſius Longinus.
C. Caſſius Longinus.
L. Cornelius Balbus.
C. Lælius Nepos.
M. Tullius Nepos.
C. Sextius Gallus.
C. Pomtinius Nepos triumphs over the *Allobroges*.

700. Y. of *R.*

399. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA.
Prætors at Rome. L. Æmilius Paulus.
P. Seſtius Nepos.
Voconius Nepos.
Ædiles. *M. Favonius Nepos.*
M. Juventius Laterenſis.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
C. Lucceius Hirrus.
P. Licinius Craſſus Junianus.
M. Cœlius Vicinianus.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria. M. Licinius Craſſus.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.

701. Y. of *R.*

400. *Conſulſhip.* CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS alone, the third time. Seven months after he aſſociated with him
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS SCIPIO.
Prætors at Rome. A. Manlius Torquatus.
L. Fabius Nepos.
Favonius Nepos.
M. Conſidius Nonianus.
Tribunes of the People. Q. Pompeius Rufus.
T. Munatius Plancus Burſa.
C. Salluſtius Criſpus.
M. Cœlius Rufus.
Manilius Caninianus.
M. Vibullius Rufus.
L. Livineius Regulus.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Under *Pompey*'s orders.
Pro-Conſuls in Spain. L. Afranius.
M. Petreius.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
Prætor in Achaia. L. Caninius Gallus.
Quæſtor in the Gauls. *M. Antonius Nepos.*

702. Y. of *R.*

401. *Conſulſhip.* SER. SULPICIUS RUFUS.
M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Prætors at Rome. A. Plautius Silvanus.
M. Juventius Laterenſis.
M. Favonius.
C. Ateius Capito.
Pro Prætor in the Gauls. C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Prætor in Spain. Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Prætor in Syria. M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
Pro-Prætor in Cilicia and Cyprus. M. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Aſia. Q. Minucius Thermus.
Pro-Prætor in Africa. P. Atius Varro.

Quæſtors.

Quæſtors in Cilicia and Cyprus.	*Cn. Voluſius Saturninus.* *L. Meſſinius Rufus.*
Quæſtor in Syria.	*Cn. Salluſtius Nepos.*
Pro-Quæſtor in the Gauls.	*M. Antonius Nepos.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Syria.	*C. Caſſius Longinus.*

P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther triumphs for *Cilicia.*

703. Y. of *R.*

402. *Conſulſhip.*	L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS.
	C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
Cenſors.	Appius Claudius Pulcher.
	L. Calpurnius Piſo Cæſoninus.

The ſeventy-firſt Luſtrum.

Prætors at Rome.	C. Titius Rufus.
	C. Curtius Peduceianus.
	M. Portius Cato, the ſecond time.
	M. Livius Druſus.
Curule Ædiles.	*M. Cœlius Rufus.*
	M. Octavius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Scribonius Curio.
	C. Furnius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in the Gauls.	C. Julius Cæſar.
Pro-Conſul in Spain.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus.
Pro-Conſul in Syria.	M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
Pro-Conſul in Cilicia and Cyprus.	M. Tullius Cicero.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily.	Furfanius Nepos.
Pro-Prætor in Africa.	C. Conſidius Longus.
Quæſtor in Cilicia.	*C. Cœlius Caldus.*
Quæſtor in Syria.	*L. Marius Nepos.*
Quæſtor in Macedonia.	*T. Antiſtius.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Cilicia.	*L. Meſſinius Rufus.*
Pro-Quæſtor in Aſia.	*C. Antonius Nepos.*

704. Y. of *R.*

403. *Conſulſhip.*	C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.
	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.
Dictator.	C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
Prætors.	M. Æmilius Lepidus.
	L. Roſcius Nepos.
	C. Allienius Nepos.
	C. Soſius Nepos.
	L. Manlius Torquatus.
	P. Rutilius Lupus.
	C. Coponius Nepos.
	Sex. Peduceius Nepos.
Tribunes of the People.	M. Antonius Nepos.
	Q. Caſſius Longinus.
	C. Caſſius Longinus.
	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
	L. Marcius Philippus.
	A. Hirtius Nepos.
	C. Lælius Nepos.
Pro-Conſul in Syria.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Scipio.
Pro-Prætor in Sicily.	M. Porcius Cato.
Pro-Prætor in Sardinia.	M. Aurelius Cotta.
Pro-Prætor in Africa.	L. Ælius Tubero.
Pro-Prætor in Cilicia and Cyprus.	P. Seſtius Nepos.
Pro Prætor in Bithynia and Pontus.	Calviſius Sabinus.

705. Y. of *R.*

404. *Conſulſhip.*	C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the ſecond time.
	P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.
Prætors.	C. Trebonius Nepos.
	M. Cœlius Rufus.
	Q. Pedius.
	P. Sulpicius Galba.
	A. Poſthumius Albinus.
Ædiles.	C. Albius Carrinas.
	C. Marcius Figulus.
	L. Cornelius Balbus.
Tribune of the People.	A. Hirtius.
Quæſtors.	*M. Claudius Marcellus.*

P. Cor-

P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.
C. Plætorius.
T. Claudius Nero.

706. Y. of *R.*
405. *Conſulſhip.*
Dictator II. C. JULIUS CÆSAR.
G. of the Horſe. M. Antonius.
Q. FUFIUS CALENUS.
PUBLIUS VATINIUS.
Prætors. L. Muſſidius Longus.
C. Salluſtius Criſpus.
Tribunes of the People. L. Cornelius Balbus.
P. Cornelius Dolabella.
L. Trebellius.
C. Aſinius Pollio, &c.
Quæſtor in Aſia. *M. Apuleius.*
Quæſtor in Syria. *Sex. Julius Cæſar.*
Quæſtor in Cyprus. *C. Sextilius Rufus.*

707. Y. of *R.*
406. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR, the third time.
M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.
Ædiles. *L. Cornelius Balbus.*
Voſiſcus Julius Cæſar.
Tribune of the People. P. Ventidius Baſſus.

708. Y. of *R.*
407. *Conſulſhip.*
Dictator III. C. JULIUS CÆSAR, Conſul IV. ſine collega.
G. of the Horſe. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Before the end of the year, Cæſar nominates to the conſulſhip
Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS.
CAIUS TREBONIUS, who dies, and in whoſe place is ſubſtituted
C. CANINIUS REBILUS.
Tribunes of the People. Pontius Aquila.
L. Munacius Plancus.
Curule Ædiles. *Q. Hortenſius Nepos.*
P. Sura Nepos.
Plebei. Ædiles. *L. Trebellius Nepos.*
L. Ælius Lamia.
Quæſtor in Syria. *C. Antiſtius Vetus.*
Quæſtor in farther Spain. *L. Cornelius Balbus.*

709. Y. of *R.*
408. *Conſulſhip.*
Dictator IV. C. JULIUS CÆSAR, Conſul V. with
M. ANTONIUS.
Before the end of the year Cæſar appoints to his place
P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.
Prætors. M. Junius Brutus Cœpio.
Caius Caſſius, &c.
Tribunes of the People. L. Ceſetius Flavus.
C. Epidius Marullus.
C. Helvius Cinna.

710. Y. of *R.*
409. *Conſulſhip.* A. HIRTIUS.
C. VIBIUS PANSA.
In whoſe room were ſubſtituted
C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS.
Q. PEDIUS.
And, in the room of theſe,
P. VENTIDIUS.
CAIUS CARRINNAS.
Prætors. Q. Gallius Lupercus.
M. Cornutus.
M. Acilius Craſſus.
Cn. Munacius Plancus, &c.
Tribunes of the People. P. Servilius Caſca.
P. Titius.
P. Apuleius, &c.

711. Y. of *R.*
410. *Conſulſhip.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS II.
L. MUNACIUS PLANCUS.
Prætors. L. Cornelius Balbus.
L. Ælius Lamia.

712. Y. of *R.*
411. *Conſulſhip.* L. ANTONIUS.
P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS II.
Prætors. T. Claudius Nero.
L. Marcius Cenſorinus, &c.
Quæſtors. *C. Rubellius.*
Q. Conſidius Gallus.
L. Egnatius Rufus.
P. Ser-

P. Servilius Poſthumus, &c.

713. Y. of *R.*

412. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS.
C. ASINIUS POLLIO.
In whoſe room were ſubſtituted
Q. CORNELIUS BALBUS.
P. CANIDIUS CRASSUS.

Prætors. M. Vipſanius Agrippa.
C. Coponius.

Tribune of the People. P. Falcidius.

714. Y. of *R.*

413. *Conſulſhip.* L. MARCIUS CENSORINUS.
C. CALVISIUS SABINUS.

715. Y. of *R.*

414. *Conſulſhip.* APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.
C. NORBANUS FLACCUS.

Curule Ædile. *P. Rutilius Rufus.*

716. Y. of *R.*

415. *Conſulſhip.* M. VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA.
L. CANINIUS GALLUS.

Ædile. *M. Oppius Nepos.*

717. Y. of *R.*

416. *Conſulſhip.* L. GELLIUS POBLICOLA.
M. COCCEIUS NERVA.

Curule Ædile. *Q. Catulus Nepos.*

718. Y. of *R.*

417. *Conſulſhip.* L. CORNIFICIUS.
SEXT. POMPEIUS.

719. Y. of *R.*

418. *Conſulſhip.* M. ANTONIUS II.
L. SCRIBONIUS LIBO.

720. Y. of *R.*

419. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS II.
L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

Ædile. *M. Agrippa.*

721. Y. of *R.*

420. *Conſulſhip.* CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.
C. SOSIUS.

Tribune of the People. Nonius Balbus.

722. Y. of *R.*

421. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS III.
M. VALERIUS MESSALA CORVINUS.

Quæſtor. *M. Æmilius Anianus Flaccus.*

723. Y. of *R.*

422. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS IV.
M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

724. Y. of *R.*

423. *Conſulſhip.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS V.
SEX. APULEIUS.

END of the Fourth and Laſt Volume.

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A GENERAL INDEX TO THE WHOLE WORK.

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